The Interpreters' Newsletter
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EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste

via Weiss, 21 – 34128 Trieste
eut@units.it
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Editorial

Since the publication of Wadensjö's *Interpreting as Interaction* (1998), research conducted on real-life interpreter-mediated encounters has significantly contributed to recent advances in Dialogue Interpreting (DI) research. Availability of authentic DI data is however limited, due to technical and methodological concerns, such as accessing data and getting permission to use them for scientific purposes (Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012); conversational phenomena characterising dialogue-like data which can hardly be annotated or extracted automatically (Angermeyer *et al.* 2012); and time-consuming tasks like data collection and transcription, ultimately influencing analysis (Niemants 2012). Despite the current lack of DI large corpora, a number of independently conducted investigations are providing substantial evidence of *how* interpreters translate and of the reasons *why* they do it that way, showing the gap between "professional ideology" and "professional practice" (Merlini 2015). This gap, in some cases, turned into all-out prejudice hampering the development of a common ground and a coherent profession, and relegating DI to an ancillary – if not inferior – position with respect to conference interpreting. We are confident that there is nothing inferior in e.g. helping healthcare professionals to take care of patients in hospitals, or helping judges to impart justice on suspects in courts, since, as Fiola (2004: 122-123) rightly acknowledges, "l'interprète n'est pas professionnel de la santé, mais il aide à soigner; il n'est pas juge, mais il aide à rendre la justice"; and "la perception positive ou négative de son travail, de sa fonction et de son image publique dépend de la nature de son intervention". As yet only few comprehensive works are overtly devoted to Dialogue Interpreting (e.g. Mason 1999, 2001; Baraldi/Gavioli 2012; Davitti/Pasquandrea 2014a; Niemants 2015) and most of the debate is currently fed by short focused discussions trying to cross research-to-practice boundaries. Our aim in putting these twelve papers together in a dedicated Issue was to explore the implications of interpreters' **participation** in a wide range of **settings**, and since the need for data-based reflections is still high, the volume is to be intended as a contribution to this field of inquiry.

The first eight papers analyse interactional aspects of real-life interpreter-mediated communication. Nartowska focuses on the degree of power court interpreters may or may not exert while interpreting during criminal proceedings. Using the Critical Discourse Analysis approach the author highlights how perception by clients of the interpreter's role may often appear confused and conflicting, ranging from the traditional invisibility principle to the idea of interpreters as intermediaries between languages and cultures, and even active (and visible!) partners in communication. Gallez too describes an authentic interpreter-mediated interaction in the legal setting, but focuses on impoliteness in participants' talk and the impact of interpreting strategies on the interactional dynamics of court examinations. By analysing a Flemish-French criminal hearing recorded in a Belgian court, she observes that interpreters are pivotal elements in coordinating primary speakers' face-work, as well as in the management of their power relations and mutual positioning. Baraldi's contribution focuses on interpreter-mediated interactions in a migrant-support centre, involving Italian social workers and immigrants applying for residence permits and family reunions. He crucially refers to interpreters as 'mediators' throughout the whole paper (title included) and maintains that only interpreting *as* language mediation effectively deals with possible clashes between immigrants' personal narratives and social workers' depersonalised discursive practices. Gavioli's study too deals with the problem of interpreting what is "behind the turns", further elaborating on the controversial question of how far interpreters should engage in dealing with implicit issues that they know about, making them explicit. She shows that in the interpreter-mediated guided tours she analyses this is largely a matter of shared responsibility and what is added is systematically negotiated, through some interactional practices, with the guides. Following this line of reasoning, which points to the significance of an active participation of the interpreter in the interaction, reference must be made to the interpreter's physical presence in – or absence from – the communication stage. Sandrelli conducts a case study on a small corpus of webcast interpreter-mediated football press conferences organised for the official presentation of new players with limited proficiency in the language of the country they play in. The sheer feasibility of the interpreters' task is here greatly dependent on their positioning on the stage, influencing their ability to efficiently deliver their translation and possibility of exerting any degree of coordination on the interaction. The physical distribution of interlocutors and interpreters in space, and its significance for successful communication, is also the subject of Vargas-Urpi's paper. Difficulties in this case arise because of the composite configuration of multi-party encounters in educational contexts involving teachers, parents, children and interpreters. Triangulating field notes, transcripts and interviews, the author investigates to what extent participants' empowerment depends on the interpreter's decisions, and observes an interpreters' tendency to favour the 'institution', often excluding parents and children from the exchange and thus increasing the asymmetry between them and the teacher. The issue of asymmetry is particularly relevant in healthcare settings, as medical consultations are characterised, at a global level, by a built-in asymmetry of both knowledge and topic; however, participants share a common goal (the wellbeing of the patient), which allows for a greater scope for negotiation at local level. Farini's paper focuses on the treatment of emotions and the shift from scientific objectivity and emotional detachment to explicit display of affectivity in a series of interpreter-mediated medical encounters, discussing examples of interpreters' choices which either exclude or promote patients' emotions during the interaction. On the basis of these data, he looks at the repercussions different interpreters' choices have on the provision of healthcare: when opting for an overt display of affectivity, interpreters contribute to accomplish patient-centred, emotion-sensitive healthcare. Although previous studies (Baraldi/Gavioli 2007; Merlini/Favaron 2009) have shown that interpreters' affiliation with patients' expressions of concerns may not always favour a successful outcome of the medical consultation, Merlini and Gatti's investigation seems to corroborate Farini's results. The authors put forward an innovative trifocal methodological model for their analysis, moving from empathy as the actualised object of the conversational process to the interpreter as the *subject* of the empathic experience. Empathic behaviour is broken down into three main components, whose incidence suggests that, despite a lingering bias against an empathic interpreting conduct, empathy proves beneficial for professional relations in healthcare encounters.

Additionally, this Issue includes two analyses of non-professional interpreting. We share the authors' view that such contributions can feed the discussion on Natural Translation and shed light on a common yet controversial and still under-investigated type of DI, where the construction of the interpreter role is based on actual interaction rather than on acquired norms. Ticca and Traverso analyse a set of video-recorded medical consultations where interpreting is provided by family members or other bilinguals with no specific training in DI. Using the micro-analytical lens of Conversation Analysis, they focus on the interpreter's correction of patients' responses to doctors, and their relevance in the interaction. Interpreters intervene to specify the patients' response, often in an attempt to provide the physician with a precise quantitative figure. In her study on non-professional interpreters in prison settings, Martínez-Gómez also deals with interpreters' participation, including perception of the latter by users and interpreters themselves. She moves from the assumption that the notion of interpreter's invisibility is traditionally linked to the related perception of moral correctness rather than to empirical evidence. Her survey-based study indicates that interpreters tend to perceive themselves as visible only when they are explicitly managing the turn-taking system and actively facilitating trust and mutual respect between interlocutors.

Despite the growing attention to the training of dialogue interpreters, a lot remains to be done in order to "create greater connection between interpreting research and pedagogy" (Davitti/Pasquandrea 2014b: 374), and the last two papers tentatively try to make the link. Despite their geographical distance and their different targets, the authors appear to share the assumption that interpreting is co-constructed by all participants, while trying to answer the same basic question: Whom is DI research relevant for? Unsurprisingly, the answer will be that research can be applied to the training of interpretation users and providers, whose identification, however, is hardly straightforward, given the wide label we deliberately use here. Such is the background against which Salaets and De Pooter interviewed ten members of the Belgian Waterway Police and five legal interpreters to investigate how they cooperate in facing multilingual issues in ports. The authors observe whether and how existing legal, professional and training tools are actually applied in real-life situations. Results show that cooperation is hampered by the non-user-friendly registers used to recruit interpreters, the inadequate training offered to police members, and their tendency to prefer *ad hoc* interpreters they select from self-made lists. In this respect, we could not agree more with Davitti/Pasquandrea (2014b: 375) that interpreters' education is currently suffering the clash between "the need to impart knowledge in a clear, easy-to-digest manner" and "the need to [...] teach interpreters to adopt a more [...] critical approach to what happens during [...] interaction". Viljanmaa's contribution tries to find a compromise between these two extremes interviewing teachers and students of a BA level DI course in Finland, where traditional role-plays simulating real-life situations are used in conjunction with a semi-remote method involving simultaneous-interpreting booths. The author's findings indicate that double-deck methods may prove useful to provide students with additional practice of several of the basic (sub)skills necessary in DI.

But for training to be close to real-life practice we have depicted above, where one of the crucial skills is undoubtedly that of coping with translation and coordination while being dependent on the other participants, a lot has still to be done. Our hope is that the selected papers will contribute to the growing body of empirical research on DI, and to the ongoing reflection on how descriptive studies could inform and possibly improve interpreters' professional practice and training.

Eugenia Dal Fovo
Natacha Niemants

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Studying Dialogue Interpreting: an Introduction

Eugenia Dal Fovo
University of Trieste
Natacha Niemants*
University of Modena and Reggio Emilia

In order to prepare the ground for what is to follow, we need to 'set aside' a series of assumptions which appear to underlie many studies on interpreting and to recall two factors that determined significant advances in Dialogue Interpreting (DI) research: 1. the introduction of the name "dialogue interpreting" by Mason (1999, 2009) and the consequent elaboration of the "dialogic discourse-based interaction (DI) paradigm" (Pöchhacker 2004); 2. what Straniero Sergio/Falbo (2012: 28) identify as the "social or sociological turn" taken by DI.

1. Dialogue interpreting, interpreting dialogue: the discourse-based interaction paradigm

The innovation brought about by Mason's (1999, 2009) definition, inspired by Wadensjö's seminal work (1993, 1998), is the interest in interaction and the interactionally-constructed context as the main factors affecting DI. The inescapable correlation between mode, setting and interaction type identifies DI with *a kind* (rather than *a mode*) of interpretation (cf. Falbo 2013), with particular attention devoted to "dialogue" as a co-constructed sense-making process involving all

* The present introduction is the result of an entirely joint and coordinated effort on the part of the authors. For the sake of convenience, the article's sections were divided as follows: Eugenia Dal Fovo is the author of the first paragraph and section no.2; Natacha Niemants is the author of sections no.1 and no.3.

parties as co-authors of meaning in a given context. This has fostered the interest in DI on the part of disciplines studying what, elaborating on Linell (2009), Bres (2005), and Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2005), is referred to by Falbo (2012: 165-168) as "dialogue-like" discourse – as opposed to "monologue-like" discourse. The subsequent methodological cross-fertilisation resulted in the creation of synergies between Interpreting Studies (IS) and other scientific disciplines, including pragmatics (e.g. Mason 2006), applied linguistics (e.g. Lee 2009), sociolinguistics (e.g. Davidson 2000), interactional linguistics (e.g. Ticca/Traverso 2015), and Conversation Analysis (CA e.g. Gavioli 2014). Having deep sociological roots and being led, as it is, by the principle *why that now*, the CA (Sacks *et al.* 1974) analytical lens appears particularly well suited for observing DI, where interpreting what is being said necessarily requires an understanding of *why* it is being said at a specific point in conversation and addressing specific interlocutors (cf. Davidson 2002: 1276 and Davitti 2013: 177). Interaction as collective activity and unfolding negotiation of meaning requires what several authors (Linell 1998: 74; Wadensjö 1998) have referred to, in different ways, as *coordination*. In Wadensjö's perspective, in particular, coordination performed by interpreters is a crucial activity in interpreter-mediated interaction. It may be *explicit* or *implicit* (Wadensjö 1998), or, as Baraldi/Gavioli (2012) suggest, *basic* or *reflexive*: the former is strictly linked to the concept of (turn-based) talk as action, whereby participants talk (action) and react (re-action) to talk in order to make sense of what is said and done; the latter could be described as "a meta-communicative activity, whose aim is to resolve communication problems by, for instance, clarifying, expanding, repairing, questioning, or formulating understanding of the meaning of conversational actions" (Merlini 2015).[1] Dialogue interpreters' output, however, constitutes a special kind of re-action: it is not (only) a response *to* what has just been uttered, but (also) a version *of* what has just been uttered (cf. Mason 2006: 365). While IS have traditionally been concerned with interpreting as translating or relaying primary speakers' talk, research into coordinating activities was introduced at the end of the 1990s, accounting for interpreters' utterances that have no counterpart in preceding "originals" (non-renditions in Wadensjö's terms), but visibly respond to some social or communicative goal that needs to be met (Davidson 2000: 380).

Investigating interpreting as interaction has shed valuable light on "the socio-cultural, institutional and situational context as well as actual people in their respective roles and power positions" (Schäffner *et al.* 2013: 3). Interpersonal dynamics and socio-institutional aspects of discourse have stimulated the recent interest in conversational face-related issues of DI, regardless of the degree of confrontation (e.g. Merlini/Falbo 2011; Merlini 2013). When applying this approach, any kind of (dialogue-interpreted) institutional interaction may entail the presence of many participation frameworks, all of them, albeit diverse, requiring some kind of face-work and "the use of politeness by all parties involved" (Merlini 2015). Interlocutors cooperate not only in defining meanings, but also in terms of alignment, roles and identities. Alongside verbal components of discourse, supra-segmental elements and other "directly accessible features" (Mer-

1 Page number not available.

lini 2015), such as gestures, eye contact, positioning and facial expressions, play a significant role in sense making. Despite its significance, DI multimodality in general is still under-researched in the field of IS – with few, isolated exceptions (Wadensjö 2001; Bot 2005; Mason 2012; Davitti 2013). The growing number of projects and conferences devoted to multimodality seems however to indicate a turnaround in IS, where dialogue interpreters will no longer be "voices" but, to quote an expression used by Mondada (2014) in reference to other types of talk, "bodies in interaction".

2. The social turn: interpreting goes social

Despite their almost infant-like stage, DI studies account for a significant body of research when considering the many denominations they have been published under, such as "liaison interpreting" (Gentile *et al.* 1996), "community interpreting" (e.g. Hale 2007; Hlavac 2010; Wadensjö 2011; Remael/Carroll 2015), and/or "public service interpreting" (e.g. Corsellis 2008; Hale 2011; Valero-Garcés 2014). The initial tendency of identifying this kind of interpreting with the work setting in which it is performed may be linked to dialogue interpreter's behaviour, which, more than others, is strongly dependent on the implication "of a basic option as to what [they] are there for" (Marzocchi 2005: 102). In other words, DI does not happen in a "social vacuum" (Wadensjö 1998: 8) and is inextricably linked to specific environments and their norms, demands and needs. Taking the newly published *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies* as the most up-to-date and authoritative point of reference for defining IS concepts, we find that Merlini's (2015) entry on DI takes it as fundamentally linked to the community and/or public service environment, which involves a series of rules and conventionally accepted behaviours within the relevant institution, society and/or community. As a result, DI varies greatly at national and geographical level, being subject to local as well as international factors. Such variety of contexts is the reason why sufficiently flexible and wide-ranging international standards have not yet materialised (Remael/Carroll 2015) and the few existing ones either specifically deal with one setting at a time or overtly declare that – although aiming at comprehensiveness – some settings are not as represented as others, mainly due to varying requirements depending on national legislation, case law and/or other rules (e.g. García-Beyaerr *et al.* 2015).

Despite such stark differences, there is at least one aspect research on DI real-life data has highlighted unanimously: day-to-day practice is in contrast with the principle of interpreters' invisibility. Interpreters in community settings are co-participants and co-constructors of meaning, and yet non-personhood still prevails as an inherent element of the social role of the interpreter – at least in abstract terms (cf. Wadensjö 2008) and in many professional codes of conduct (AUSIT 2009). Furthermore, this issue appears to be much more complex and multifaceted than a simple polarisation of visible vs. invisible – and the parallel traditional dichotomy of impartial vs. cultural advocate model. As Martínez-Gómez (this issue) maintains, echoing Metzger (1999) and her interpreter's paradox, invisibility is traditionally linked to the perception of moral correctness rather than empirical evidence – and is endorsed and enforced through training and professional ethics. This is why we felt that reference to non-professional DI practitioners had to be necessarily included in this Issue: non-professional interpreters lack exposure to the invisibility discourse and their behaviour may shed light on the constructions of one's own interpreter role based on actual interaction rather than acquired norms.

Even in cases where the highest possible degree of invisibility – or neutrality or impartiality – is achieved, institutional talk implies that at least one participant in the encounter is in charge of monitoring compliance with pre-established routines. In bilingual encounters this gate-keeping function is necessarily shared by institutional representatives and interpreters – who are therefore required to exert at least some form of control. As Solomon (1997: 91) puts it, referring to the medical setting, the focus "should not be on maintaining a distant neutrality, but on building shared meaning", thus allowing interpreters to "provide additional context, to say more than the physician may have said, or to ask questions of the physician that the patient might not have asked".

In countries where dialogue interpreters are seen as an integral part of the public services network, and their tasks are guided by official codes of ethics (e.g. AUSIT), the issue of coordination has been dealt with in detail, almost to the point of turning such codes into a sort of instruction manuals covering as many situations as possible. And yet, albeit useful in most cases, providing instructions hardly solves the issue of liability dialogue interpreters' participation entails. Dialogue interpreters are likely to "find [themselves] in delicate, uncomfortable situations, the results of which are manifested in many, often subtle ways", where "wide cultural gaps, power imbalance, urgent communication needs, lack of resources, lack of professional profile" create a constellation of circumstances "in which it would be difficult for any human being to remain unperturbed" (Martin/Valero-Garcés 2008: 2). And when ethics, rather than mere procedural cues, are concerned, how can the interplay between participation, agency and empowerment of the individual be regulated – and to what extent? While a number of studies have sufficiently showed what is incompatible with the 'neutrality' principle many codes of conduct are still anchored to (cf. Angelelli 2006 for a discussion), further empirical evidence is still needed to learn more about how interpreters build shared meaning (cf. Solomon 1997: 91-92) and "mediate" to handle or prevent conflicts but also, and mainly, misunderstandings (cf. Davitti 2013: 171). Contributions to the present Issue deal with these questions in different ways and from different angles, yet the invariable starting point of investigation is always communication and the achievement of shared (relevant) knowledge by all participants in the interaction. Shared knowledge, and possibly shared perspectives, inevitably depend on the presence of a common ground between parties speaking different languages and belonging to different cultures, highlighting the connection between coordination and intercultural mediation (cf. Baraldi/Gavioli 2012). According to Merlini (2015), mediation in this sense equates to a "double angle" kind of participation, with interpreters becoming "fully involved in the interaction as social actors in their own right", whose involvement "may foster – or thwart – agency by primary participants".

Influencing interlocutors' agency brings us back to the aspect of accuracy in relaying primary speakers' talk (cf. Baraldi/Gavioli 2014). As highlighted in this Issue (e.g. Gavioli, Martínez-Goméz, Merlini/Gatti, Nartwoska), dialogue interpreters often behave as *communication facilitators*, in other words experts of intercultural interaction acting on their own responsibility and performing linguistic and cultural mediation to provide effective communication. They are actively involved in the interaction at verbal level and are visible throughout the exchange thanks to interpreter-initiated clarification procedures.

3. An initial conclusion

If interpreting has gone "social" (cf. Pöchhacker 2006; Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012), and is now qualified as *interaction*, *mediation*, and also *intervention* (cf. Gavioli/Maxwell 2007; Katan 2011), we currently lack authentic material regarding how this turn unfolds in practice and affects training. It is therefore our belief that both practice and training can highly benefit from accurate analyses of actual occurrences of interaction. And "while it is true that interactional occurrences are not generalizable", as Baraldi and Luppi (2015: 597) remind us, "they provide cases that can be fruitfully discussed by trainers and trainees", or among practitioners. We tend to agree with Merlini/Gatti and Vargas Urpi (this issue) on the appropriateness of a more comprehensive analysis of the interpreter at work, where the close-up observation of transcribed interactions goes along with more distanced analysis of DI events and participants by means of other analytical tools. For instance, questionnaire-based investigations in this Issue provide useful additional insights, showing that what interpreters do in practice may have less to do with their university degree than with a difficulty in understanding who they are as professionals in a given situation and, consequently, what they shall do. To quote just one of the respondents to Vargas-Urpi's survey, "She acknowledged not knowing how to introduce herself to Chinese users, as she did not feel comfortable with the label either of interpreter or of intercultural mediator, and sometimes just said *I will help you*". The italics in the original brings us back to the idea of service to one (or more) users, the "you" who are there with a specific goal (or set of goals) in mind and who equally participate in constructing meaning in the interaction. Hence the importance of promoting collaboration between universities training interpreters and services employing them, because if it is true that (dialogue) interpreting is done together, it is also true that one cannot avoid training those users who also contribute, with their (re)actions, to construing it. While understandably focusing on interpreters, this dedicated Issue also acknowledges that quality is a shared responsibility (cf. Hale *et al.* 2009; SIGTIPS 2011) and gives space to the other people involved. This is why the label *Dialogue* Interpreting has been chosen in the first place.

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The role of the court interpreter: a powerless or powerful participant in criminal proceedings?

Karolina Nartowska
University of Vienna (Austria)

Abstract

The interpreter's activity in a courtroom bilingual context is of fundamental importance for understanding to be achieved between the participants of legal proceedings. Although the key position of the interpreter in any legal process results from legal provisions, his/her role as court interpreter is defined differently: interpreters are perceived as invisible persons in the courtroom, intermediaries in communication, experts of language and culture or visible and active partners in communication. This paper analyses what actual role is played by an interpreter in judicial interaction. For this reason two transcriptions of audio recorded criminal hearings involving interpreters in Austrian and Polish courts were subjected to Critical Discourse Analysis. The analysis showed that the appointed interpreters are independent and active participants of the interaction who also play roles unrelated to their professional role and change the course of the proceedings through their own interventions.

Introduction

In the globalised world and especially in the united Europe of the 21st century, court proceedings involving an interpreter are not rare but have rather become a permanent element of everyday judicial life. Thus, the interests of a person speaking a foreign language who has to stand before a court are given much attention today on both the international and community level. 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 as well as the European Convention for Human Rights (art. 6, par. 3 of the ECHR) in force for over 60 years, guarantee the right to interpretation and translation for each person charged or accused who does not speak or understand the language of the criminal proceeding.

Interpreters are joining the footlights: the right to oral interpretation is an indispensable element of a fair trial. Interpreters should guarantee a person speaking a foreign language the right to ask questions, the right to an effective defence and also allow their presentation of the case as well as active participation in the trial. At the same time, interpreters enable communication in the courtroom and support the court in the process of establishing the truth and case law. Therefore, interpreters occupy a key position in bilingual court proceedings.

Despite the key position of court interpreters resulting from legal provisions, demands attempting to limit the central role of interpreters and reduce their activities in the courtroom to a minimum are still present. Therefore, this article will examine what is the actual role of a court interpreter as a key person in bilingual criminal proceedings. The strategies undertaken by appointed interpreters in order to enable communication in the courtroom and the extent of their active participation in the proceedings of a given court interaction will be analysed based on authentic data from interpreter-mediated hearings at an Austrian and a Polish criminal court.

1. The role of court interpreter

1.1 From a transmitting medium to an expert in intercultural communication

In theoretical literature on court interpretation[1] there is a consensus that the interpreter should remove the language barriers between the participants of proceedings and enable communication between the parties. The discussion, however, is about how this assignment is to be completed.

In the legal tradition of Anglo-American countries there is the widespread view that court interpreters must limit their activity to faithful and verbatim rendition of what is said in the courtroom (including Edwards 1995; González *et al*. 1991; Mikkelson 1998; Schweda Nicholson 1989). The interpreter's role is to transfer the person speaking a foreign language into the same position of a person who understands the language of proceedings, and not into a more or less favourable position. It is in this way that the role of a powerless and invisible interpreter in the courtroom is postulated. S/he must only function as a transmitting medium or "a linguistic conduit" (González *et al*. 1991: 156) and therefore

1 Whereas, as Hale (2008: 101) points out, most of the postulated opinions "are based solely on personal preferences and ideologies, some on descriptive studies of the current state of affairs, but very few on research that looks at the consequences of each of the roles proposed".

not add anything, leave anything out nor explain cultural differences during interpretation.[2]

However, some Anglo-American authors (Colin/Morris 1996; de Jongh 1992; Hale 2004; Laster/Taylor 1994; Morris 1995) hold the opinion that interpretation of only the language for a given statement is not sufficient to convey its overall meaning. Therefore, in their opinion interpreters should serve as communication facilitators who not only will translate the full content of a statement but the intention of the person speaking as well; none the less, court interpreters are not "cultural experts" in their opinion (Laster/Taylor 1994: 126).

In the countries of continental law, court interpreters are granted a lot of leeway: interpreters are independent experts in intercultural communication which entitles them to independently act in the courtroom on their own responsibility (*inter al*. Driesen 2006; Kadrić 2009; Niska 1995). The interpreter's objective is to provide "*effective* communication" in the courtroom [italics as in the original] (Kadrić 2009: 25) whereby the interests of all parties in the proceeding must be taken into account: on the one hand the court as an institution must receive all relevant information necessary to achieve its objective and on the other hand a person speaking a foreign language must be able to fully understand the proceedings as well as be understood in his or her own case.[3] For the interpreter it means that his/her actions in the courtroom may not be limited only to rendering in the target language what was said in the original language but s/he must also include broad linguistic mediation (primarily translation of texts, identification of documents in foreign languages at the proceedings) and cultural mediation (taking a stand regarding these texts, their contexts and also in relation to certain culturally conditioned situations and behaviours) (cf. Kadrić 2009: 28).

1.2 A visible and active participant of the proceeding

Empirical surveys on the role of court interpreter (Berk-Seligson 1990; Hale 2004; Jansen 1995; Kadrić 2009; Nartowska 2014a, 2014b; Niska 1995) show that the interpreter in the courtroom is visible, is an "active verbal participant in the interaction" (Berk-Seligson 1990: 64) and has an impact on the proceedings. The interpreter's visibility is presented by, among others, numerous "clarification

2 This way of perceiving the role of court interpreter is also supported by the lawyers in common law countries (Hale 2007; Ibrahim/Bell 2003; Laster/Taylor 1994; Lee 2009; Morris 1993, 1995, 1999) and Poland (Mendel 2011; Stawecka 2010) who only see interpreters as "interpreting machines" or "invisible persons". This view is closely related with the lawyers' demand that: "when rendering meaning from one language to another, court interpreters are not to *interpret* – […] but to *translate* – a term which is defined […] as rendering the speaker's words verbatim" [italics as in the original] (Morris 1995: 26).

3 It is clear from the mentioned legal provisions: the court interpreter as the guardian of human rights through "adequate linguistic assistance" is to ensure that a person speaking a foreign language is able to "fully to exercise [his/her] right of defence and safeguarding the fairness of the proceedings" (point 17 of Directive 2010/64/EU).

procedures" (Berk-Seligson 1990: 86) which are undertaken by interpreters due to the nature of the mediated communication. For example, if the judge's question or the statement of the person speaking a foreign language requires clarification, the interpreters actively intervene in the interaction and attempt to dispel doubts by asking additional questions. The same applies to the explanations, comments or additional information provided by interpreters.

The interpreter's participation in court proceedings above all leads to changes in the typical setting of participants defined by the provisions of law and the related system of power (Berk-Seligson 1990; Fenton 1997; Hale 2004; Kadrić 2009; Morris 1993; Nartowska 2014b). In monolingual court proceedings the authority and control over the spoken word and the course of the proceedings are in the hands of the institution representatives, mainly the presiding judges. In proceedings with a person speaking a foreign language the lawyers' control is suspended due to the language barrier and since communication is only possible through an interpreter, the lawyers are forced to cede part of their power to the interpreter. The fact that the interpreter rather than the judge is asking questions to the person speaking a foreign language causes the interpreter to be a participant in the proceedings with the powers and authority of a lawyer in the eyes of a foreigner (cf. Fenton 1997: 31).

Moreover, the power of the interpreter is manifested in the coordination procedures undertaken: since the only person who understands the language of the foreigner is the interpreter, the course of the foreigner's testimonies is controlled by the interpreter in the role of judge (e.g. by calling him or her to answer, to repeat the statement or to be silent) (cf. Berk-Seligson 1990; Kadrić 2009).[4] In this way the interpreter contributes to a smooth and efficient court hearing but at the same time performs "a measure of linguistic coercion" (Berk-Seligson 1990: 96) and has authority over the person speaking a foreign language.

Court interpreters have the authority to actively intervene in the original statements of the proceedings' participants (Berk-Seligson 1990; Hale 2004; Kadrić 2009; Nartowska 2014b): on the one hand they may intervene with the lawyers' questions, changing their purpose which is beyond the lawyers' control, and on the other hand they may intervene with the answers provided by the person speaking a foreign language. Through modification of the language style or register of the original utterance of an accused person speaking a foreign language, interpreters may affect its assessment by lawyers in a negative way. Interpreters become therefore "power figure[s]" in the courtroom "in control of the language, in control of two languages in fact, monopolizing the means of communication" (Fenton 1997: 30).

4 Kadrić's (2009) analysis showed that if court interpreters do not demonstrate their own initiative in the courtroom and do not take the necessary actions of coordination or fail to express necessary explanations, communication problems and misunderstandings result which influence the interaction. This leads to the conclusion that court interpreters may have an influence over the course of proceedings not only by being active but by being passive as well.

2. Data

The data for this analysis come from two court proceedings which took place in the National Court for Criminal Cases in Vienna, Austria, and in the District Court in Głubczyce, Poland, with the participation of an interpreter of Polish and German languages respectively. The corpus consisting only of two case studies is due to the difficulty of gaining access to live courtroom proceedings and getting permission to record them. The analysis based on the work of two court interpreters does not allow drawing general conclusions, but can hopefully provide a basis for further research taking into account a greater number of interpreters.

Both hearings were audio recorded and an observation protocol was drawn up of the course of proceedings in each case. The recorded hearings were transcribed on a computer using EXMARaLDA software according to the HIAT transcription system (Ehlich/Rehbein 1976).[5] HIAT transcription conventions[6] were applied with the purpose of obtaining a detailed and natural reconstruction of the entire court interaction. Therefore, the elements of oral communication such as hesitation, thinking out loud, self-corrections and wording in dialect were reflected in the transcriptions as precisely as possible.[7] The translation of all Polish sequences into German and the English version provided directly below are philological translations of the original expressions that try to convey the meaning of the statements as closely as possible, taking into account all linguistic errors. Passages in German dialect are rendered in Standard English. All names and data subject to data protection were anonymised by replacing them with other names or symbols.

5 HIAT is the acronym for "Halbinterpretative Arbeitstranskriptionen", in English "Semi-interpretative working-transcriptions". The characteristic feature of this transcription method is the record of natural communication in the form of a score, by which it is possible to represent the multi-dimensionality of the interaction. On the one hand the score notation allows accurate reproduction of individual statements of participants of the interactions and on the other hand the actions of several participants simultaneously, such as overlapping speech events, interrupting, etc.

6 The following transcription conventions were applied:

- • a micropause
- •• a break up to 0.5 second
- ••• a break up to 1 second
- ... a break in utterance
- / false starts
- institution emphasis
- () hardly audible
- (()) inaudible
- ((whispers)) non-verbal features or explanatory comments
- CAPITALS anonymous information

7 Each participant in the interaction is assigned a line, a so-called verbal track [v], containing the original statement. Its translation is marked as follows: German language [de] and English language [en]. The track [k] contains comments and aspects of non-verbal communication.

In the cited examples of court proceedings the following persons are involved: J = judge, Pr = prosecutor, D = defender, Def = defendant, I (1, 2) = interpreter. The appointed interpreters are sworn translators or certified court interpreters and both have received specific university education for interpreters of the given country.[8] The difference between them is, however, in professional experience: the Polish language interpreter has very little experience in (court) interpreting, whereas the interpreter in the Austrian proceedings has over 35 years of documented experience in interpretation and considers the National Court for Criminal Cases as his second home.

The transcriptions of the hearings were subjected to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) according to Fairclough (1995, 1998, 2001), where a discourse is considered as “a form of social practice” (Fairclough 1995: 131). The CDA focuses therefore on the examination of the dialectical relationship between the use of language and social structures: “Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it” (Fairclough/Wodak 1997: 258). Since CDA is primarily concerned with revealing existing relationships of authority and control, it seems to be a particularly suitable tool for the analysis of translation action in the institutional and strongly formalised context of criminal court proceedings.

3. The power and powerlessness of the interpreter in the courtroom

3.1 “He did not get ehh…?”

The following example from Polish court proceedings illustrates strategies used by an appointed interpreter during interpretation of monological stages of the hearing:

Excerpt 1:
[47]

J [v]	• • • Yhm. ((1,6s))	Dobrze, w takim razie proszę o odczytanie aktu
J [de]	• • • Mhm.	Gut, dann ersuche ich um die Verlesung der Anklageschrift.
J [en]	• • • Um.	Well, in that case, please read the indictment.

8 The Austrian interpreter graduated in Translation Studies; the Polish interpreter first graduated from a five-year study of German Philology and then from a two-year postgraduate course for translators and interpreters.

[48]

J [v]	oskarżenia.
I1 [v]	Also jetzt wird • Anklageschrift... My możem/ możemy
I1 [de]	Wir könne/ können wir uns
I1 [en]	So now is being (read) • the indictment... We can/ can we sit
Pr [v]	Oskarżam Karla Fischer • o to, żee: • • w dniu DZIEŃ
Pr [de]	Ich klage Karl Fischer • deswegen an, daass er: • • am TAG
Pr [en]	I accuse Karl Fischer • because of this, thaat he : • • on the date DAY

[49]

I1 [v]	usiąść? Wir können jetzt sitzen. ((2s)) Und jetzt ist diese... ((1,6s))
I1 [de]	hinsetzen?
I1 [en]	down? We can now sit. And now is the...
I1 [k]	((whispers)) ((whispers))
Pr [v]	MIESIĄC ROK w miejscowości NAZWA, gmina Głubczyce,
Pr [de]	MONAT JAHR in der Ortschaft ORTSNAME, Gemeinde Głubczyce,
Pr [en]	MONTH YEAR in the city NAME, the municipality of Głubczyce,

[50]

I1 [v]	diese/ • • das hier (()) vorgelesen • • (()) und das. Nie
I1 [de]	Hat
I1 [en]	the/ • • this here (()) reading out loud • • (()) and this. He
Pr [v]	naruszył zasady bezpieczeństwa w ruchu drogowym w ten sposób, że
Pr [de]	Sicherheitsvorschriften im Straßenverkehr so verletzte, dass indem
Pr [en]	violated road safety rules in this way, that

[51]

I1 [v]	dostal yyy...?
I1 [de]	er nicht bekommen ääh...?
I1 [en]	did not get ehh...?
D [v]	Skróconą
D [de]	Eine
D [en]	The
Pr [v]	kierując samochodem osobowym marki MODEL POJAZDU NUMER
Pr [de]	er den Personenkraftwagen der Marke FAHRZEUGMODELL KENNZEICHEN
Pr [en]	driving passenger car MODEL VEHICLE REGISTRATION

[52]

D [v]	wersję.	
D [de]	verkürzte Fassung.	
D [en]	shortened version.	
Pr [v]	REJESTRACJI • • •	na prostym odcinku drogi nie zachował należytej
Pr [de]	lenkte und • • •	auf einem geraden Straßenabschnitt die erfordeliche Vorsicht nicht
Pr [en]	NUMBER • • •	on a straight stretch of road did not maintain due precaution

[53]

I1 [v]		Das ist das hier.
I1 [de]		This is this here.
Pr [v]	ostrożności podczas wykonywania manewru wyprzedzania najechał na	
Pr [de]	beachtete bei der Ausführung des Überholungsmanövers fuhr er die mit dem Fahrrad	
Pr [en]	during passing maneuver drove over	

After completion of the hearing of the German-speaking defendant, the judge asks the prosecutor to read the indictment (lines 47-48). The interpreter, who is sitting in the dock right next to the defendant, does not literally interpret the judge's request in Polish but informs the defendant of what will happen next ("So now is being (read) • the indictment…") trying to integrate him into the action. After a moment however, when the prosecutor stands up and starts to read the indictment (line 48) the interpreter suddenly interrupts her comments. In addition, confused by the fact that all other participants (except the prosecutor) are sitting while she and the defendant remain standing, the interpreter asks the defender in the front bench if both of them may sit down (lines 48-49). This request indicates the interpreter's lack of knowledge of court procedure. Only when the defender nods affirmatively does the interpreter inform the defendant by whispering and both of them take their places again (line 49).

In the meantime the prosecutor reads facts about the time and place of the incident and then moves to the defendant's misconduct which is violation of road safety rules (lines 49-50). The defendant does not participate in this official stage because the interpreter does not inform him of what is being read in any way, although she seems to follow the reading of the indictment. After a two-seconds break the interpreter only informs the defendant: "And now is the…" but does not finish her sentence. Then she refrains from commenting as she tries to search among the defendant's documents for the fragment which is being read out in order to bring his attention to it eventually ("the/ • • this here (()) reading out loud • • (()) and this"). The false start and numerous demonstrative pronouns indicate the interpreter's difficulties with the interpretation of legal terminology.

Since the defendant does not respond to the interpreter's actions, the interpreter, disregarding the circumstances, addresses the defender again asking him if the defendant received a copy of the indictment (lines 50-51). Sudden discontinuation of the question confirms that the interpreter is not proficient in legal terminology or does not remember the term "indictment". Her decision to ask the defender again proves that she is afraid of the consequences of not interpreting the indictment. If the defendant were to later report that he had not understood everything or did not understand it properly, the interpreter would be discredited.

The defender's reply that the defendant received the shortened version of the indictment (lines 51-52) seems to calm and satisfy the interpreter because she no longer bothers to interpret the content of the indictment to the defendant. Once more she shows the defendant the fragment of the text she found (line 53), ignoring the prosecutor's speech. Her conversation with the defender remains incomprehensible to the defendant as well.

The interpreter refrains completely from providing a simultaneous interpretation of the course of events despite her most favourable position in the courtroom. The interpretation is first replaced by her own uninformative comments and then with the fragments of text she found, therefore, delegating the responsibility of understanding to the defendant. Since the reading of the indictment was not communicated to the defendant in any form, he is unable to take part in the judicial interaction.

3.2 "You took a swing, you wanted to hit the policeman"

The Polish-speaking defendant is also excluded from court discourse and interaction for an even longer period at the Austrian court hearing, primarily during the 28 minutes of the hearing of witnesses. Five witnesses were questioned in all, including three policemen who spoke in dialect and partially in professional jargon as well. The interpreter who took a seat next to the judge was not able to interpret simultaneously due to the long distance from the defendant who was sitting in the dock. However, the interpreter took no initiative after the hearing was closed and neither did he interpret statements consecutively, nor sum them up. In spite of this, the judge directly communicates with the defendant, clearly expecting him to take a stand:

Excerpt 2:

[241]

J [v]	Sooo. ((1,3s)) Na ja, Herr Krawczyk,	
J [en]	Sooo.	Well, Mister Krawczyk,

[242]

J [v]	jetzt haben Sie einige Zeugen gehört, ja? Was/ was sagenS dazu? Kann das		
J [en]	now you have heard several witnesses, yes?	What/ what do you say to that?	Can it
D [v]			Na,
D [en]			No,

[243]

J [v]	stimmen, was sie gesagt haben?	Haben Sie das verstanden, was die
J [en]	be true, what they said?	Did you understand, what all the
D [v]	haben Sie des verstaunden überhaupt?	
D [en]	did you understand anything at all?	

[244]

J [v]	Zeugen alle gesagt haben?		Ja? Kann das stimmen, was die gsagt
J [en]	witnesses have said?		Yes? Can it be true, what they
Def [v]		Ja.	
Def [en]		Yes.	
Def [k]		((very quietly))	

[245]

J [v]	haben?		Zuerst die Drohungen, auf der
J [en]	said?		First these threats, on the
I2 [v]	((2,3s))	Czy to się może zgadzać, co świadkowie zezna/ jak	
I2 [de]		Kann das stimmen, was die Zeugen ausge/ wie die	
I2 [en]		Can it be true, what the witnesses testi/ how the	

[246]

J [v]	anderen Seite den einen Schlag da gegen den Polizisten versucht haben zu	
J [en]	other hand this one punch there (you) attempted to give that policeman.	
I2 [v]	świadkowie zeznawał/ co świadkowie zeznali?	Pan się
I2 [de]	Zeugen ausgesagt hat/ was die Zeugen ausgesagt haben?	Sie haben
I2 [en]	witnesses was testifying/ what the witnesses testified?	You took a swing,

[247]

J [v]	setzen.	
I2 [v]	zamachnął, chciał	zadać cios policjantowi.
I2 [de]	ausgeholt, wollten dem Polizisten einen Schlag versetzen.	
I2 [en]	you wanted to hit the policeman.	

The questions by the judge to the defendant concerning the testimonies which were heard (lines 242-244) show that the judge is presiding over the proceedings as though they were a monolingual hearing. The judge also assumes that the defendant was able to follow and most of all to understand the course of the proceedings regardless of the fact that the interpreter has completely withdrawn from the interaction. It is therefore not surprising that the defender reacts energetically and is aware of an existing language barrier for the defendant by raising an objection ("No") and then asking the defendant if he understood the hearing of the witnesses at all (line 244) before the judge ends his statement. The interpreter is passive and does not attempt to interpret questions for the defendant.

The judge immediately picks up the defender's question whether the defendant understood what all the witnesses said or not (lines 244-245). The interpreter, however, still does not react.

Without the interpreter's help the defendant appears to understand that the questions are directed at him because he finally answers "yes" (line 244) but he says it quietly and unconvincingly, so that it may be assumed that his answer is forced and does not correspond to the facts. The judge not hearing the defendant's answer repeats the question as to whether what the witnesses said is true (lines 245-246). This time the defendant does not respond. It is possible that he feels frightened by the situation or intimidated by the difficulties related to understanding the German language which he fears to admit openly. It is also possible that he does not even understand the questions which are now being asked.

Although the interpreter's intervention is clearly expected, he remains passive. What causes the interpreter's restraint is not clear. The interpreter decides to step in after a long pause (2.3 sec) when there is no reaction from the defendant. However, the interpreter omits to translate the repeated question as to whether the defendant understands and only translates the last question by the judge: "Can it be true, what the witnesses testi/ how the witnesses was testifying/ what the witnesses testified?". Perhaps the omission is caused by the interpreter's assumption that the defendant – despite apparent difficulties – is able to understand the courtroom's course of events. It is more likely, however, that the interpreter fears losing his face, thus, the omission is deliberate. If the defendant had officially admitted that he did not understand the testimonies of the witnesses, the responsibility for this fact would have fallen on the interpreter. A consecutive interpretation of the entire hearing of the witnesses would have been quite a challenge for the interpreter, especially as he took no notes. This may also be indicated by the very apparent nervousness (numerous corrections of his own expressions) on behalf of the interpreter who at other times behaved very confidently in the courtroom.

The interpreter's question, however, remains unanswered because the judge speaks again and clarifies what the last question referred to, namely: the defendant's threatening behaviour and attempt to hit the policeman (lines 245-246). The judge is apparently aware of the defendant's language difficulty which is why he summarises the entire hearing of witnesses in one explanatory statement. Thus, on the one hand the judge provides the defendant with a specific reference point, and on the other hand he allows the interpreter to correct his mistake by supplementation of the defendant's deficit of knowledge.

The interpreter, however, not only loses the opportunity granted but he also frustrates the intended purpose of the judge. His interpretation: "You took a swing, you wanted to hit the policeman" contains only the second quite modified part of the judge's speech, while the first point mentioned, which is threatening behaviour, was omitted in the rendition – probably due to the overlap of both statements. It appears that the interpreter is aware that the original sentence consisted of two parts, therefore, he tries to compensate by adding his own words ("You took a swing"). It is also possible that the interpreter's own comment is meant to emphasise the criminal offense committed by the defendant, as also confirmed by the use of words: "wanted to hit" while the judge only mentioned an "attempt" to hit. In this way, in the translation into Polish the defendant becomes the only agent accused by the interpreter on the latter's initiative.

Increased knowledge among the participants of the proceedings is not gained by the interpreter's interference with the judge's statement summarising the testimonies of the witnesses, nor does the defendant receive a reference point to take a position but is confronted with the interpreter's accusation. The interpreter changes the purpose of the judge's words, and also affects the entire interaction, because afterwards the defendant does not answer the judge's question but defends himself against the interpreter's accusation.

3.3 "And where then • • exactly?"

In the proceedings under analysis in the following example from a Polish court, the interpreter's interventions in the judicial interaction are of a different nature. As shown the interpreter assumes the role of the judge and presides the hearing on her own initiative:

Excerpt 3:

[30]

J [v]	Yhm. ((2,1s)) Yy Czy oskarżony pracuje obecnie?		
J [de]	Mhm.	Äh arbeitet der Angeklagte derzeit?	
J [en]	Um.	Eh does the accused currently work?	
I1 [v]			Äh Sind Sie jetzt ääh/ also
I1 [en]			Eh are you now ehh/ so

[31]

Def [v]		Ja, ich arbeite als ääh Rohrreiniger.		Ja.	
Def [en]		Yes, I work as ehh a pipe cleaner.		Yes.	
I1 [v]	arbeiten Sie jetzt?		Sie sind jetzt beschäftigt?		Yy tak,
I1 [de]					Äh ja,
I1 [en]	do you work now?		You are now employed?		Eh yes,

[32]

Def [v]			Ja. • • • (Inst...)	
Def [en]			Yes. • • • (Plum...)	
I1 [v]	jest teraz zatrudniony jako	• • • eee pff eeh • • •		y czyszczenie yy
I1 [de]	er ist jetzt beschäftigt als	• • • äää pff ääh • • •		äh Reinigung ää
I1 [en]	he is now employed as	• • • eee pff eeh • • •		eh cleaning eh

[33]

J [v]		Yhm.
J [de]		Mhm.
J [en]		Um.
I1 [v]	instalacji y czy rur kanalizacyjnych prawdopodobnie chyba, tak?	
I1 [de]	von Installationen äh oder Abwasserrohren wahrscheinlich wohl, ja?	
I1 [en]	of installation eh or sewer pipes likely maybe, yes?	

[34]

J [v]	• • • A gdzie?			
J [de]	• • • Und wo?			
J [en]	• • • And where?			
Def [v]			Auch in STADT.	
Def [en]			Also in CITY.	
I1 [v]		Und wo denn • • genau?		W MIASTO.
I1 [de]				In STADT.
I1 [en]		And where then • • exactly?		In CITY.

[35]

J [v]	Yhm.			
J [de]	Mhm.			
J [en]	Um.			
Def [v]				Die
Def [en]				The
I1 [v]		Und ich meine/ Anstaltsname, • • glaub ich, is(t)...	• • • wo Sie	
I1 [en]		And I mean/ the name of the institution, • • I think, is...	• • • where do	

[36]

Def [v]	Firma?		• • Das ist die ääh Karl Fischer GmbH.	
Def [en]	company?		• • It is ehh Karl Fischer GmbH.	
I1 [v]	arbeiten.	Yhm.		• • Ee Karl Fischer e
I1 [de]		Mhm.		• • Äh Karl Fischer ä
I1 [en]	you work.	Um.		• • Eh Karl Fischer e

[37]

J [v]		Yhm.	((7s))
J [de]		Mhm.	
J [en]		Um.	
I1 [v]	GmbH, czyli spółka z o.o. Tak się nazywa firma.		
I1 [de]	GmbH, also Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung. So heißt die Firma.		
I1 [en]	GmbH, meaning a limited company. That is the name of the company.		

After explaining the question on whether the defendant currently works (lines 30-33), the judge wants to know where the defendant works ("And where?"), which the interpreter translates as: "And where then • • exactly?". By independently adding the adverb "exactly" the interpreter implies that the defendant is expected to give a precise answer. The defendant briefly answers by giving the name of the same city he was born in and where he currently lives which is eventually translated for the court (line 34). Although the judge has already accepted the given answer ("Um") the interpreter independently asks the defendant: "And I mean/ the name of the institution, • • I think, is... • • • where do you work?". The interpreter requests detailed information from the defendant although from the questions asked by the judge it is not clear whether she meant the city or the defendant's place of work. This ambiguity is perceived also by the interpreter ("I think"). On the one hand the interpreter shows her own initiative and on the other hand she is not certain of her actions which comes to light through her numerous pauses, corrections and interrupted sentences, as well as her unawareness that she speaks in her own name ("I mean", "I think"). The phrase "the name of the institution" which is incomprehensible to the defendant and used by the interpreter seems to be so vague for her that she adds a clarifying explanation ("where do you work?"). At the same moment the defendant reports difficulty in understanding the interpreter by asking if she means a company (lines 35-36). The interpreter confirms this and then obtains the desired answer from the defendant (line 36).

The interpreter first gives the court the name of the company in its original form ("• • Eh Karl Fischer e GmbH") and then explains the German abbreviation for the kind of company by translating it literally into Polish ("meaning a limited company"). Since the interpreter is still uncertain if she is being correctly understood, she adds her own explanatory comment that it is the name of the company ("That is the name of the company"). This comment has also a justifying character, because it was not the judge but the interpreter who asked the defendant this question, thus the interpreter feels obliged to justify this short dialogue with the defendant.

The interpreter usurps the judge's position and authority by her intervention in the interaction between the judge and the defendant. At the same time she changes the common structure of a hearing and alters its course.

3.4 "There was my girl also there"

The following example illustrates the interpreter's involvement in the Polish defendant's statements during Austrian court proceeding:

Excerpt 4:

[107]

J [v]	• • So, Herr Krawczyk! Bekennen Sie
J [en]	• • So, Mister Krawczyk! Do you plead

[108]

J [v]	sich schuldig, nicht schuldig oder teilweise schuldig?
J [en]	guilty, you don't plead or do you partially plead guilty?
I2 [v]	((1,6s)) Przyznaje się
I2 [de]	Bekennen Sie sich
I2 [en]	Do you fully

[109]

I2 [v]	Pan do winy całkowicie, częściowo czy w ogóle nie?
I2 [de]	völlig schuldig, teilweise oder überhaupt nicht?
I2 [en]	plead guilty, partially or not at all?
Def [v]	• • • Yym • • • przyznaję
Def [de]	• • • Ähm • • • ich bekenne mich
Def [en]	• • • Um • • • I plead

[110]

J [v]			• • Mhm̌.
J [en]			• • Hm.
I2 [v]		Ich bekenne mich schuldig.	
I2 [en]		I plead guilty.	
Def [v]	sięę...		Ymm • • za dużo wypiłem,
Def [de]	schuuldig...		Ähmm • • ich habe zu viel getrunken,
Def [en]	guiltyy...		Umm • • I drank too much,

[111]

I2 [v]	Ich habe zu viel getrunken.		Ich weiß nicht,	
I2 [en]	I drank too much.		I don't know,	
Def [v]	ponieważ...	((1,2s)) Nie wiem,		dlaczegoo • • •
Def [de]	weil...	Ich weiß nicht,		waruum • • •
Def [en]	because...	I don't know,		whyy • • •
Def [k]		((nervous))		

[112]

I2 [v]		warum das so passiert ist.	Ich
I2 [en]		why it so happened.	I didn't
Def [v]	tak się stało, że...	Nie um/ nie chciałem yy zrobić	
Def [de]	das so passiert ist, dass...	Ich ka/ ich wollte nicht äh diesem	
Def [en]	it happened so, that...	I ca/ I didn't eh want to do anything	

[113]

I2 [v]	wollte nicht...	Da
I2 [en]	want...	There
Def [v]	temu człowiekowi... Mówiłem wam od ni/ (())... Była moja dziewczyna tam...	
Def [de]	Menschen (Leid) antun... Ich habe euch gesagt von ih/ (())... Es war meine Freundin dort...	
Def [en]	to that man... I told you from th/ (())... My girlfriend was there...	

[114]

I2 [v]	war mein Mädchen auch dabei.	
I2 [en]	was my girl also there.	
Def [v]		((1,5s)) Nie pamiętam, żebym się na tych
Def [de]		Ich kann mich nicht erinnern, dass ich mich auf
Def [en]		I don't remember, that I threw myself at

[115]

I2 [v]		Ich kann mich nicht erinnern, dass ich auf die
I2 [en]		I don't remember, that I attacked the
Def [v]	policjantów rzucał,	((2,6s))
Def [de]	die Polizisten geworfen habe,	
Def [en]	those police officers,	

[116]

J [v]			Langsam, langsam, langsam!
J [en]			Slowly, slowly, slowly!
I2 [v]	Polizisten losgegangen bin.		
I2 [en]	police officers.		
Def [v]		ale możliwe, że tak było.	
Def [de]		aber möglich, dass es so war.	
Def [en]		but possible, that it was like this.	

The judge starts the defendant's hearing with a question on whether the defendant pleads guilty (lines 107-108). Since the judge summarised the indictment in a comprehensible manner for the defendant at the beginning of the hearing, thereby forgoing the reading of the indictment by the prosecutor, he now expects a clear position from the defendant. Neither the judge, nor the other lawyers in the courtroom are aware of the fact that none of the points of the indictment were interpreted for the defendant. The interpreter continues not to provide interpretation (1.6 sec) as though he expects a reaction by the defendant's to the judge's question. Since the defendant does not respond, the interpreter interprets the question asked (lines 108-109), but in his rendition he leaves out the direct form in which the judge addresses the defendant without replacing it with some other form of courtesy which is more suitable in Polish culture.

The defendant begins to answer insecurely but immediately admits his guilt (lines 109-110). The interpreter this time does not delay the interpretation. On the contrary he does not wait for the defendant to complete his sentence but stops him and interprets his fragmentary utterance as a complete and forceful sounding sentence: "I plead guilty". The judge acknowledges the answer by "Hm" which motivates the defendant to speak further. The defendant states the reason for his misconduct as being alcoholic intoxication and tries to justify himself ("Um, I drank too much, because...") but he does not finish his utterance because the interpreter firmly interrupts him again and provides a ready-made full translation of the interrupted sentence (line 111).

The interpreter's importunity seems to intimidate and confuse the defendant who, clearly frustrated, decides to continue after a pause (1.2 sec). The defendant does not return, however, to the statement he started earlier but admits that he does not know "why it happened so, that..." The attempt to clarify what the defendant is referring to is again interrupted by the interpreter's insertion (lines 111-112). The defendant's utterance is incoherent and chaotic which is caused by the lack of a relevant point of reference because the indictment was not interpreted for him. The defendant is forced therefore to move in the dark. The continuous, aggressive interruptions of the interpreter continue to hinder his answer and completely confuse him.

The defendant's uncertainty and confusion is proven by his next statement: "I ca/ I didn't eh want to do anything to that man... I told you from th/ (())... My girlfriend was there..." and numerous false starts, corrections and unfinished sentences confirm his considerable nervousness. The defendant expresses repentance and then in his despair turns to the lawyers ("I told you") whom he believes united in the fight against him. At the end he mentions his girlfriend in order to communicate to the court that he was only spending his holidays in Austria and had no bad intentions.

The interpreter begins to translate the defendant's utterance but for unclear reasons interrupts the first part in which the defendant expressed repentance ("I didn't want to"). This action is surprising in that the interpreter up to this point in the proceedings had performed the opposite way round and had communicated the defendant's fragmented sentences as complete. Now the middle part of the defendant's utterance is completely omitted in translation. The interpreter renders only the last information that the defendant's girlfriend was "also there" (lines 113-114). Due to selective translation of the defendant's utterances by the interpreter and failed communication of their total content, the defendant's statements appear to be even more confusing and less meaningful in the German translation than in the original. However, the nature of the statement as well as the defendant's frustration and uncertainty are not rendered at all.

After a longer pause (1.5 sec) the defendant starts another thread, namely he does not remember that he threw himself at the police officers (lines 114-115). The interpreter consistently interrupts the defendant and translates the interrupted fragment as a complete sentence: "I don't remember, that I attacked the police officers". Moreover, he also changes the defendant's colloquial wording and raises the language register to probably match it with the official language of the institution. This time the defendant considers the completion of the utterance he started as important and adds right after the interpreter's rendition ends: "but possible, that it was like this". This addition is crucial because it constitutes the character of the defendant's entire utterance: despite the fact that due to alcoholic intoxication the defendant cannot recall what happened he does not deny it and clearly admits his guilt one more time. The interpreter, however, completely gives up translating this repentance which appears to be a particularly flagrant intervention in the original statement. The provided German translation of the fragment that the defendant does not remember attacking police officers means exactly the opposite, namely, the defendant does not admit guilt. In addition, the strong tone of the interpreter reinforces this impression.

The interpreter remains consistent with his strategy and repeatedly interrupts the defendant by dividing his statements. This makes the defendant's answer to the judge's question (which is already confusing due to lack of a point of reference), incomprehensible to the German-speaking lawyers. The lawyers attribute responsibility for the inconsistent statements to the defendant since they are unaware of the interpreter's actions. The interpreter's most serious intervention is omission of the defendant's utterances in which he admits guilt as well as expresses repentance, while instead giving the court the opposite impression that the defendant does not admit to guilt. In this way the interpreter questions the defendant's credibility and has a negative influence on his image in the eyes of the lawyers. Through the manipulative translation of pleading guilty, which is a mitigating factor, the interpreter probably also influences the course of further proceedings. Furthermore, the interpreter not only interferes with the content of the speech but with its nature as well, providing the court with a distorted image of the defendant, who is presented in the German interpretation as sovereign and self-confident.

3.5 “On behalf of the Republic of Poland”

The interpreter in the Polish court proceedings of the next example also intervenes and modifies original statements. In this case it is the content of the judgement read by the judge:

Excerpt 5:

[106]

J [v]	((1,3s)) Ee wyrok w imieniu
J [de]	Äh Urteil im Namen
J [en]	Eh judgement on behalf

[107]

J [v]	Rzeczpospolitej • Polskiej!‿Sąd Rejonowy w Prudniku, siódmy
J [de]	der Republik • Polen!‿Das Bezirksgericht in Prudnik, die siebte
J [en]	of the Republic of • Poland!‿The Regional Court in Prudnik, the seventh
I1 [v]	Im Namen der Republik Polen.
I1 [en]	On behalf of the Republic of Poland.

[108]

J [v]	zamiejscowy wydział karny z siedzibą w Głubczycach, ee po rozpoznaniu w
J [de]	auswärtige Abteilung für Strafsachen mit Sitz in Głubczyce, äh aufgrund der Verhandlung
J [en]	city criminal division based in Głubczyce, eh after having examined
I1 [v]	Und jetzt werden • alle Namen und ((1s)) von
I1 [en]	And now are • all the names and ((1s)) of

[109]

J [v]	dniu dzisiejszym w ee Głubczycach sprawy Karla Fischer oskarżonego o
J [de]	am heutigen Tag in äh Głubczyce in der Sache Karl Fischer, angeklagt deswegen
J [en]	this day in eh Głubczyce the case of Karl Fischer accused of this,
I1 [v]	Richtern vorgelesen ihre Daten persönlich. Ja, das
I1 [en]	the judges read out loud their personal data. Yes, this
I1 [k]	((whispers

[110]

J [v]	to, że: • • ee w dniu DZIEŃ MIESIĄC ROK w miejscowości
J [de]	dass er: • • äh am TAG MONAT JAHR in der Ortschaft
J [en]	that he: • • eh on the day DAY MONTH YEAR in the city
I1 [v]	ist in Głubczyce. Heutiger Tag.
I1 [en]	is in Głubczyce. Today’s day.
I1 [k]	quietly))

[111]

J [v]	NAZWA, gmina Głubczyce, naruszył zasady bezpieczeństwa w ruchu drogo	
J [de]	ORTSNAME,	Gemeinde Głubczyce, Sicherheitsvorschriften im Straßenverkehr so verletzte,
J [en]	NAME,	the municipality of Głubczyce, violated traffic safety rules in this way,
I1 [v]		Und jetzt ist vorgelesen, was ist geschehen in dieser Zeit,
I1 [en]		And now is reading out loud, what happened at that time,

[112]

J [v]	wym w ten sposób, że kierując samochodem osobowym marki • • •		
J [de]	dass indem er den	Personenkraftwagen	der Marke • • •
J [en]	that driving the pass	enger vehicle	brand • • •
I1 [v]	• • also wieder ((1,8s))		<u>d</u>a<u>s</u>.
I1 [en]	• • so again		<u>t</u>h<u>i</u>s.
I1 [k]		((rustling of paper))	

The judge begins with a solemn announcement of judgment stating the official expression "On behalf of the Republic of Poland!" which is interpreted correctly without any changes by the interpreter (line 107). Then the judge reads one long sentence at a fast pace which is characteristic for written legal language and includes court information and the criminal case data (lines 107-109). The interpreter instead of whispering interpreting the content being read and communicating its message adequately, informs the defendant that now all the names and the "personal" data of the judges are being read out (lines 108-109). She does not seem to notice an obvious contradiction, namely, that the court consists of a single judge who acting on behalf of the institution cannot have her last name or any other personal information disclosed in any way. The interpreter has clear difficulty understanding the legal language. Although she heard reference to the district court and the criminal division she is apparently unable to allocate this information accurately nor certainly render it. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that the interpreter chose to provide any 'translation' to more or less fit into the context in order to keep face. Two other comments by the interpreter ("Yes, this is in Głubczyce", "Today's day") have no relationship with the judgment being read and seem to be only the result of her own interpretation of fragments she heard and was not able to understand. The interpreter is trying to assure herself by means of the particle "Yes" that what she says is actually true.

The judge proceeds to reading the points of the indictment by giving the day and place first (lines 110-112). Again the interpreter attempts to comment on the content being read for the defendant: "And now is reading out loud, what happened at that time, • • so again ((1.8 sec))". In this expression, which is grammatically incorrect, the interpreter directly refers to the content read in Polish ("at that time") as though she assumes that the defendant has the same knowledge. This statement, however, must be unclear for the defendant since the data read out were not interpreted for him and in German there was only reference to "today's day". However, the interpreter quickly discontinues commenting and instead reaches for the same strategy used during reading of the indictment, namely, pointing out to the defendant the appropriate sections of the text (line 112). In this way the interpreter again delegates her task of interpreting and thus the responsibility to understand on the defendant. The reading of the judgment was not rendered to the defendant in any way.

4. Conclusion

As the above examples show, both interpreters in Poland and in Austria are not only media of transmission or invisible persons in the courtroom (cf. 2.1), but active participants in the proceedings who act independently, autonomously and on their own initiative. The results of the analysis thus confirm the existing empirical studies (including Berk-Seligson 1990; Hale 2004; Kadrić 2009). Although both interpreters fulfil their crucial role of intermediaries between languages and facilitate communication between the participants of the proceedings this is not achieved to the full extent. Both the Polish and Austrian interpreters primarily facilitate communication between the presiding judges and defendants speaking a foreign language but they do not guarantee complete understanding of the proceedings to all the participants. The communication they provide in the courtroom is therefore not "effective" (Kadrić 2009: 25): in both cases the defendant remains partially excluded from the interaction and discourse, thus not actively participating in the proceedings (while reading the indictment in example 1, during the hearing of the witnesses in example 2 as well as the sentencing in example 5). In addition, the interpreter in Poland delegates her translation duty on others and uses a number of other means in order to replace proper rendition, such as comments on read out discourse or events in the courtroom, pointing to the text in documents, and even inventing "translations".

Similarly to the study conducted by Berk-Seligson (1990) and Hale (2004) the results of the analysis show that both interpreters work actively in courtrooms intervening in court interaction as well as with the participants' utterances, but not exclusively in situations justified by the specifics of intercultural communication, as in the case of the "clarification procedures" (cf. 2.2). The Austrian interpreter repeatedly modifies the judge's statements and causes him to miss the intended target. In example 2 the interpreter did not even interpret the question whether the defendant understood the hearing of the witnesses (which was also not translated), so the judge's question remains unanswered. The interpreter selectively interprets also the judge's next question regarding the threats and attempt to hit a policeman, rendering only the second part. The interpreter thus affects the interaction between the judge and the defendant, which has a given nature in the German language and another in the Polish language. Moreover, by changing the meaning of the judge's statement, which spoke of an "attempt" to hit, the interpreter confronts the defendant with the accusation that he "wanted" to hit. In this manner also the interpreter causes a change in interaction, because the defendant does not respond later to the judge's question but proceeds with his own defence.

The interpreter also interferes with the defendant's answers (example 4): he changes the nature of the defendant's original statements by selective interpretation, above all by omission in the rendition of the defendant's confession of guilt and expression of remorse. By doing so the interpreter questions the defendant's credibility and provides the court with a distorted view of the defendant. His actions apart from this can also affect the process, and even the judgment, because confession of guilt is an extenuating circumstance that reduces punishment.

In the Polish court the interpreter also shows initiative when her intervention is not necessary (example 3), namely when she independently asks the defendant a question in the German language, which was not presented in the Polish language, regarding where exactly does the defendant work. By acting as the presiding judge of the hearing the interpreter forces the defendant to give a specific reply, thus influencing the interaction between the judge and the defendant.

This analysis shows, therefore, that both interpreters have power in the courtroom (cf. Fenton 1997), on the level of interaction as well as the content. Their power is manifested in changing the typical setting of the judicial institution, affecting the roles of the proceeding's participants, in influencing the course of court interaction, in changing the typical form and structure of the hearing, in changing the court's discourse by the omission or addition of content, as well as in changing the speaker's intentions and intended purposes. The power of both interpreters is manifested also in such a way that both of them sovereignly and independently decide as to what is interpreted, to what extent and above all how it is interpreted. Therefore, it is essential for court interpreters to develop the proper identity of their role. Although the number of examples provided are few and only two interpreters were involved they indicate that if court interpreters do not develop proper awareness of their own role, they can simultaneously take on functions unrelated to their role and become accusers or judges of hearings.

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"Vous voulez m'embrasser ?": impolitesse et "face-work" en interprétation judiciaire

Emmanuelle Gallez
KU Leuven (Belgium)

Abstract

This paper explores "impoliteness" in an authentic interpreter-mediated court examination. Drawing on Bousfield's (2008) theoretical model of impoliteness, it describes the defendant's verbal attacks towards the judge, the interpreter and incidentally the counsel, and examines the impact of the interpreter's strategies on the dynamics and the direction of the interaction. The analysis reveals on the one hand that the interpreter regularly mitigates or omits intentional face attacks directed to the judge, which neutralizes their cumulative effect and results in the judge's disempowerment. On the other hand, the interpreter seems to convey more accurately the offensive moves when they are directed to the defendant. Hence, the interpreter appears to be a pivotal element between primary speakers in the coordination of their face-work, the management of their power relations and their mutual positioning.

Introduction

Dans la communication "en face à face", l'interprète occupe un rôle pivot entre les deux locuteurs primaires qui utilisent ses services. Sa maîtrise des deux langues utilisées lui confère un pouvoir interactionnel certain dans les deux cadres de participation (Alexieva 1997; Lee 2013: 95) et la proximité physique avec ses clients lui donne la possibilité matérielle d'interagir directement avec eux.

Le rôle de l'interprète est particulièrement riche à analyser lorsque l'interaction triadique présente un enjeu réel pour un des deux locuteurs primaires et qu'elle se déroule dans un milieu institutionnel formel tel que le tribunal, où les relations de pouvoir entre représentant de la justice et justiciable sont dissymétriques et les ressources "prétextuelles", inégales (Hale 1997; Heffer *et al.* 2013; Maryns/Blommaert 2002). Dès lors, le dialogue dont la finalité est d'établir la vérité judiciaire est un espace interactionnel de coopération mais aussi d'affrontement et de négociation (Harris 2011; Komter 1994; Penman 1990) dans lequel sont mobilisées des stratégies de politesse complexes (Lakoff 1989: 111).

Pour illustrer la dynamique interpersonnelle qui se tisse entre le représentant institutionnel, l'interprète et le justiciable, cet article présente une analyse pragmatique et interactionniste de l'interrogatoire bilingue d'un prévenu par une juge dans un tribunal de première instance belge. J'utiliserai le modèle développé par Bousfield (2008) pour étudier l'"impolitesse", le concept de "face" et le "travail de figuration" ("*face-work*") dans l'interaction. Ceci constitue une approche théorique novatrice dans ce domaine de recherche.

1. Cadre théorique et méthodologique : face, travail de figuration et impolitesse dans les interactions monolingues et bilingues interprétées

Le concept de "face" tel que défini à l'origine par Erving Goffman dans son ouvrage "Interaction Ritual" ("les rites d'interaction" dans la version traduite en français de 1974) a subi de nombreuses révisions théoriques au fil du temps. Pour Goffman, la "face" désigne "la valeur sociale positive qu'une personne revendique effectivement à travers la ligne d'action que les autres supposent qu'elle a adoptée au cours d'un contact particulier" (1974: 9). Lors d'une rencontre, les interactants peuvent maintenir leur propre face, l'améliorer ou la perdre, ce qui s'accompagne d'émotions diverses, plus ou moins positives en fonction de l'effet produit. Selon Goffman (1974: 15), le "travail de figuration" consiste, pour un individu, à défendre et à préserver sa propre face et celle d'autrui par des stratégies destinées à compenser des actes qu'il perçoit et interprète comme menaçants, que cette menace soit intentionnelle, fortuite ou involontaire (1974: 17).

La notion de "face" a ensuite été développée et étoffée par Brown/Levinson (1978/1987) dans leur "théorie de la politesse". Cette théorie repose sur le principe que la plupart des actes verbaux et non verbaux constituent une menace potentielle ou FTA ("*Face Threatening Act*") pour la face des interactants et que les participants parviennent à ménager mutuellement leur face par l'adoption de différentes stratégies de politesse, plus ou moins directes, qui sont fonction du degré de gravité du FTA, de la distance sociale entre interactants et de leur relation de pouvoir (Brown/Levinson 1978: 74). S'inspirant de Goffman, Brown/Levinson distinguent la face positive et la face négative.[1] D'une part, la face positive désigne l'image valorisante que le locuteur et son allocutaire tentent de donner d'eux-mêmes dans l'échange. Dans l'interprétation d'inspiration goffmanienne qu'en fait Kerbrat-Orecchioni, elle correspondrait donc en gros au narcissisme (1992:

1 Comme le signalent Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1992: 168) et Bousfield (2008: 35), il s'agit là d'une dénomination quelque peu malencontreuse car ambiguë.

168). D'autre part, la face négative désigne la liberté d'action de l'individu, c'est-à-dire qu'elle recouvre, toujours selon Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1992: 167), le territoire corporel (le corps et ses différents prolongements comme les vêtements et accessoires), le territoire spatial (l'espace symbolique autour d'un individu) ou le territoire temporel (le temps de parole dont le locuteur pense disposer). La face négative comprend également les biens et réserves, qu'ils soient matériels (ce dont l'individu s'estime le possesseur) ou cognitifs (les réserves d'information, les secrets).

Un désir de préservation et de valorisation des faces (ou "*face want*") prévaut dans la communication et les interactants opteront généralement pour une stratégie leur permettant d'éviter ou d'atténuer le FTA, par exemple par une action réparatrice ("*FTA-redress*") comme une excuse, la manifestation de la déférence, le recours aux modalisateurs, etc.

Bien qu'elle soit généralement reconnue comme un modèle descriptif complet et efficace, la théorie de Brown et Levinson a été entre autres critiquée pour son caractère universaliste alors que la politesse est un phénomène qui se décline différemment selon les individus, les cultures, les situations de communication et le type d'échange. Il est apparu également nécessaire à plus d'un (notamment Arundale 2006 et Penman 1990) d'étudier la "face" dans une perspective plus dynamique, résolument orientée vers le discours, et de considérer les deux aspects de la face comme complémentaires et interdépendants dans la dialectique relationnelle.

C'est dans cette mouvance théorique que se situent les études récentes consacrées cette fois à l'"impolitesse" dans des situations de communication conflictuelles ou disharmonieuses (*inter al.* Archer 2008; Bousfield 2008; Culpeper 1996; Harris 2011; Kryk-Kastovsky 2006). Au lieu de se pencher sur les stratégies que les interactants mettent en œuvre pour protéger et promouvoir le caractère harmonieux de l'interaction, ces études s'intéressent aux actes qui présentent une menace pour la face d'autrui et perturbent l'ordre social (Culpeper 1996: 350).

Selon Bousfield (2008: 72), dont le modèle théorique s'inspire lui-même de Culpeper (1996), l'impolitesse se caractérise par l'intentionnalité de l'acte destiné à léser la face d'autrui, par son caractère gratuit et par l'absence de stratégie d'atténuation dans un contexte caractérisé par des attentes normatives de comportement :

> [...] impoliteness constitutes the communication of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive verbal face-threatening acts (FTAs) which are purposefully delivered:
> i. Unmitigated, in contexts where mitigation is required, and/or,
> ii. With deliberate *aggression*, that is, with the face threat exacerbated, 'boosted', or maximised in some way to heighten the face damage inflicted.

L'impolitesse atteint son objectif ("*successful impoliteness*", Bousfield 2008: 72) lorsque l'intention menaçante et/ou offensante est perçue et reconnue comme telle par son destinataire ou par un autre interactant (Bousfield 2008: 108). Cette approche interactionniste et pragmatique du discours examine les FTA, qu'ils soient de nature verbale ou autre, dans leur co(n)texte dynamique de production et prend en compte non seulement les facteurs déclencheurs de l'acte impoli ("*triggering event*", Bousfield 2008: 203) mais également la façon dont le différend est traité et résolu. Cette approche favorise également l'examen d'un type d'activité à l'aune des normes institutionnelles en vigueur au moment où se déroule l'interaction, comme illustré par Archer (2008) et Kryk-Kastovsky (2006) dans le contexte du tribunal historique, sans oublier leurs corollaires en termes de pouvoir, de droits, de devoirs et de contraintes.

Quelques chercheurs en interprétation judiciaire se sont également intéressés à la notion de politesse (Berk-Seligson 1990/2001), aux FTA et plus précisément à la notion de "face" brown-levinsonienne (Jacobsen 2008; Lee 2013; Mason/Stewart 2001). Ils montrent d'une part que l'interprète peut influencer le "travail de figuration" entre représentant institutionnel et justiciable, notamment en cas de menace potentielle pour la face d'un des locuteurs primaires. Ainsi, ils identifient des altérations du texte source (notamment des modalisateurs, de l'expression de la modalité, du registre de langue, des omissions) qui modifient la force illocutoire des propos originaux. Mason/Stewart (2001) constatent que ces altérations peuvent indirectement renforcer la vulnérabilité interactionnelle du participant sans pouvoir institutionnel ("*disempowerment*", 2001: 66). Selon Jacobsen (2008: 155), il est donc nécessaire que les interprètes comprennent les enjeux du travail de figuration. D'autre part, ces chercheurs ont mis en évidence que l'interprète possède sa propre face positive et négative et que dans l'interaction triadique bilingue, qui met désormais en jeu six faces, ses actions sont guidées par des intérêts à la fois personnels et professionnels. Les interprètes judiciaires observés par Lee (2013) optent ainsi pour des actions réparatrices destinées à prévenir ou à compenser un malentendu dans la communication mais laissent également fréquemment aux participants primaires le soin de réparer eux-mêmes les dysfonctionnements (parfois générés par l'interprète lui-même). La crainte de "perdre la face" l'emporte alors sur le souci de précision de la traduction (2013: 95).

En bref, ces études soulignent le rôle central de l'interprète dans la gestion des FTA et dans la façon dont ils sont perçus par les locuteurs primaires. Ceci dans un contexte où la langue revêt un enjeu particulier et où la traduction requiert la plus grande précision et fidélité (Hale 1997).

La présente analyse s'intéresse aux actes verbaux impolis qui émanent du "dominé institutionnel" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1992: 73), en l'occurrence le prévenu, et qui sont adressés d'une part au représentant institutionnel, d'autre part à l'interprète et accessoirement à l'avocate du prévenu. Elle examine l'impact des stratégies de l'interprète sur l'interaction. Elle se démarque donc des études précédemment citées, par le cadre théorique employé et la nature des données. Les chercheurs s'accordent en effet pour dire que l'impolitesse "prototypique" (Archer 2008: 204), telle que définie par Bousfield (2008), est en effet extrêmement rare dans le prétoire, qu'il soit historique ou contemporain (Archer 2008: 205; Harris 2011: 101).[2] L'objet de l'analyse sera de décrire, sur la base de la taxonomie

2 Selon Archer (2008: 204), on ne peut parler d'"impolitesse prototypique" pour désigner les FTA produits par un représentant institutionnel agissant dans une logique institutionnelle qui dépasse des intérêts strictement personnels et qui par ailleurs légitime, dans une certaine mesure, les offenses verbales susceptibles de léser la face

établie par Bousfield (2008), les ressources linguistiques par lesquelles les actes impolis s'expriment dans le texte source, d'examiner la façon dont ils sont traités par l'interprète et d'évaluer l'impact des choix traductifs et interactionnels de l'interprète sur le déroulement de l'interaction. L'unité d'analyse minimale sera donc généralement la paire interactionnelle "action/réaction", dans la ligne méthodologique adoptée par Bousfield[3] (2008), elle-même insérée dans une séquence[4] et dans le procès en tant qu'événement de communication. Cette approche englobante permet également d'examiner l'effet cumulatif de ces FTA et honore ainsi la recommandation formulée par certains auteurs (*inter al*. Archer 2011: 186; Bousfield 2008: 6 et Penman 1990: 19).

2. Description des données

Les données analysées dans cet article proviennent d'une audience pénale devant un tribunal correctionnel belge néerlandophone. Le tribunal correctionnel statue en première instance sur les délits et les intérêts civils qui en découlent. La chambre correctionnelle est présidée par un(e) juge et éventuellement par deux assesseurs. Prévu lors de sa création pour juger les petits délits, le tribunal correctionnel a vu ses compétences s'étendre rapidement, surtout depuis la correctionnalisation de certains crimes (De Wolf 2013: 3).

Ces données ont été enregistrées en 2006 dans la perspective de ma recherche doctorale mais n'ont pas été exploitées à cette fin. Pour l'enregistrement des voix des divers participants au procès (interprète, prévenus, parties civiles, juge, ministère public, avocats), plusieurs types de micros ont été placés dans la salle. Un micro-cravate s'est avéré nécessaire pour capter la voix de l'interprète car l'interprétation était effectuée dans un mode "mixte" faisant appel à la fois à la consécutive et à la simultanée chuchotée. Vu l'absence de dispositif de transmission acoustique, l'interprète se trouvait à côté du justiciable.

L'enregistrement a été intégralement transcrit. Le format de transcription ainsi que les conventions de transcription (qui figurent en annexe) ont été adoptés dans une perspective réflexive (Bucholtz 2000). Dans ce cas précis, un format horizontal de transcription en trois colonnes a été utilisé pour faciliter la lecture et la maniabilité du transcript (voir Gallez 2014). Dans tous les extraits proposés, les patronymes ont été remplacés par des noms fictifs. La traduction française des propos formulés en néerlandais figure en italique sous les propos originaux.

du "dominé institutionnel". Par conséquent, Archer (2008: 188) préfère parler dans ce cas d'"agression verbale" et la considérer comme un hyperonyme d'"impolitesse". L'intentionnalité qui sous-tend le FTA apparaît donc comme une notion scalaire qu'il convient d'examiner dans une perspective fonctionnaliste, c'est-à-dire à l'aune des objectifs personnels des interactants mais également de leurs rôles institutionnels (Archer 2008: 204).

3 Bousfield (2008: 203) signale toutefois qu'il n'est pas recommandé de se limiter exclusivement à l'étude de paires.

4 Dans l'analyse qui suit, le terme "séquence" sera utilisé pour désigner l'enchaînement des tours de parole compris entre deux tours du juge (voir Gallez 2014).

Chaque tour de parole est numéroté en fonction du déroulement chronologique de l'interaction.

2.1. Le procès, les participants, leur rôle et leur fonction

Pour une meilleure compréhension de l'analyse, un bref résumé est proposé sur la base des données recueillies à l'audience. Le rôle et la fonction des participants respectifs sont également expliqués au sein de cette section.

Le procès enregistré dure au total 48 minutes. Il met en scène trois prévenus qui comparaissent dans le cadre d'une affaire d'escroquerie en territoire flamand. L'un d'entre eux s'exprime en français. Il est assisté d'un interprète judiciaire français-néerlandais. Seul l'interrogatoire bilingue de ce prévenu par la juge sera analysé.

Paul Gilles Simon (prévenu 1 ou P1), 36 ans, d'origine camerounaise, est mis en examen avec deux autres prévenus (P2 et P3) pour faux en écritures, usage de faux, escroquerie et tentative d'escroquerie. P1 est de plus mis en examen pour avoir porté un faux nom car il s'est présenté devant le juge d'instruction sous le nom de Roger Claude Debré. Lors de l'audience devant le tribunal correctionnel, il dira s'appeler Paul Gilles Simon. Il avouera avoir suivi l'exemple d'autres réfugiés et dissimulé sciemment son identité. Vers la fin de l'interrogatoire, il invoquera également son état psychiatrique (schizophrénie) pour justifier cette double identité. P1 est assisté d'une avocate néerlandophone avec laquelle il s'entretient en français.

Le ministère public, chargé de représenter les intérêts de la société, requiert pour P1 une peine de dix mois de prison assortie d'une amende.

Dans l'affaire en question, un seul juge féminin préside l'audience. Dans le système de droit pénal belge, le juge occupe un rôle central : il dirige l'audience avec l'impartialité qui s'impose ainsi que les débats au cours desquels le ministère public et les parties sont appelés à exposer leur version des faits. Seul le juge a le droit de donner la parole[5] et d'interrompre un locuteur afin d'assurer le bon déroulement des débats (De Wolf 2013: 57). Il peut par exemple interdire aux parties de présenter leurs conclusions et leur défense lorsqu'"il reconnaît que la passion ou l'inexpérience les empêche de discuter leur cause avec la décence convenable ou la clarté nécessaire" (art. 758, Code judiciaire).

En plus d'assurer la direction des débats, le juge est également responsable du maintien de l'ordre dans le prétoire. Il peut en effet intervenir lorsque des irrégularités se produisent (bruit, atteinte à l'honneur, outrage,[6] attaques contre la

5 Le ministère public et les autres parties ont le droit de poser des questions au prévenu mais ne peuvent le faire que par le truchement du président qui a le droit de rejeter leurs questions (De Wolf 2013: 89). L'interrogatoire par la partie adverse, tel que pratiqué dans le système accusatoire anglo-saxon, est dès lors interdit.

6 Au sens juridique, l'outrage exige la volonté consciente d'injurier, de blesser ou de railler, l'*animus injuriandi* (Magnien 2010: 32). Il n'a pas été défini par le législateur belge mais "la doctrine considère qu'il s'agit de l'expression par paroles, faits, gestes ou menaces d'une pensée injurieuse s'attaquant directement à la personne du fonctionnaire et à ses fonctions" (Magnien 2010: 26).

Monarchie, la Constitution, les lois, les autorités établies, etc.) (De Wolf 2013: 58). Il peut expulser une personne de la salle lorsqu'elle "cause du trouble" pendant l'audience et la faire arrêter pour 24 heures (art. 760, Code judiciaire).

Quant à l'interprète masculin enregistré dans cette affaire, il n'avait jamais suivi de formation en interprétation mais avait plus de 10 ans d'expérience en interprétation judiciaire à son actif. Au moment de l'enregistrement des données, l'interprète n'était soumis à aucun code déontologique. Il était simplement tenu de fournir une traduction "fidèle", comme stipulé dans sa prestation de serment. Aucun critère objectif ne définissait donc la qualité de son travail.

3. Analyse

Un procès correctionnel comprend plusieurs phases dialogales et monologales. Puisque la présente recherche porte sur le travail de figuration de l'interprète, seules les interactions dialogales bilingues entre P1 et la juge sont prises en compte dans l'analyse en respectant la chronologie du procès. Leur catégorisation a été établie selon la taxonomie des actes impolis de Bousfield (2008).

3.1. Critique envers la juge

L'audience débute traditionnellement par l'interrogatoire du prévenu bien que cette phase du procès soit facultative. Après avoir remercié l'interprète pour le serment qu'il vient de prêter, la juge entame ici l'interrogatoire de façon classique par une vérification de l'identité de P1 (tour 6).

	JUGE	INTERPRÈTE	PRÉVENU 1
6.	Ik dank u. Roger Claude Debré? *Je vous remercie. Roger Claude Debré?*		
7.			Paul Gilles Simon. (+) La justice devrait le savoir, c'est mon vrai nom.
8.		De eh het gerecht zou moeten op de hoogte zijn van eh van eh van mijn van mijn eh ware naam. *La euh la justice devrait être au courant de euh de euh de mon de mon euh vrai nom.*	
9.	Ja, en dat is…? *Oui, et c'est… ?*		

L'interprète estime superflu de répéter le nom du prévenu cité par la juge.[7] P1 enchaîne directement (7) en se présentant sous un autre nom. Dans cette première prise de parole, il commet d'emblée un acte incursif, un FTA, pour la face positive de la juge car il prend la justice en défaut. Cette critique (Bousfield 2008: 126), formulée sur un ton sec légèrement ironique et exprimée par le biais de la modalité du devoir, implique le manque de professionnalisme de la juge (par son inaction) et de l'institution qu'elle représente. Dès lors, elle suggère également le caractère superflu de la question car l'information demandée aurait déjà été fournie précédemment. P1 transgresse donc, dès l'ouverture de l'interrogatoire, les règles interactionnelles fondamentales de politesse dans le prétoire en commettant un acte délibérément offensif vis-à-vis du représentant institutionnel. Comme le signale Harris (2011: 101), ce type de comportement irrévérencieux présente un risque évident pour le justiciable car, s'il est perçu comme tel par le représentant institutionnel, il peut entraîner des sanctions autres que simplement interactionnelles. Ce FTA ne parvient toutefois pas tel quel à son destinataire car les altérations dans la traduction au tour 8 (hésitations et ton neutre) atténuent son caractère menaçant. Le verbe "savoir" est également adouci par l'emploi de la locution "*op de hoogte zijn van*" (être au courant de).

Il est difficile de déterminer si ces altérations sont délibérées et ont pour fonction de protéger la face positive de l'interprète. Toutefois, les hésitations de l'interprète semblent pouvoir s'expliquer davantage par une certaine réticence à transmettre la force pragmatique des propos du prévenu plutôt que par une difficulté de traduction du texte source. Quoi qu'il en soit, ces altérations ont pour effet de protéger la face positive de la juge et l'empêchent en conséquence d'avoir pleinement accès à l'acte offensant. Au tour suivant (9), la juge adopte un comportement coopératif en demandant à P1 de décliner la nouvelle identité sous laquelle il se présente. Après traduction, P1 obtempère en articulant clairement son nom (tours 10 et 11 non reproduits ici).

3.2. Interruption de parole, volume vocal, sarcasme et attitude condescendante envers la juge

Au tour 12 de l'extrait reproduit ci-dessous, la juge demande à P1 des détails sur son identité (lieu et date de naissance) afin de pouvoir procéder à la rectification administrative. La juge formule ici une question à la troisième personne du singulier[8] qui sollicite une confirmation de la part de P1 destinée à lever toute ambiguïté.

7 Il s'agit là d'un choix délibéré, comme cet interprète me l'expliquera lors de l'entretien rétrospectif.

8 La juge désigne le prévenu à la troisième personne du singulier au lieu de s'adresser directement à lui. Cette pratique discursive, que j'ai observée dans un autre corpus, n'est pas sans influence sur la dynamique interactionnelle triadique (voir Gallez 2014).

	JUGE	INTERPRÈTE	PRÉVENU 1
12.	Ja en dan, is hij niet geboren in [stad], Kameroen op [datum]? Maar wel te [stad] op [datum]? *Oui et alors, il n'est pas né à [ville], Cameroun, le [date]? Mais à [ville] le [date]?*		
13.		Vous n'êtes pas né à [ville], le [date]? Vous êtes né à [ville] le [date]?	
14.			Je suis né à [ville] le [date].
15.	Ja waarom heeft hij dat tijdens het onderzoek [al niet (xxx) *Oui pourquoi ne l'a-t-il pas [déjà lors de l'enquête (xxx)*		
16.			[Je l'ai fait SAVOIR, je l'ai fait savoir avant la, avant l'avant-dernière sess- session, avant l'avant-dernière euh comédie, enfin, audience (+) je voulais dire audience (.) [comédie.
17.		Tijdens de [euh voorlaatste zitting heb ik dat laten weten. *Je l'ai fait savoir pendant [euh l'avant-dernière audience.*	
18.	Dus mijnheer is vandaag gedagvaard als verhoorde Claude Debré Roger. Wilt hij hier vandaag vrijwillig verschijnen als Paul Gilles? Want de dagvaarding is dan natuurlijk, betekent dan de verkeerde (.) persoon… *Donc Monsieur est cité aujourd'hui sous le nom de Claude Debré Roger. Veut-il comparaître aujourd'hui volontairement sous le nom de Paul Gilles? Car dans ce cas, la citation ne désigne pas la (.) bonne personne…*		

L'interprète ne traduit pas la réponse élémentaire de P1 (14). La juge semble cependant l'avoir comprise[9] car elle enchaîne immédiatement avec une autre question portant cette fois sur la motivation de celui-ci à se présenter sous une autre identité (15). Cette question présente une double menace pour le prévenu : d'une part, elle risque de léser sa face négative car elle le contraint à dévoiler une information personnelle et d'autre part, elle présente une menace pour sa face positive car elle implique que le prévenu a menti à dessein sur sa véritable identité et qu'il a fait preuve d'une attitude non coopérative. La juge n'a cependant pas la possibilité de terminer sa question et l'interprète n'a pas le temps matériel de la traduire car le prévenu interrompt la juge.

Au tour 16, P1 adopte une attitude défensive qui va se doubler d'une attitude offensive. D'abord, l'interruption (Bousfield 2008: 233) de la juge par le prévenu constitue en soi un acte hostile pour la face négative de la juge (et de l'interprète) car elle bouleverse les règles interactionnelles et la préallocation des tours de parole en vigueur dans ce contexte institutionnel (Atkinson/Drew 1979: 62). De plus, elle écourte le temps de parole de la juge et empiète donc sur son territoire temporel. Le chevauchement de parole contraint la juge à abandonner son tour de parole et l'interprète à renoncer à sa traduction. Sans traduction, le prévenu est cependant dans l'incapacité de comprendre la question posée par la juge. Sa réponse montre en effet qu'il poursuit simplement le raisonnement entamé au tour 7 (voir 3.1.). P1 ne se limite pas à outrepasser ces règles interactionnelles et à prendre en main le contrôle de l'interaction. Sa réponse contient également plusieurs FTA pour la face positive de la juge qui protègent en même temps sa propre face. D'abord, il se justifie en disant avoir déjà communiqué les données correctes. Ses propos impliquent que le tribunal aurait dû prendre acte de son changement d'identité. La prosodie et le volume vocal (Bousfield 2008: 137) amplifient sa critique envers l'institution.

Ensuite, au sein du même énoncé, P1 qualifie à deux reprises l'audience de "comédie". Cette métaphore dénigrante et sarcastique (Bousfield 2008: 118) exprime la condescendance et ridiculise[10] (Bousfield 2008: 114) la justice puisqu'elle la compare à un spectacle, à une farce dont le prévenu serait la victime.

Comme dans l'extrait 3.1., la juge n'a toutefois pas la possibilité de réagir en toute connaissance de cause à ce FTA car l'interprète remplace le terme "comédie" dans sa traduction au tour 17 par le terme non connoté "audience" et prononce sa traduction sur un ton neutre. Par conséquent, cette double neutralisation (substitution lexicale et modification prosodique) a pour effet de protéger la face positive de la juge. Il n'est pas exclu que l'interprète tente également de se protéger d'une situation conflictuelle qui pourrait porter préjudice à son professionnalisme et qui risquerait de surcroît de dégénérer (voir Culpeper 1996: 355). Ses choix traductifs désamorcent en effet anticipativement la confrontation entre

9 Certaines réactions de la juge font penser qu'elle possède des notions de français lui permettant de comprendre des informations factuelles simples ou de percevoir qu'une réponse du prévenu n'est pas pertinente. Participent bien entendu à la compréhension divers indices pragmatiques extra-linguistiques.

10 Selon Bousfield (2008: 115), un individu met cette stratégie en œuvre pour accroître son pouvoir relatif, ce qui se vérifie dans mes données.

P1 et la juge en empêchant l'acte offensant d'atteindre son destinataire et donc de produire éventuellement une réaction réprobatrice.[11] La question suivante de la juge au tour 18 ne porte en effet pas la moindre trace de rappel à l'ordre de ce prévenu irrévérencieux.

3.3. Renversement de rôle, enchaînement préférentiel, alternance de code, prosodie et sarcasme envers la juge

L'extrait analysé ci-dessous est adjacent à l'extrait analysé au point 3.2. Au terme de la séquence précédente, la juge est parvenue à établir l'identité du prévenu. Au tour 18, elle demande à P1 s'il veut comparaître sous cette nouvelle identité. La question de la juge, traduite correctement, appelle une brève réponse au format oui/non. Au tour 20, le prévenu s'engage cependant dans une justification au format narratif.

	JUGE	INTERPRÈTE	PRÉVENU 1
18.	Dus mijnheer is vandaag gedagvaard als verhoorde Claude Debré Roger. Wilt hij hier vandaag vrijwillig verschijnen als Paul Gilles? Want de dagvaarding is dan natuurlijk, betekent dan de verkeerde (.) persoon… *Donc Monsieur est cité aujourd'hui sous le nom de Claude Debré Roger. Veut-il comparaître aujourd'hui volontairement sous le nom de Paul Gilles? Car dans ce cas, la citation ne désigne pas la (.) bonne personne…*		
19.		Vous êtes cité (xxx). Vous voulez alors comparaître volontairement sous cet autre nom, sous votre vrai nom (.) parce que la citation a été signifiée notifiée à vous sous le nom de Roger, hein?	

11 Selon Bousfield (2008: 203), plusieurs mouvements réactifs sont possibles face à un acte verbal impoli : offense/pas de réaction ou offense/réaction. La réaction peut elle-même consister en une "acceptation" ou un "mouvement d'opposition" (soit offensif, paire OFF-OFF ; soit défensif, paire OFF-DÉF) *(selon ma traduction)*.

	JUGE	INTERPRÈTE	PRÉVENU 1
20.			Je comparais sous Paul Gilles Simon. Je vous dis directement que j'ai menti à: (.) comment on appelle euh (+) comment on appelle cette histoire, le truc de… le commissariat général aux réfugiés. Je répondrai quand vous me demanderez <u>pourquoi</u> est-ce que j'ai menti, si vous [voulez.
21.	[Nee, maar dus… Ja *Non, mais donc… Oui*		
22.		[Mevrouw, mijnheer heeft niet op uw vraag geantwoord. *Madame, Monsieur n'a pas répondu à votre question.* La ques- (+) ce n'est pas la question…	

En outrepassant les règles structurelles d'enchaînement préférentiel entre première et seconde partie de paire (Bousfield 2008: 252) et en introduisant lui-même un nouveau thème (Bousfield 2008: 178), P1 transgresse une fois de plus les règles interactionnelles en vigueur dans le prétoire et menace la face négative de la juge. Il signale ensuite au sein du même tour qu'il motivera les raisons du mensonge sur son identité lorsque la juge l'y enjoindra (injonction par ailleurs déjà exprimée au tour 15 mais non traduite). Le prévenu protège ainsi sa face négative en signalant à la juge qu'il ne fournira ce renseignement que sur demande explicite. Il temporise de cette façon l'incursion de la juge dans ses réserves d'information. P1 semble cependant avoir conscience que son énoncé peut également être perçu par la juge comme une menace car il s'empresse d'atténuer son acte incursif par la formule "si vous voulez". Il est donc bien question de renversement des rôles (Bousfield 2008: 131) et de négociation de la relation hiérarchique quand le "dominé institutionnel" suggère, comme ici, au représentant institutionnel quelle question celui-ci doit lui poser. Ce tour 20 du prévenu n'est cependant pas traduit par l'interprète car il y a chevauchement de parole entre P1 et la juge. Ce FTA ne parvient donc pas à la juge. Au tour 21, les marqueurs "*nee*" (non), "*maar*" (mais) et "*dus*" (donc) montrent que la juge a compris qu'il s'agit d'une digression. Elle tente dans ce tour interruptif de reprendre le contrôle de l'interaction et de ramener le prévenu à l'"agenda" institutionnel.

La juge est cependant elle-même interrompue par un commentaire métadiscursif de l'interprète au tour 22. Au sein de ce tour de parole bilingue, l'interprète intervient "en tant que personne indépendante" dans l'interaction (Shlesinger

1991: 152) et se fait successivement l'allocutaire de la juge et du prévenu. L'interprète prend ici clairement en charge la coordination et le contrôle de l'interaction. Par son intervention à valeur injonctive adressée au prévenu (appel à reformulation), il se substitue à la juge et commet donc un FTA vis-à-vis de celle-ci. Simultanément, il menace la face positive et négative du prévenu car il considère que la réponse de celui-ci n'est pas suffisamment pertinente pour être traduite.

Bref, dans cette séquence où les trois locuteurs sont en compétition pour prendre la parole, le prévenu tente de jouer à la fois le rôle de questionneur et de répondant et d'imposer les règles du jeu. Le schéma interactionnel et séquentiel observé aux tours 20, 21 et 22 se répète aux tours 23, 24 et 25 omis ici : le prévenu digresse, la juge tente à nouveau de prendre la parole, l'interprète l'interrompt pour inciter le prévenu à reformuler sa réponse.

Au tour 26, le prévenu s'adresse à l'interprète plutôt qu'à la juge et commet plusieurs FTA, vis-à-vis de ces deux interactants.

	JUGE	INTERPRÈTE	PRÉVENU 1
26.			[Vous avez entendu ma réponse. Dites-le lui en néerlandais si elle comprend pas. Ja, ja, ja! *[Ton très sec et sarcastique]*
27.		Vous voulez comparaître sous votre vrai nom parce que vous avez été notifié sous le nom de Debré?	
28.	Dus we gaan de dagvaarding verbeteren in die zin dat de naam van de eerste beklaagde (.) Paul Gilles is, geboren te [stad] op [datum]. En euh, heeft mijnheer een beroep? *Donc nous allons rectifier la convocation puisque le nom du premier prévenu (.) est Paul Gilles, né à [ville] le [date]. Et euh, est-ce que Monsieur a une profession ?*		

P1 somme l'interprète de traduire sa réponse en néerlandais. Il mobilise l'alternance de code (*code switching* dans "*Ja, ja, ja!*"), la prosodie pour marquer la condescendance (Bousfield 2008: 114) et le sarcasme (Bousfield 2008: 118). Ce double FTA n'est une fois de plus pas traduit et la juge ne réagit pas à l'acte offensif (OFF-pas de réaction, Bousfield 2008: 203). Sur acquiescement du prévenu, la juge prendre ensuite acte de la rectification administrative et l'objectif institutionnel poursuivi est ainsi atteint.

3.4. Manœuvre de dissociation envers l'avocate

Les tours qui suivent sont caractérisés par de nombreuses digressions du prévenu qui obligent la juge à négocier ouvertement le contrôle de l'interaction (répétition et reformulation des questions, signalement explicite que la réponse du prévenu n'est pas pertinente, commentaire métadiscursif sur le déroulement du procès). N'obtenant pas les informations factuelles demandées, la juge finit par s'adresser à l'avocate du prévenu. Le prévenu réagit cependant avec véhémence à l'intervention de son avocate et ses propos, proférés sur un ton autoritaire, montrent qu'il se sent menacé dans sa face négative. Les procédés d'adresse qu'il utilise (tutoiement et interpellation par le prénom) témoignent d'un degré de familiarité (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1992: 19) et ont pour visée pragmatique d'abolir la distance entre le prévenu et son conseil. L'expression de l'injonction constitue en outre une tentative de se mettre en "position haute" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1992: 108) et renforce l'acte offensif :

> Tu me laisses Nadine, tu me laisses parler. Excuse-moi, j'ai demandé, j'avais dit que je ne voulais plus que tu me défendes (57).

En réaction à cette manifestation explicite et abrupte de dissociation (Bousfield 2008: 103) de la part de son client, l'avocate choisit la retraite (Bousfield 2008: 215). Après un bref conciliabule avec la juge, elle se prépare à quitter la salle d'audience. Le prévenu hausse alors le ton et adresse une nouvelle injonction à son conseil pour l'inciter à rester. Lassée de ces attaques répétées, l'avocate décide de ne plus représenter son client et quitte les lieux. Cette scène se clôture par une intervention de la juge qui répond à cet acte offensif par une offensive (Bousfield 2008: 193, paire OFF-OFF). Elle somme le prévenu de se taire et le menace de l'expulser de la salle, c'est-à-dire de restreindre sa liberté d'action physique et verbale :

> *[Ton sévère]* Ok. (+) Dus mijnheer Roger mag plaatsnemen en zwijgen. En als hij niet kan zwijgen dan zal ik hem laten verwijderen en dan zal hij de zitting niet kunnen bijwonen.(76)
> *[Ton sévère] OK. (+) Donc Monsieur Roger peut s'asseoir et se taire. S'il ne parvient pas à se taire, je le ferai expulser et il ne pourra plus assister à l'audience.*

Pour la première fois en cours d'audience, la juge rappelle le prévenu à l'ordre et utilise son pouvoir institutionnel pour rétablir le calme dans le prétoire. Cette injonction est traduite correctement.

Cette "agression verbale" envers le prévenu, qui vise à rétablir la relation hiérarchique entre dominant et dominé institutionnel, constitue un climax dans cette première partie de l'interrogatoire (tours 6 à 77) car elle produit l'effet escompté. Le prévenu s'assied et se tait, en termes "bousfieldiens", il se soumet à son opposant (Bousfield 2008: 207). Mais ce répit n'est que de courte durée. Après s'être attaqué à la juge et à son avocate, le prévenu va s'en prendre à l'interprète.

3.5. Renversement de rôle, sarcasme et défi envers l'interprète

Après avoir procédé à l'audition des autres prévenus et de leur conseil et après avoir entendu le ministère public, la juge donne la parole à P1 pour sa défense (127) concernant le port de faux nom. L'interprète n'a pas le temps matériel de terminer sa traduction (128) car il est interrompu par le prévenu qui lui demande s'il veut l'embrasser (129) !

	JUGE	INTERPRÈTE	PRÉVENU 1
127.	Mijnheer Paul heeft dan het woord voor zijn verdediging. (+) Dus hij mag zich recht stellen. (+) En u mag hem erop wijzen dat wat betreft de betichting F, (+) dus de valse naamdracht, deze betichting wordt verbeterd in die zin dat mijnheer thans... zich thans moet verdedigen. *Monsieur Paul a la parole pour sa défense. (+) Il peut donc se lever. (+) Et vous pouvez lui dire qu'en ce qui concerne l'accusation F, (+) donc le port de faux nom, que cette accusation est corrigée dans le sens où Monsieur maintenant... doit maintenant se défendre.*		
128.		C'est à vous à vous défendre Monsieur, vous pouvez vous lever. (+) Pour l'accusation F, (+) le port de nom faux, (+) est corrigée dans [le sens...	
129.			[°Vous voulez m'embrasser?°=
130.		=Mijnheer vraagt of ik hem wil omhelzen.*((Rit))* *=Monsieur demande si je veux l'embrasser.((Rit))*	
131.	(+) U mag daarop antwoorden. *((En riant))* *Vous pouvez lui répondre. ((En riant))*		

	JUGE	INTERPRÈTE	PRÉVENU 1
132.		Ja, dat is ook geen manier van doen, [hé, mevrouw. *Oui, mais ce ne sont pas des manières, [hein, Madame.*	
133.	[Nee::h *((En riant))*. Dan gaan we verder met de zaak, he. Mijnheer heeft het euh heeft het woord. Hij heeft geen vragen te stellen. (+) Dus u kan zeggen dat de betichting F verbeterd wordt in die zin dat hij zich thans moet verde[digen… *[Non:: ((en riant)). Alors nous allons poursuivre l'affaire, hein. Monsieur a la euh a la parole. Il n'a pas le droit de poser des questions. (+) Donc vous pouvez dire que l'accusation F est corrigée dans le sens où il doit maintenant se défen[dre*		

Le déclencheur de la question offensive de P1 (129) est ici la proximité physique de l'interprète, inhérente au mode d'interprétation utilisé. Le prévenu perçoit manifestement cette particularité proxémique comme une incursion non désirée dans son territoire spatial. Dès lors, il tente de le défendre par une question offensive et sarcastique (Bousfield 2008: 118) qui défie (Bousfield 2008: 132) l'interprète et le menace dans sa fonction. En même temps, cette question induit un changement de rôle (Bousfield 2008: 131) car le prévenu assume le rôle de questionneur et incite l'interprète à prendre part à l'interaction en tant que répondant. L'interprète traduit pour la juge les propos offensants de P1 (130). Le rire qui accompagne sa traduction témoigne de l'effet comique de la situation mais traduit probablement aussi son embarras face à cette attaque *ad personam*. Le rire est en effet identifié par Bousfield (2008: 196) comme un moyen de contrer une offense et de la minimiser. Au tour suivant (131), la juge donne à l'interprète l'autorisation (et lui confère le pouvoir) de réagir en personne. Mais au lieu de répondre au prévenu et d'exploiter cette délégation explicite d'autorité, l'interprète adresse à la juge (132) une évaluation réprobatrice du comportement du prévenu. L'interprète semble indiquer qu'il attend implicitement de la juge qu'elle se positionne en assumant son rôle institutionnel. L'interprète préfère donc s'en remettre à la juge plutôt que de régler lui-même le différend, sans doute par crainte de perdre la face dans cette situation conflictuelle.

Ce renvoi de balle entre ces deux locuteurs ne produit cependant aucun signal réprobateur à l'adresse du prévenu (OFF-pas de réaction, Bousfield 2008:

203). Au tour 133, la juge reconnaît dans sa réponse minimale ("*Nee::h*") que le comportement du prévenu est inopportun. Mais si elle choisit, avec le sourire, d'ignorer l'attaque (Bousfield 2008: 197), elle réaffirme tout de même son rôle institutionnel en lui interdisant de poser des questions et elle poursuit l'interrogatoire.

3.6. Contestation de l'enchaînement préférentiel entre question et réponse et menace de dissociation envers la juge

Dans les tours 134 à 167 qui suivent, non reproduits ici, P1 se montre à nouveau incapable de répondre de façon ciblée aux questions de la juge. Il se lance dans des digressions, hausse sporadiquement le ton et réagit de façon agressive aux tentatives successives de prise de parole de la juge ("Si j'ai la parole, vous devez m'écouter", 149 ; "Mais si je n'ai pas la parole, alors il vaut mieux que je m'asseye", 152). La première attaque est traduite correctement, la seconde est omise en raison d'un chevauchement de parole entre le prévenu et la juge. L'exhortation explicite que la juge lui adresse ensuite (se limiter au dossier) n'a aucun effet sur P1 bien qu'elle soit correctement traduite. Plus loin, lorsqu'il est invité à parler des chèques volés, P1 ne répond pas à la question mais justifie sa double identité par son état psychiatrique. Ces actes d'insubordination répétés lui valent un rappel à l'ordre de la juge ("*MIJNHEER ZWIJG !*", "*MONSIEUR, TAISEZ-VOUS !*", 168) qui l'invite ensuite à se recentrer sur les faits commis. Cette exhortation au silence suivie du recentrage thématique est transmise correctement par l'interprète.

Mais au tour 170 de l'extrait présenté ci-dessous, P1 répond par un commentaire métadiscursif qui bafoue les règles d'organisation préférentielle tant structurelles que socio-pragmatiques (Bousfield 2008: 227). Il manifeste en effet son refus de se plier aux critères formels contraignants de l'interrogatoire et menace (Bousfield 2008: 112) de quitter la salle (dissociation, Bousfield 2008: 103) si la juge n'accepte pas ses propres règles interactionnelles.

	JUGE	INTERPRÈTE	PRÉVENU 1
170.			Vous n'allez pas m'obliger à … vous n'allez pas me faire, vous n'allez pas me dire. C'est pas comme ça que cela se passe. J'ai dit ce que je sais, si vous ne voulez pas savoir ce que je sais, on se sépare.
171.		U gaat mij- u gaat mij niet verplichten met met met, u gaat mij niet verplichten met ja of nee te antwoorden. Het is zo niet dat het hier gebeurt, hé dus… *Vous allez- vous n'allez pas m'obliger à à à, vous n'allez pas m'obliger à répondre par oui ou non. Ça ne se passe comme comme ça, hein donc…*	
172.	Nee, nee, maar mijnheer heeft enkel het woord over deze zaak en als hij daar niets over te zeggen heeft, dan mag hij zich zetten en mag hij verder >en en en > verder de behandeling van de zaak volgen maar dan geef ik hem het woord niet. Hij heeft enkel het woord over de oplichtingen, en al de rest is hier vandaag niet aan de orde. En dat moet hij goed begrijpen want er is, er is nog een zaak en het gaat hier over de oplichtingen en al de rest wordt hier vandaag niet ter sprake gebracht. Dus heeft hij wetens en willens mee die oplichting gepleegd? *Non, non mais Monsieur n'a la parole que sur cette affaire et s'il n'a rien à dire, il peut s'asseoir et il peut*		

	continuer >à à à> continuer à suivre l'examen de l'affaire mais je ne lui donne pas la parole. Il a uniquement la parole sur l'escroquerie et tout le reste n'est pas à l'ordre du jour. Il doit bien comprendre ça car il y a il y a encore une affaire et il s'agit ici uniquement des escroqueries et le reste n'est pas à l'ordre du jour. Donc a-t-il commis cette escroquerie wetens et willens ?		
173.		Vous avez uniquement la parole (xxx). Si vous n'avez rien à dire, vous pouvez, vous pouvez vous asseoir et et suivre euh mais on ne va plus vous donner la parole. Vous avez uniquement la parole à propos de l'escroquerie, toutes les autres choses ne sont pas à l'ordre du jour. Et ça vous devez bien comprendre, il y a encore une autre chose. Il s'agit de l'escroquerie et les autres choses ne sont pas traitées aujourd'hui. Vous avez consciemment fait cette escroquerie ?	
174.	Dus mijnheer heeft daar niks over te zeggen. *Donc Monsieur n'a rien à dire à ce sujet.*		

Cette fois, l'interprète (171) traduit partiellement l'acte menaçant pour la face de la juge (la contestation de l'organisation préférentielle mais pas la menace de dissociation). La juge y répond par une contre-offensive (Bousfield 2008: 193, paire OFF-OFF) dans laquelle elle pose explicitement ses conditions et restreint la liberté de parole du prévenu. Bref, la résolution locale du conflit passe par une thématisation de la distribution de parole dans laquelle la juge indique clairement que cet instrument de pouvoir est son seul apanage.

En d'autres termes, cette agression verbale a pour visée extra-linguistique de rétablir la logique institutionnelle et les droits interactionnels de la juge (mouvement offensif avec visée défensive). Face à ce FTA, traduit assez fidèlement (173), le prévenu garde le silence. Il semble se soumettre (temporairement) à son opposant (Bousfield 2008: 207) mais son silence pourrait également être interprété comme une marque de dédain.

3.7. Violation des règles de préférence organisationnelle

Conformément aux règles de droit, le prévenu a le dernier mot. La juge demande donc dans une question ouverte au prévenu s'il a quelque chose à ajouter. Le prévenu utilise cet appel de type narratif au pied de la lettre car il débite à nouveau une logorrhée hors de propos. P1 se sent manifestement discriminé dans un "État de droit" qui ne lui permet pas d'avoir un avocat compétent pour le défendre alors que son état psychiatrique le requiert. En monopolisant l'espace interactionnel, il bafoue à nouveau les règles d'organisation préférentielle (Bousfield 2008: 227). Malgré l'omission complète de la traduction par l'interprète, la juge réagit cette fois par une contre-offensive (paire OFF-OFF) destinée à protéger la face positive de l'avocate (*in absentia*) et à faire taire le prévenu (mouvement offensif avec visée défensive personnelle et d'un tiers, Bousfield 2008: 193):

> Ja maar nu gaat hij echt te ver, nu gaat hij echt te ver van hier zijn advocaat te beschuldigen. Hij heeft het WOORD gekregen (.) over de zaak hier, maar de relatie met zijn advocaat staat hier hoegenaamd niet ter sprake. En nu gaat hij echt te ver! (+) Dus meneer heeft duidelijk over deze zaak niets meer te zeggen (209).
> *Oui mais maintenant, il va vraiment trop loin, il va vraiment trop loin en accusant son avocate. Il a eu la PAROLE (.) sur l'affaire en examen, mais la relation avec son avocate n'entre pas en ligne de compte. Et maintenant, il va vraiment trop loin ! (+) Donc, Monsieur n'a plus rien à dire sur cette affaire.*

Par cette contre-attaque, elle impose cette fois avec fermeté le silence au prévenu. Après avoir entendu la traduction, qui transmet le FTA, celui-ci obtempère et se soumet à l'autorité institutionnelle (Bousfield 2008: 207).

4. Conclusion de cette étude de cas

L'analyse interactionniste et pragmatique de cette interaction triadique bilingue devant un tribunal correctionnel belge a mis en évidence le rôle central de l'interprète dans la gestion de la "face" des locuteurs primaires. Il s'avère que l'interprète influence leur perception mutuelle, corroborant ainsi les études précédemment citées. Le modèle théorique de Bousfield (2008) a été utilisé pour décrire la variété des actes "impolis" du prévenu vis-à-vis de la juge, de l'interprète et accessoirement de l'avocate. Par des choix prosodiques et lexicaux, l'interprète modifie la force pragmatique des actes impolis du prévenu destinés à la juge et atténue leur caractère menaçant, alors qu'il transmet avec plus de précision la force illocutoire des propos menaçants de la juge destinés au prévenu. Cette double adaptation pragmatique selon l'allocutaire semble indiquer que l'interprète est soucieux de protéger sa face et se range du côté de la justice. Il recherche par ailleurs la protection du juge lorsqu'il est lui-même menacé personnellement.

Il convient de mentionner que la juge semble posséder des notions de français

suffisantes pour réagir en situation par un acte offensif (voir par exemple le tour interruptif 21 au point 3.3.). Il est cependant certain que les omissions de traduction du texte source (quelle qu'en soit la raison) empêchent la juge d'avoir intégralement accès aux propos du prévenu et, par conséquent, de réagir en toute connaissance de cause. Elle ne peut donc apprécier pleinement l'effet cumulatif des FTA et le crescendo dans les actes d'insubordination de ce prévenu récalcitrant.[12]
Au niveau du discours, la tendance suivante semble se dégager du corpus :

- Lorsque l'interprète atténue la force pragmatique de l'acte offensif adressé à la juge ou omet l'acte offensif, celle-ci ne réagit pas (paire OFF-pas de réaction, voir 3.1., 3.2. et deuxième extrait de 3.3).
- Par contre, lorsque l'interprète transmet plus fidèlement à la juge l'attaque verbale dont elle est la cible (voir 3.6.) ou dont l'interprète lui-même est la cible (voir 3.5.), celle-ci réagit de façon plus marquée. La même tendance est observée lorsque la juge est en mesure de percevoir elle-même directement l'attaque (voir premier extrait de 3.3., 3.4. et 3.7.). Elle réagit alors par une opposition (voir 3.3.) ou une contre-attaque (voir 3.4. et 3.7.) sous forme d'un rappel à l'ordre explicite (paire OFF-OFF).

Par conséquent, l'interprète semble ici avoir le pouvoir d'affecter la pragmatique de l'interaction et son déroulement car il empêche la paire "action/réaction" d'atteindre sa complétude séquentielle.[13] L'altération et l'omission des propos menaçants du prévenu par l'interprète ont pour effet d'une part, de "déposséder" ("*disempowerement*", Mason/Stewart 2001: 66) la juge de son contrôle sur l'interaction et de son libre arbitre institutionnel et d'autre part, de dénaturer les propos du prévenu tout en protégeant ce dernier des conséquences interactionnelles ou juridiques potentielles de sa parole.

Dès lors, il n'est pas exclu que le prévenu, face à l'absence de réaction de la juge aux FTA commis, exploite la latitude discursive que lui laisse indirectement l'interprète, défie l'autorité et tente de repousser les limites normatives de l'impolitesse dans ce contexte formel. L'interprète apparaît donc également comme un acteur déterminant dans la gestion des relations de pouvoir entre locuteurs primaires et dans leur positionnement mutuel.

12 Le comportement agressif du prévenu semble être déclenché par un sentiment d'injustice vis-à-vis du système, antérieur à l'interaction. La schizophrénie, dont le prévenu dit être atteint, pourrait également expliquer partiellement les difficultés communicatives du prévenu car cette pathologie affecte entre autres les capacités pragmatiques du locuteur mises en œuvre lors de l'échange d'idées dans un contexte social donné (Titone 2010: 174). Enfin, des questions de genre (homme/femme) pourraient jouer un rôle dans la gestion de la relation interpersonnelle entre la juge et le prévenu, de même que des facteurs culturels.

13 Dès lors, plusieurs actes décrits comme "impolis" dans cet article ne cadrent pas stricto sensu avec la définition de Bousfield (2008) développée dans une situation de communication dyadique. En effet, plusieurs actes sont en réalité unilatéraux et donc d'emblée "*unsuccessful*" ou voués à l'échec en raison des altérations pragmatiques de l'interprète ou de ses omissions.

(.)	Silence équivalent à un battement de mains
(+)	Silence équivalent ou supérieur à 2 secondes
[	Overlapping ou chevauchement de parole : indique le point où un autre participant prend la parole simultanément
=	Latching ou enchaînement immédiat entre deux tours de parole
> >	Marque un passage caractérisé par une accélération
e:	Allongement du son placé devant les deux points
° °	Faible intensité de parole (volume de la voix)
MAJUSCULE	Forte intensité de parole (volume de la voix)
Souligné	Emphase particulière sur une syllabe ou un mot
-	Indique que le constituant qui précède est l'amorce d'un mot interrompu
?	Question (critère grammatical) accompagnée généralement d'une intonation ascendante
,	Sépare des propos (critère grammatical) accompagné généralement d'une intonation indiquant la continuité (le plus souvent légèrement ascendante)
!	Marque intonative d'exclamation
.	Fin d'un propos (critère grammatical) accompagné généralement d'une intonation descendante
...	Intonation en suspens (intonation mourante, intonation finale ambiguë)
(xxx)	Elément ou passage inaudible ou non identifiable par le transcripteur
(( ))	Description de la production vocale qui accompagne la parole, par ex. ((en riant)) ou production vocale isolée ((rit))
[ ]	Méta-commentaire ou glose du transcripteur

Conventions de transcription

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Dialogue Interpreting in an Italian Immigrant Support Centre: mediating constructions of social conditions

Claudio Baraldi
University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Italy)

Abstract

This paper is about interpreter-mediated interactions in an Italian Support Centre assisting immigrants who need to comply with complicated bureaucratic procedures to obtain permits and apply for jobs. The paper analyses sequences including the social worker's questions about the reason for the visit or the immigrant's problem, the mediator's translations and the immigrant's answers. Although the mediator pursues immediate translations of the immigrants' answers, in a number of cases immigrants show serious difficulties in explaining their problems. The mediator deals with these difficulties promoting expanded dyadic sequences with them, followed by translations for social workers. The analysed interpreter-mediated interactions highlight the significance of the mediating function of interpreting in promoting narratives of immigrants' personal and social conditions.

Introduction: interpreting in an Immigrant Support Centre

In the past two decades, studies on interpreting as interaction (Wadensjö 1998) have involved different types of public services, mainly healthcare services (e.g. Angelelli 2004; Baraldi 2012; Baraldi/Gavioli 2007, 2014; Bolden 2000; Davidson 2000; Gavioli 2015; Hsieh 2007), courts (e.g. Angermeyer 2009; Hale 2004), and services for asylum seekers (e.g. Mason 2006; Merlini 2009). This paper analyses interpreter-mediated interactions in an Immigrant Support Centre (ISC) that delivers information and assistance to immigrants who need to renew their residence permit, prepare documents for family reunion, and find a job. The ISC is located in a highly industrialised area in Northern Italy, which has attracted a great number of immigrants in the past fifteen years. The ISC gives information and assistance to immigrants who need to comply with the Italian migration law and bureaucratic procedures.

This paper is based on 18 audio-recorded interpreter-mediated interactions collected in the ISC between June 14 and November 25, 2006. The length of these interactions ranges from 4 minutes and 36 seconds to 34 minutes and 19 seconds, accounting for a total duration of 3 hours and 40 minutes. In these interactions, two Italian social workers provide information and assistance to immigrants from English-speaking African countries (i.e. Nigeria and Ghana). The immigrants speak no or very little Italian; their proficiency in English is not strong, but English is an official language in their countries. A young Ghanaian woman provides interpreting in these encounters. As is the case in many Italian institutions, she is employed as an "intercultural mediator", with the requirement of developing positive intercultural relationships between institutional providers and immigrants (e.g. Ceccatelli Gurrieri 2003; Luatti 2006, 2011). She is employed by an association providing services to public institutions and has a long experience in mediating interactions between immigrants and institutional providers in different settings. She is a proficient non-native speaker of Italian and a speaker of Ghanaian English.

The analysis of interpreter-mediated interactions highlights that immigrants find it difficult to comply with the complicated procedures that are required by the Italian migration law for obtaining a job, a residence permit, or a permit for family reunion, and that they need to be guided in the accomplishment of a long and articulated series of steps. This paper explores the ways in which the immigrants' problems are negotiated with the social workers through language interpreting provided by the mediator. In these interactions, the social workers and the mediator deal with the complicated legal and bureaucratic mechanisms that create (rather than solve) immigrants' problems. The immigrants' limited proficiency in Italian increases their problems in dealing with the procedures. Moreover, the immigrants' limited proficiency in English causes some difficulties in their participation in the interactions. The immigrants' difficulties in understanding and reporting the complicated procedures increase the complexity of interactions. Complexity means that each action is a choice between different possibilities (Luhmann 1995). This paper focuses on the mediator's actions as choices of possible ways of interpreting made in cooperation with the social workers.

Many studies consider interpreters' choice of action relevant for coordinating interpreter-mediated interactions (e.g. Baraldi/Gavioli 2012, 2014; Davitti 2013; Gavioli 2015; Mason 2006; Merlini 2009; Wadensjö 1998). This choice of action may promote interpreters' coordination as mediation. This can be defined as coordinating the production of linguistic and cultural meanings that facilitate interlocutors' active participation. Mediation presupposes interpreters' choice of action in coordinating the interaction and facilitating participation. Against this background, public service interpreting has been described as a form of cultural or intercultural mediation. Wadensjö (1998) observes that interpreting can make cultural differences (concerning "world views") understandable and manageable. Angelelli (2004) maintains that interpreting can bridge different speech and cultural communities. In both visions, dealing with cultural differences is a central aspect of interpreting with immigrants and cultural minorities.

The combination of interpreters' choice of action and mediation may lead to three problems. First, interpreters' choice of action may prevent accurate interpreting, thus determining problems in interpreted-mediated interactions (e.g. Angermeyer 2009; Bolden 2000; Davidson 2000; Hsieh 2007). Second, the function of intercultural mediation, i.e. establishing positive intercultural relations between the participants, can prevail over the function of mediating between languages (Pöchhacker 2008), thus creating problems in interpreting. Third, intercultural mediation can promote cultural "essentialism", i.e. primary attention for cultural differences (e.g. different world views, different cultural communities), thus hiding the complexity and nuances of immigrants' personal stories and negotiation of identity (Holliday 2011; Luatti 2011).

This paper shows that, although the mediator frequently provides immediate translation of the participants' turns at talk, her activity may require different choices of action, which are accepted and supported by the social workers. The mediator's choices facilitate (1) the immigrants' explanations of their personal and social problems and (2) the social workers' understanding of the immigrants' problems.

In the next section, some transcribed extracts from interpreter-mediated interactions in the ISC will be analysed. In these extracts, the social worker is indicated with SW, the mediator with M, and the immigrant with I. Transcription conventions are provided in the appendix.

1. Interpreting as facilitating constructions of immigrants' problems

In the ISC, the social worker's question about the reason for the immigrant's visit usually initiates the sequence in which the immigrants can explain their problems. The design of this type of question is very similar to that of "general inquiry questions" in medical settings, which "allow patients to present their concerns in their own terms" (Heritage/Robinson 2006: 92). General inquiries are non-focused and open questions (Robinson 2001) projecting expectations of immigrants' explanations of their problems. General inquiry questions can be followed by the social worker's further questions to collect more details about immigrants' problems. These questions parallel "history taking questions" in medical interactions, which "propose the relevance of information gathering and set agendas for patients' responses that are sharply constrained" (Heritage/Robinson 2006: 97). In all cases, the mediator's interpreting choices promote the social construction of the immigrants' problems in the interaction.

Extract 1 shows a smooth construction of the immigrant's problem in the interaction, as the mediator systematically provides immediate translation of the participants' turns of talk. SW asks a general inquiry question (turn 12) and two "history taking" questions (turns 16, 20). SW's questions and I's answers are systematically and immediately followed by M's translations (turns 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23).

Extract 1

12) SW. Okay. Eh: di che cosa aveva bisogno.
Okay. Eh: what was he looking for?
13) M: The reason why you come here.
14) I: I come here to know if my soggiorno ((*stay permit*)) is ready.
15) M: You want ha: detto che vuole sapere se il permesso di soggiorno è pronto.
He said that he wishes so know if his stay permit is ready
16) SW: Okay. Allora, prima di: eh controllare sul computer, sul database della Questura se è pronto il permesso di soggiorno, avrei bisogno di sapere se lei è venuto altre volte qui o se è la prima volta.
Okay. So, before eh: checking the computer, the Police database, to see if the stay permit is ready, I would need to know if you came here before or if this is the first time.
17) M: Before looking on the computer that the soggiorno is ready or not, he-he wants to know is this your first time here?
18) I: No. It's not first I'm coming here, is the second time.
19) M: Ha detto che non è la prima volta ma è la seconda volta.
He said that this is not the first time, but the second time.
20) SW: Okay eh: e la prima volta si ricorda più o meno quanto tempo fa è ve[nuto?
Okay eh: and does he remember how long ago he came for the first time?
21) M:
[the first time you came he[re
22) I: [In
August, in August.
23) M: In Agosto.
In August

The analysis reveals an increased complexity of interpreter-mediated interactions when immigrants' explanations of their problems are confused, incomplete or complicated, showing their difficulties in understanding and explaining the complication of bureaucracy and legislation, given also their limited proficiency in both Italian and English.

Extract 2 shows a situation in which I1 has the problem of renewing his residence permit, and I2 helps him to explain this problem, as I1 does not speak English sufficiently well. After M's translation of SW's general inquiry question (turn 15), and a short negotiation between M and I2 (not shown), in turns 30-36, I2 explains the problem, encouraged by M's minimal responses ("mhm") and partial repetition of turn 35 ("is expired"). In turn 37, M translates I's explanation.

However, in turn 38 SW signals that he needs further details with a minimal response (see Gavioli 2012) that invites M to continue her exploration. M explicitly invites I2 to get to the point (turn 39, “and so?”). The next sequence includes I2’s further explanation and M’s minimal responses (turns 40-44) and ends with M’s translation (turn 45). In turn 46, SW shows understanding (“esatto”, exactly).

Extract 2

```
15)  SW: Ehm. Perché sei qui oggi?
     Ehm. Why are you here today?
16)  M: The reason why you are here today.
     (..)
30)  I2: Ok, the reason is that, ehm, he has permesso di soggiorno,
31)  M:  mhm
32)  I2: But since the paper is at the hand, up to date there is
     no work for him!
33)  M: Mhm
34)  I2: So if you know it he find it difficult to go and renew and
     now the paper is expired
35)  M: Is expired
36)  I2: Yea
37)  M: Ok. Ha detto che ha un permesso di soggiorno (.) solo che
     faceva  fatica a trovare un lavoro e adesso il permesso di
     soggiorno è scaduto.
     She said that she has a stay permit (.) but she had problems
     to find a job and now the stay permit has expired.
38)  SW: Mhm (.)
39)  M:  And so?
40)  I2: So eh, we went to eh this place what do they call it, ehh
     Collocamento ((job centre)) [to register so that they can
     give him disoccupato ((unemployed)),So that he can renew it
41)  M:                          [mhm
42)  M: mhm
43)  I2: But what it do is that, because the paper is expired,
     (?) to[do it for him,
44)  M:
           [Mhm
45)  M: E così sono andato al centro impiego a vedere che poteva-
     no dare una lettera di disoccupazione per andare a rinnovare
     il permesso di soggiorno ma loro hanno detto che finché il
     soggiorno è scaduto loro non possono fare niente
     And so I went to the job centre to see if they could give me
     a letter of unemployment to go to have the stay permit re-
     newed but they said that until the permit has expired there
     is nothing they can do.
46)  SW: Esatto, mhm
     Exactly, mhm:
```

In extract 2, the immigrant's expanded explanation triggers the mediator's minimal signals of understanding and clarification request. The mediator's translation is delayed by a dyadic sequence with the immigrant, which is encouraged by the social worker.

Extract 3 shows M's more complex conversational work. Initially, SW recalls the difficulties of a previous interaction with I (turn 12). M translates, stressing the problem of I's limited proficiency in English. I starts to explain her problem in turn 17, announcing her asylum seeker status. M invites I to continue through a minimal response (turn 18). In turn 19, I adds further details regarding her problems in finding a job. In this sequence, I utters the word "asylum" in a low voice (turn 17) and provides a confused explanation of her problem (turn 19). Therefore, M checks her understanding of I's condition (turn 20), then she explains that she is checking because she did not understand well (turn 22). After receiving I's confirmation of her correct understanding, M continues to explore the meaning of the problem (turn 24). In the next turns (26, 28, 30, and 32), M displays understanding of I's expanded explanation ("mhm", "ah okay"). In turn 34, M provides a translation; however, as in extract 2, SW signals his need for more details to start assistance. In turns 36-56, I continues to explain her problem, while M provides minimal signals of understanding. In turn 43, M tries to translate the explanation, but she is interrupted by I, who continues to explain her problem. Finally, M asks for permission to translate (turn 57), and then provides the translation (turns 59, 61), with I's contribution, showing some knowledge of Italian (turn 61). Finally, in turn 62, SW can start to deliver information.

Extract 3

```
12) SW: Ci siamo: dati appuntamento qua per spiegare bene in:
    anche in inglese, il: l-il discorso che aveva portato il
    problema che aveva portato al nostro ufficio
    We fixed an appointment here to explain well in: also in Eng-
    lish the: th-the issue she brought the problem she brought
    to our office
13) M: he is saying that he gave you an appointment today, to
    come here to explain the reason why the last time, because
    you can't speak very well or a little bit English so that
    you can't explain the reason why you came here the last
    time.
14) SW: okay
15) I: Okay
16) SW: Adesso [eh
    Now
17) I:          [Ehm: she: I'm a political, political °asylum°
    seeking
18) M: mhm
19) I: She gave me a paper for two years, for first year two
    years, she said take the paper and go around to find a job
    (.) you can't get it.
20) M: Please: (.) you you're a political asylum
21) I: Yes: ye[s:
```

22) M: [Because I don’t understand very well. You are a political asylum
23) I: Yes, yes
24) M: Who gave you the paper? Because you are saying she gave me the paper. Who give you- the government?
25) I: The government, the government gave me the paper
26) M: mhm, ah okay
27) I: She go interview,
28) M: Mh[m:
29) I: [And it’s for Rome,
30) M: Mhm
31) I: And from- the commissioner give me the paper.
32) M: Ah Okay
33) I: Yes, everything and passport and everything.
34) M: Ah: okay, Ha detto, sta dicendo che ha venuto, è venuto qua per chiedere eh: in Italia come un asilo politico. E’ già andata a Roma per fare la commissione, avevano già dato, assegnato un: come un rifugiato politico. Hanno già dato i documenti, hanno già fatto mhm: lei dice un passaporto, è qua, e tutti i documenti sono qua.
Ah: okay, she said, she is saying that she has come, has come here to ask eh: in Italy as a political asylum. She has already been to Rome to do the committee, they had already given, assigned a: as a political refugee. They have already given her the documents, have already done mhm; she says a passport, it’s here, and all documents are here.
(1)
35) SW: Mhm
36) I: And, she did, you take the paper to find a job an[d go to the companies and agenzia ((*agency*)) and so forth
37) M: [eh:
38) I: She gave me that for two years
39) M: Mhm
40) I: I go around to find a job to do
41) M: Mhm
42) I: She can’t get (.) it
43) M: Okay Sta dicendo [che
Okay *she is saying [that*
44) I: [The:n, she gave me another two years again, she go round and find a job, the agenzia people they told me, this paper is for political
45) M: Mhm
46) I: So if you find a job and you can’t get a job, government pay you, she give me money
47) M: Okay.
48) I: If there is no problem at all about me
49) M: Ah okay
50) I: =so the government give, give me anything
51) M: Ah, okay
52) I: Now the person that I stay with him, now they are fed up, because they will rent and give me food and so forth, you know eh:: ehm::: people [she fed up now

53) M: [Okay
54) M: Okay
55) I: She told me now to find a place to stay, and: you see? [Very: very difficult for me,
56) M: [okay
57) M: Okay. Please can I explain it to him?
58) I: Yes, yes
59) M: Okay. Sta dicendo avevano già dato questo ehm documento du- quattro anni fa per cercare un lavoro che era valido per due anni (.) ha girato con quel permesso di soggiorno con- come rifugiato politico per cercare lavoro nelle agenzie ne:[come si chiamano, nelle aziende
Okay. She is saying that they had already given ehm document tw-four years ago to look for a job that was valid for two years (.) she has gone around with that stay permit with-as political refugee to look for a job in the agencies in: [how do you call them in companies
60) I: [company
61) M: ma non ha trovato nessun lavoro si è scaduto i due anni di permesso di soggiorno che hanno dato i primi due anni, hanno rinnovato e hanno dato un altro due anni che poteva lavorare. Comincia ancora girare, a fare tutti le domande e un'agenzia di lavoro ha detto che anzi con questo tipo di permesso di soggiorno non può lavorare. Che lo stato deve dare un contributo, ma fino adesso lo Stato non ha dato nessun contributo e non ho trovato il lavoro. Ha un problema con m: le persone che vive con loro perché fino a che non ha lavoro non può pagare l'affitto, fa fatica a mangiare e questi persone che vive con loro, dicono di andare via perché non può contribuire a pagare le spese.
Bus she didn't find any job. It has expired the two years of stay permit that they gave the first two years, they have renewed it and they gave two more years so that she could work. She starts to go around again, to apply to all and an agency said that on the contrary with this type of permit she can't work. That the State must give her a grant, but until now the State didn't give any grant and she didn't find any job. She has a problem with m: the people she lives with them because until she doesn't work she cannot pay the rent, she has problems to eat and these people who lives with them tell her to go away because she cannot contribute to pay for the bills.
62) SW: Okay, allora ehm le dici che io ho sentito per il discorso del eh: motivo del soggiorno, asilo politico quindi già riconosciuta rifugiata […]
Okay, so ehm tell her that I have asked for the question of eh: reasons of the stay, political asylum, therefore she has been already recognized as a refugee […]

In extract 3, the mediator's work on the immigrant's expanded explanation is more complex than in extract 2, in that it includes two relevant clarification questions, which are triggered by the immigrant's difficulties in explaining her problem and by the negotiation of translation with the immigrant, who continues to explain her problem. As in extract 2, the mediator's work is encouraged by the social worker.

In the first part of extract 4 (turns 5-11), M provides immediate translation of the participants' turns of talk (SW's general inquiry question, I's answer explaining his problem, SW's delivery of preliminary information and I's confirmation of understanding). In turn 13, M translates SW's history taking question about I's request of family reunion. In turn 14, I answers that he wants to join his wife. Although this answer seems clear, M asks for clarification (turn 15, "only your wife?"), probably because, in answering the first question, I has added the word "family" to the initial word "spouse" (turn 7). In turn 16, I reveals his intention to invite one daughter. M repeats the gist of I's answer ("one daughter") to be sure that this is all, and then she translates. In turn 20, SW signals his understanding with a repetition.

Extract 4

```
5)   SW: Okay Jefferson (.) Tu sei venuto qua per che motivo?
                            For what reason did you come here?
6)   M: The reason why you are here.
7)   I: I'm here to find out the requirement the country deserve
     one to bring your spouse or your family [(?)
8)   M:                                      [Your family Sei
     venuto a chiedere informazioni, le cose che ha bisogno quan-
     do vuol fare ricongiungimento familiare.
     You came here to ask for information, the things one needs
     when he wants a family reunion
9)   SW: Okay. Mhm ti: do: un foglio: con scritto che cose servo-
     no per fare il ricongiungimento. Poi ti spiego quali sono i
     documenti più importanti e che abbiamo bisogno in fretta.
     I´ll give you a sheet with the things needed for the family
     reunion. Then, I will explain what the most important doc-
     uments are and those we need as soon as possible.
10)  M: okay. He's going to give you a fo:rm and show you all the
     things you need so that you can know how to do the things
     as early as possible.
11)  I: Okay.
(2)
12)  SW: Con chi vuoi fare il ricongiungimento [familiare
     With whom do you want to have the family reunion?
13)  M:                                        [who want, who
     do you want to bring in?
14)  I: My wife.
15)  M: Only your wife?
16)  I: No, and one daughter.
17)  M: One daughter.
(.)
```

18) SW: Okay.
19) M: La moglie e una figlia.
The wife and one daughter
20) SW: Una moglie e una figlia.
A wife and one daughter

In extract 4, the mediator's work includes a clarification question and a repetition to check the immigrant's answer. These choices of action are triggered by the immigrant's confused description of his wish for family reunion.

In the first part of extract 5 (turns 1-8), as in extract 4, M provides immediate translation of the participants' turns of talk (SW's general inquiry question, I's answer, SW's "history taking" question). In turn 9, I hesitantly explains that the police have postponed permits of family reunion. M asks for clarification (turn 10, "only yours or all?"), then she checks I's answer (turn 12, "the people. Is not only you"). In turn 13, I provides more, confused details concerning his personal story, rather than simply confirming M's understanding. Therefore, M checks again through a direct question (turn 14). After receiving I's confirmation, M investigates the meaning of turn 13 through an expansion as development (turn 16, "and then you came here"), a question (turn 18), a reformulation (turn 20), and a repetition of part of I's turn (turn 22). After signalling understanding (turn 24), M provides a translation (turn 26), prefaced by a declaration of difficulties in understanding what I was saying, thus justifying the length of the dyadic interaction with I.

Extract 5

1) SW: Perché sei venuto qua Donald?
2) *Why did you come here Donald?*
M: Donald, the reason why you are here
3) I: Ah okay I'm here to (.) inform (.) him that (.) eh: I've (.) I've make application for bringing my my what do you call it, my family here (.) And the embassy in Ghana, they've stopped (.) eh: they've stopped (.) doing the proposal of the stamping stamping of the (.) of the letter
4) M: Mhm
5) I: And I don't know the reason why.
6) M: Mhm, okay. Ha detto che è venuto qua, è venuto qua per fare la domanda per la per ricongiungimento familiare. In Ghana, l'ambasciata, la procedura che sta facendo, ha smesso per mettere un timbro su un documento. E voleva chiedere perché.
He said that he came here he came here to apply for the for family reunion. In Ghana, the embassy, the procedure that it was doing, it stopped to put a stamp on a document. And he wanted to ask why.
7) SW: L'ambasciata ti ha:: rilasciato un foglio, qualcosa con scritto che: non, non ti fanno, non ti danno: i fogli? Come fai a sapere che l'ambasciata si è bloccata?
Did the embassy give you a sheet, something saying that they won't make won´t give you the sheets? How can you know that the embassy is blocked?

8) M: The embassy, mhm, does he give you a paper or write a letter or show you the reason why they don't want to give, they don't want, they've stopped, or they have don't want to put a stamp on [it

9) I: [No. When I went there, they said, they said they have postponed all those eh:: all th- all those eh: papers.

10) M: Only yours, or all?

11) I: All those, all those [peoples

12) M: [those people. is not only y[ou

13) I: [yes: I went there, eh I came here the other day with the stamped stamped the paper, all the documents I need to do, produce (?) produce eh the the what do you call it, eh the stamp of the embassy they say, they have eh eh they have expired. So, as to return all the papers back, I returned the papers back about about four, three four (2) eh I will say three months ago. But I follow it up to Ghana. I came here just Friday, this last Friday, to check up what is going on but they still they have a suspended all those things.

14) M: Eh, excuse me. You said that the embassy has suspend everybody's procedure?

15) I: Yes, that was what I was told

16) M: You were told. And then you came here.

17) I: Mhm

18) M: And what did they- who told you the other things?

19) I: No, I just came in, eh last Friday

20) M: So, last Friday that embassy told you that they've suspend(ed) everything

21) I: That was eh:: I would say, three weeks ago

22) M: Three weeks ago

23) I: Three weeks ago I was in Ghana

24) M: Ah

25) I: Myself I myself was in Ghana

26) M: Okay. No sta, perché non ho capito bene, sta dicendo che è andato in Ghana tre settimane fa è andato all'ambasciata per chiedere come sta andando la: procedura di ricon-ricongiungimento e l'ambasciata hanno detto a lui che hanno sospeso per il momento tutti (.) le procedure che stanno facendo per tutti (.) Allora ritornato qua e vuoi chiedere a voi perché.

Okay. No he is because I didn't understand well, he is saying that he has gone to Ghana three weeks ago he has gone to the embassy to ask how the: procedure of fami-family reunion was going on and the embassy have told him that for the moment they have suspended everybody (.) the procedures that they are doing for everybody (.) Therefore he has come back here and want to ask you why

27) SW: Allora, la: noi non sappiamo ogni ambasciata che cosa fa […].

Well, the: we don't know what each embassy does […]

In extract 5, the immigrant's difficulties in explaining his problem trigger many of the mediator's choices of action, including clarification questions, repetitions, reformulations to check the immigrant's answers, and expansions as developments.

Extracts 2-5 show that the dyadic sequences between the mediator and the immigrant expand the immigrants' stories of their problems. These dyadic sequences can be provided both after the social worker's first general inquiry question (extracts 2-3) and after his following history taking questions (extracts 4-5). They show complex interpreter-mediated interactions, originating from the immigrants' difficulties and uncertainties in explaining their problems, which trigger the mediator's exploration of the meaning of these problems.

2. Interpreting as mediation of immigrants' stories of personal and social conditions

The analysis shows different ways in which immigrants' problems are construed in interpreter-mediated interactions. By answering social workers' general inquiry and history taking questions, immigrants explain their problems regarding residence permits, finding a job, or family reunion. Immigrants' explanations show their search for inclusion in the Italian society and their struggle with the procedures that exclude them.

The mediator's translations of these explanations are provided either after each turn, in smooth triadic interactions, or after dyadic sequences with the immigrant, in which the mediator's actions are intensified and differentiated. In these dyadic sequences, the mediator's clarification requests, reformulations, minimal responses, and repetitions reproduce a well-known pattern of interpreting as "explicit coordination" (Wadensjö 1998). However, the importance of coordination *as mediation* is particularly evident here, as the mediator extends two well-known activities of mediation: active listening, through minimal responses and repetitions (Bush/Folger 1994) and promotion of narratives, through questions, reformulations and expansions as developments (Winslade/Monk 2008). Through these actions, the mediator supports and encourages immigrants' explanations of their problems.

The complexity of dyadic sequences is based on this activity of mediation, and escalates from the mediator's simple use of active listening (extract 2) to her intense promotion of narratives (extracts 3-5). Mediation is prompted by the immigrants' difficulties and hesitations in explaining their problems in the context of a complicated legal and organisational system, difficulties and hesitations that are increased by their limited language proficiency. Therefore, the complexity of interpreter-mediated interaction results from the combination of the immigrant's difficulty in explaining and the mediator's intensified coordination.

After a dyadic sequence, the mediator invariably provides a translation of the immigrant's explanation, which can thus become a resource for the social worker's assistance. The mediator is not perfectly proficient in the use of the Italian grammar; nevertheless, she systematically provides accurate after-sequence translations of immigrants' explanations. In addition, the mediator makes her difficulties in understanding explicit, explaining to the social worker why she promotes dyadic sequences. The combination of support in dyadic sequences and translation thereafter promotes the mediation between immigrants' difficulty in expressing problems of social exclusion and social workers' information and assistance.

Mediation is favoured by social workers' actions. Although the design of their questions parallel those of healthcare providers, social workers do not act as "experts" who take responsibility for solving immigrants' problems. Healthcare providers never lose authority and responsibility in solving patients' problems, providing diagnoses and prescriptions, even when they promote patients' active participation (e.g. Beach/Dixson 2001; Heritage/Lindström 2012). Social workers only provide assistance for problems which must be solved by immigrants themselves. This limited authority may explain why social workers rarely interfere with the mediator's exploration of immigrants' problems of social exclusion. In the extracts shown above, only in two cases do the social worker's minimal responses indirectly invite the mediator to continue her investigation (extracts 2 and 3). This minimal interference makes evident that expansions in dyadic sequences do not threaten the social workers' authority; it indicates that the mediator is authorised to extend her coordination of the interaction.

The analysis conducted in this paper shows that the mediator's expanded coordination can accomplish an important function in the interactional construction of the immigrants' problems of social exclusion, while supporting the social workers' provision of information and assistance. The mediator's coordination, while being based on her choices of action, avoids the risk of "mediator-centred" interpreting, in which interpreters substitute institutional providers, creating problems of communication. The mediator's coordination promotes and highlights immigrants' personal stories and their struggle to achieve social inclusion. Therefore, interpreting as mediation means empowering participants' expressions (Bush/Folger 1994) and personal narratives (Winslade/Monk 2008).

Finally, it should be underlined that in the analysed interpreter-mediated interactions, immigrants do not display their cultural identities, i.e. they do not present themselves as members of specific groups or communities. They display their personal attempts to achieve inclusion in the Italian society, looking for a residence permit, a job, and family reunion. They display "ontological narratives", i.e. personal stories that "constitute and make sense" of immigrants' lives and are influenced by social conditions (Baker 2006: 28). The mediator aligns with these narratives, and therefore her activity of coordination does not promote the interactional production of "cultural differences" or "cultural identities". The social identity of "immigrant", which is construed in the ISC, is not associated with cultural identity, e.g. as "Africans", "Nigerians" or "Ghanaians". Rather, it is associated with personal stories of marginalisation and exclusion, and mediation consists in expanding and clarifying these stories. In conclusion, interpreter-mediated interactions do not show cultural essentialism, but a cultural work that narrows the gap between immigrants' personal narratives and the institutional narrative (Baker 2006: 31).

Transcription conventions

(.)	barely noticeable pause
(2)	noticeable, timed pause (n = length in seconds)
A text [text B [text	square brackets aligned across adjacent lines denote the start of overlapping talk.
tex-	syllable cut short
te:xt	lengthening of previous sound or syllable
(?)	untranscribable audio
=text	latched to the preceding turn in transcript
Text	stressed syllable or word
°text°	low volume
.,?!	punctuation provides a guide to intonation
((*sneezes*))	transcriber's comments
translation	translation in italics

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Negotiating territories of knowledge: on interpreting talk in guided tours

Laura Gavioli
University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Italy)

Abstract

The problem of interpreting what is "behind the turns", not explicitly said by participants in their utterances, has presented a dilemma in studies of dialogue interpreting, leading to controversies about how far interpreters should engage in dealing with implicit issues they get to know, but which are not made clear by the interlocutors. In this paper, I analyse data where a guide and an interpreter present a group of tourists with locations where the history and tradition of local products are exhibited. In my data interpreters expand the guides' presentation in their rendition, adding quite a lot of information they know about, but which has not been explicitly mentioned by the guide. I suggest that the notion of epistemics, developed in conversation analysis, may help explain the dynamics regulating the distribution of responsibilities of guides and interpreters in dealing with relevant contents and I conclude that rights and obligations to explicate what is behind the guides' talk can largely be seen as a product of the interaction.

Introduction

The function of interpreting in dialogic settings like doctor-patient consultations, police or asylum seeking interviews, or talk shows, has been widely debated in interpreting studies' literature for the last twenty years. In particular, research focus has undergone a shift of interest from studies on cognitive processes and memory (Gile 1995) to analyses in pragmatics and interaction (Wadensjö 1998;

Davidson 2000, 2002; Bolden 2000; Mason 2006; Baraldi/Gavioli 2012a and see also Pöchhacker/Shlesinger 2002: part 7), which have given increasingly more importance to the study of context and its relationships with language choices. The variability of meaning in relation to context has, however, posed problems in dialogue interpreting studies. Attributing meaning on the basis of contextual circumstances, while inevitable on the one hand, may present the dilemma of interpreting and rendering what is implicit and not overtly uttered, what remains "behind the turns"; so how far interpreters should interpret what has not been said explicitly by the interlocutors has been considered as a delicate and possibly risky issue.

In this contribution, I analyse naturally occurring interactions in tourist-commercial settings, where a group of tourists are conducted by a guide and an interpreter to visit locations where the history and the tradition of local products are shown. I focus in particular on the interpreters' rendition of the guide's presentation and I analyse the interaction involving the guide and the interpreter. Interpreters in my data are quite active: they participate in talk expanding the guide's description much beyond what is "said in the turns". The way they do so, however, is regulated in the interaction, having partly to do with the participants' roles, but being largely negotiated as a matter of access to information that guides and interpreters have and their rights and obligations to deal with it, in their talk with the tourists. I suggest that such negotiation accounts for the responsibilities interpreters may take in collaborating with the guides in the achievement of effective bilingual presentations.

1. Talk *in* and *behind* the turns

Studies in Conversation Analysis (especially Heritage 2012, 2013a and 2013b) have recently revisited an interest in how the contextual background is brought into talk and made relevant in the interaction. Heritage notes that, in talk, "we achieve cognitive economies [...] by relying on words and sentences to evoke the contextual specification that recipients will use in understanding what we mean by what we say" (2013a: 552). In order to explain this "evoking" mechanism, Heritage reports an experiment by Garfinkel whereby speakers were asked to comment a short bit of their conversation by explaining what "was behind" it, what remained unspoken but still referred to in talk. Garfinkel's example is interesting for my purposes here, for a series of reasons I shall explain below. For the sake of clarity, let me report the example. This is a short bit of conversation between husband and wife:

Husband:	Dana succeeded in putting a penny in a parking meter today without being picked up.
Wife:	Did you take him to the record store?

And this is the speakers' explanation of what is "behind" this couple of turns, the knowledge of context which makes their understanding of each other likely:

> This afternoon as I was bringing Dana, our four-year-old son, home from the nursery school, he succeeded in reaching high enough to put a penny in a parking meter when we parked in a meter zone, whereas before he had always had to be picked up to reach that high. Since he put a penny in a meter that means you stopped while he was with you. I know that you stopped at the record store either on the way to get him or on the way back. Was it on the way back, so that he was with you or did you stop there on the way to get him and somewhere else on the way back? (Heritage 2013a: 552).

What is interesting in this example is that it illustrates quite evidently that a lot of what is talked about is referred to, evoked in the utterances and in their sequential relations but not "lexicalized" or spoken out in the turns.

Interpreting studies have long dwelt on the necessity of rendering "faithfully" what was said and the indexical characteristics of talk that are shown in Garfinkel's example have posed a number of problems regarding their interpretation and rendition (see e.g. Hale 2007: 6-7). Wadensjö (1998) has distinguished between talk "as text" and talk "as activity" and has highlighted that, while in treating talk as text, interpreters focus on the rendition of the content of single turns as if they were "short speeches", by treating talk as activity, interpreters consider the general communicative functions that are achieved through the turn-sequence. Wadensjö (1998) has made clear that treating talk as text is not enough for rendering interaction effectively, since turns' "texts" may not fully account for their purposes and functions in relation to each other and to the goals of the interaction.

An account of the limit highlighted by Wadensjö (1998, and see also Davidson 2002) comes from a study by Mason (2006) about the notion of "underdeterminacy". Mason's notion is not far from what is illustrated in Garfinkel's example above. He shows that utterances are evocative of context that is assumed to be shared by interlocutors. When participants at talk involve an interpreter, what is assumed as shared context between the interpreter and one interlocutor may not likewise be assumed in talk involving the other interlocutor. In these cases, effective rendition of utterances requires interpreters to "interpret" such contextual assumptions and make them explicit in the other language. In this respect, a lack of explicitation may not only be insufficient in providing sensible rendition, but also misleading.

In dialogue interpreting, the problem of rendering "what is behind talk" is interesting because it is directly related to what needs to be "brought back in talk", that is the problem of speaking the unspoken out, by interpreting and attributing it a meaning and a function. This requires reflexive actions involving "communication on communication", where the sense and goals of the interaction are made explicit to the interlocutors. In dialogue interpreting these types of actions have been called (by Wadensjö 1998 who first introduced the issue, but see also Baraldi/Gavioli 2012b) "coordination". In Wadensjö's view, coordination is related to "talk as activity" and is what makes the sense and function of turns at talk clear, largely referring to "what is behind" them.

While coordination is crucial to make sense of what is said, speaking the unspoken out, it also poses a problem of participants' rights and obligations: if interpreters manipulate renditions in order to account for interactional sense-making, to what extent can explicitation of communicative functions be the achievement of interpreters' activity and to what extent does it require participation of and negotiation with the other interlocutors? A number of naturally occurring data-based studies of interpreter-mediated interactions have now accounted for interactional dynamics related to the function of mediation in diverse settings (see e.g. Davidson 2000; Bolden 2000; Keselman *et al.* 2010; Pasquandrea 2011; Traverso 2012; Baraldi 2012; Zorzi 2012; Straniero Sergio 2012; Davitti 2013; Gavioli 2015). To the best of my knowledge, however, not much has been written, about the interpreters' rights or obligations to deal with informational content, e.g. expanding it – the bulk of the discussion being in terms of codes of conduct (see among others Angelelli 2007; Hale 2007; Tebble 2012). In Conversation Analysis, the notion of "epistemics" has been used to refer to socially distributed rights of access to knowledge (by e.g. Heritage 2008; Heritage/Raymond 2005). These give participants "authority" to perform particular activities in talk (e.g. answer questions, Heritage 2012). In the next section of this paper, I shall deal with this notion and its potential interest for interactions mediated by interpreters. I suggest that while expanded renditions are used to quite a large extent in my data to make the sense of the presentations effective for the tourists, they are not the sole initiative of interpreters. In fact, guides and interpreters deal with information for the tourists in different ways, which are based on a negotiation of their rights and obligations in dealing with it.

2. Territories of knowledge: the notion of epistemics

A common activity in conversation is that of telling each other about issues which are new, unknown or in some way informative for our interlocutors. In interaction, participants negotiate the "informativeness" and the novelty of the issues dealt with as well as who can knowledgeably speak about them. Research on epistemics in conversation analysis concerns the knowledge claims that participants at talk "register, assert, and defend in interaction" (Heritage 2013a: 555).

Heritage (2013a) distinguishes between two aspects of epistemics in talk. The first has to do with the actual negotiation of what is known and unknown to participants in conversation. Conversation is an interactional construction and, in their contributions, interlocutors project future actions and react to previous actions. In so doing, they display their understanding of each other's contributions and their right to contribute accordingly. These rights include the legitimacy of providing unknown or partially known information and there are mechanisms by which participants show whether possibly unknown information is in fact unknown and informative for their interlocutors. Some such mechanisms are those concerning pre-announcements, as in "did you hear the terrible news" – "no, what?" (Terasaki 2004: 184) or "oh" replies to statements, where "oh" means "I didn't know" (Heritage 1984).

The second aspect of epistemics has to do with what Heritage (2013a: 556) calls the "relative epistemic position" of participants in reference to some information or state of affairs that is dealt with in the interaction. This is the "display of authority" participants have on particular matters of knowledge. For example, speakers who are more knowledgeable about a piece of news or information may use techniques to show this and similarly participants who are less knowledgeable about matters they are dealing with may use devices to downplay their claims, for instance by asking for confirmation from those they attribute more knowledge to. This second aspect is related to how utterances are understood, for instance in distinguishing between claims and requests. Heritage (2013a) shows that utterances with a declarative form like "your line has been busy" or "you're married" are normally taken up as requests or invitations to provide more information when those who proffer them know less about the matter than those they are addressing.

In relation to interlocutors' epistemic positions and their impact on action projection and understanding, Heritage (2012, 2013a, 2013b) further distinguishes between epistemic *status* and epistemic *stance*. Epistemic status involves participants' rights to possess and express knowledge, in talk, in relation to each other. When asking questions, for instance, speakers in turn show their lack of knowledge about the matter and they attribute this knowledge to the person being asked. So status has to do with knowing or not knowing and the right to express such (non)knowledge in the interaction. Epistemic stance instead has to do with the ways in which (non)knowledge is actually expressed and the choice of the ways to express it may project different types of reaction from the interlocutor. For instance, in expressing their status of non-knowledge about their interlocutor's marital position, requesters may use a question like "Are you married?" or a declarative like "you're married". Status is that of not-knowing in both cases, but stance is modulated in a way that the first form expresses higher ignorance than the second and projects a "yes" or "no" reply, while the second invites a confirmation.

In interpreter-mediated interaction, the issue of attribution and acknowledgment of rights to express knowledge is a rather complex and important one. Interpreters possess knowledge acquired from participants in talk during preliminary briefings, during the encounter or from their experience in participating in other similar events; such access to knowledge gives them the possibility to interpret contents which are not fully explicated and render them explicitly. So, the necessity of interpreting and rendering what is behind the turns accounts for the interpreters' access to information. Interpreters, however, have access to and deal with information another participant is supposed to be more knowledgeable about; it may thus be interesting to see how different epistemic participants' statuses are expressed and managed in interpreted talk.

In my presentations of local products, interpreters render guides' presentations by clarifying issues and explaining their relevance for the history and tradition of the local productions. In their rendition activity, they add quite a lot of information, thus showing expert knowledge of the issues dealt with. Still, negotiation is such as to account for the fact that additional information is "authorised" by the guide, who on the one hand, is acknowledged as the "epistemic authority", but on the other legitimises the interpreter to deal with particular contents, recognising the latter's expertise in doing so. As a result, information delivery as well as the responsibilities in delivering it can be looked at as products of the interaction.

3. The data

The data analysed in this paper consist of nine talks, each of about 45 minutes. Six were recorded at five different productions of Traditional Balsamic Vinegar, three were recorded at two different historic car collections (Comastri 2010). The settings are small businesses, often family-run activities, located in the countryside. They are organised as small museums with guided tours that lead tourists to appreciate the history and tradition of Balsamic Vinegar production and of car manufacturing respectively, since the two are commercially important activities in the area where the recording took place. Each tour is conducted by a guide (who may be the owner of the production or the collection) and an interpreter. The guides speak Italian (though they may occasionally switch to English) and the interpreters render what the guides say into English. The interpreters involved in the recordings are three women aged between 25 and 30, all professional, native Italian interpreters, with at least one year of working experience. The interactions are normally opened with greetings, welcoming and introduction of the participants to each other, then a presentation of the exhibited objects follows with an explanation of their significance for the history and tradition of the production. There may be questions from the tourists and these are normally concentrated in the last part of the tour or in the conclusion. Data were only audio-recorded, meaning that posture, gaze and gestures are not documented. Transcriptions follow conventions commonly used in Conversation Analysis (Jefferson 1978; Psathas/Anderson 1990; and see also Niemants 2012) and punctuation is used to approximate intonation. A literal English translation is provided in italics below each Italian turn. All personal details have been altered to protect anonymity.

4. On knowledge display in interpreted guided tours

In presentations of local productions, guides introduce the tourists to the products on display by explaining their significance in the local history and tradition. Interpreters render these presentations for the tourists and in so-doing they add a lot that remains unsaid by the guides. For instance, they explain the meaning of technical terms or characteristics, they provide examples to illustrate how processes take place, they clarify differences between apparently similar types of products. These expansions are launched by the interpreters and accepted and legitimised in the guides' talk. In what follows, I will show two types of sequences which I consider indicative of the work guides and interpreters do to manage and distribute the delivery of their presentations.

4.1. Interpreters' expansions and guides' acknowledgments

Possibly the most frequent mechanism to accomplish presentations in my data is that the guide provides a description of a product or a production process and the interpreter expands the presentation, adding details or explanations to what the guide said. Interpreters' expansions in my data are of different types and length; they may, however, be distinguished into two main types: (1) short clarifications of the meaning of technical items, frequently introduced by "which" and the verb 'be', in a subordinate or parenthetic clause ("which is …"); (2) clarifications or explanations of production processes, for instance by giving examples or clarifying differences. While the first seems to involve rather short expansions given in the form of terminological definitions, the second appears to involve more expertise in the production dynamics. Some examples follow below.

The first three extracts are from the first category. Extracts 1 and 2 provide, respectively, a short clarification of the word "must", which is used here to refer to the grape juice, the main vinegar ingredient, and about a car's speed, first expressed in miles and then in kilometres per hour. Extract 3 is a bit more elaborate and the "brand" that is mentioned by the guide is described in more detail by the interpreter, explaining the meaning of the brand and of the letters branded on the barrels. All clarifications are given in subordinate clauses introduced by "which" and the verb 'be':

(1)

Guide: l'uva viene pigiata come per fare il vino poi il mosto che scende viene cotto
grapes are crushed as for making wine then the must running down gets cooked

Int: the grapes are crushed as for making wine, and then the juice, **which is called must**, is cooked

(2)

Guide: pensate che però per allora i centossessanta orari era una velocità stratosferica, era fuori dai coppi, era una cosa straordinaria insomma
think however that for those times a hundred-sixty per hour was stratospheric speed, it was out of mind, in brief it was extraordinary

Int: in those time one hundred miles, **which are one hundred and sixty kilometres per hour** were really really extraordinary

(3)

Guide: l'altro controllo che fa questo ente lo fa nelle acetaie, controllando tutte le botti e facendo un marchio alle botti e ogni botte ha un numero uno diverso dall'altro, sono tanti numeri per ogni botte c'è un numero diverso dall'altro. questo per tutti i produttori di aceto balsamico
the other control that this institution does is inside the productions, by controlling all the barrels and branding the barrels and all the barrels have different numbers, there are as many numbers as the barrels each has a different one. this for all producers of balsamic vinegar

Int: the other control that the consortium makes, is coming, is going to every producer and applying that marking ABTM **which stands for traditional balsamic vinegar of modena**. A stands for aceto **which is vinegar**, they also apply a number to every single barrel. so again everything, everything is under control

These interpreters' expansions uncover information that the guides seem to take for granted, like familiarity with the word "must", units of measure, or the meaning of the writing on the brand, which may be clear to Italian speakers, but not to speakers of other languages.

Extracts 4 and 5 below show examples of the second category. These expansions are longer and more elaborate than the previous ones, adding more information. In extract 4, the interpreter explains how quality control on traditional balsamic vinegar takes place. Not only does she repeat the information given by the guide that quality committees establish how many bottles can be produced, but she also explains why limiting the quantity of bottles guarantees vinegar quality:

(4)

Guide: ecco, loro in base a questi dati, eh, stabiliscono la quantità di bottiglie che ogni anno ogni acetaia può produrre
right, they on the basis of these data, eh, establish the quantity of bottles which every year, every vinegar production can produce

Int: and so, according to the content the consortium knows how much eh (.) each barrel can contain, **and from that datum they also know how much vinegar the producer can produce every year, so if, so that, i mean, for example if they produce more vinegar they might understand that something's not so good, something's wrong at some point, so that's why they control the barrels and the content of the barrels (among every barrel)**

In extract 5, the interpreter clarifies that the guide's statement about the balsamic vinegar of Modena is to be intended in relation to a distinction between so called "balsamic vinegar" and "traditional balsamic vinegar", where the latter is the pure, precious one, made out of grape juice only:

(5)

Guide: perché l'aceto balsamico di modena è semplicemente una miscela di mosto cotto o concentrato, aceto di vino, e caramello di zucchero aggiunto
because the balsamic vinegar of modena is simply a mixture of cooked or concentrated must, wine vinegar, and added sugar caramel

Int: cause the balsamic vinegar, **so the normally industrially produced or produced in a quicker way** is just cooked must and with addition of or concentrated must with addition of mh wine vinegar and sugar caramel and so on. **whereas in the traditional balsamic vinegar only cooked must, nothing else at all**

So interpreters' expansions explain what is "behind" the guide's turns, how the guides' words may be interpreted in order to appreciate the product descriptions.

Expanded renditions can be reacted to by the guides in two ways. The first is what may be called 'silent acceptance' of the interpreter's contribution: in this case the guides simply continue their explanation in Italian for the tourists. The second is that the guide acknowledges the interpreter's contribution before going on. Guides' acknowledgments normally take one of two forms: "esatto" ("precisely") or "perfetto" ("perfect"), other possible variants being "okay", "ecco" ("that's it") or "come hai detto" ("as you said"). While both guides' reactions show an acceptance of interpreters' expanded deliveries, the function of the guides' acknowledgments seems interesting to me, first, because they highlight that guides may be aware that the interpreters have provided more information; second, because by acknowledging the interpreters' addition of information, the guides claim both their right to evaluate its relevance and appropriateness, and the expertise of the interpreter who knows what of "the unsaid" may need to be said to make the explanation effective.

While it is not easy to say whether guides *always* realise when interpreters add details in their renditions, it is interesting to note that in almost all cases where we have guides' acknowledgments, those occur after the interpreters' expansions and not when the interpreters' renditions are close repetitions of the guides' talk. We have, moreover, no occurrences of acknowledgments when interpreters add short definitions of the type "which is ,..". All acknowledgments in my data occur following expansions which provide more than a gloss or a specification: extracts 4 and 5 above for instance are both acknowledged respectively with "okay" and "esatto" immediately after the interpreter's renditions (data not shown).

I thus draw a tentative conclusion from what has been discussed in this section. First, expansions, both minimal and more elaborate, are performed by interpreters and accepted by the guides as part of the information provided by the interpreters. Second, guides have, however, the possibility to display that they can understand when "extra" information is provided by the interpreters and acknowledge it as part of what is relevant to say in presentations. When they do so, not only do the guides acknowledge and legitimise the work of the interpreters, but they also claim their rights and obligations to support it as correct and appropriate. In other words they "authorise" the interpreters to use their knowledge as "experts" in delivering information to tourists in English. This expansion-acknowledgement mechanism then accounts for one way in which responsibilities about information presentation (and the access to knowledge that is involved) are regulated in interpreter-mediated presentations in guided tours.

4.2. Interpreters' requests

Interpreters in my data have worked with the guides for a while and they know about the recounting and a number of details. Above, we have seen that they use some of their knowledge to expand the guides' explanations in rendition for international tourists and that this work is accepted and acknowledged by the guides. Another way in which interpreters introduce extra information is by making short interruptions in their renditions and asking the guide a question about something that has not been said and may instead be relevant to mention. These questions have the same form as requests for repetition: they may ask for details, e.g. "quanto cuoce?" [how long does it cook?], or for confirmation, e.g. "cinque?" [five?]. Unlike requests for repetition, however, these questions ask about details which have not been mentioned in previous talk by the guide and raise them as potentially relevant issues to tell the tourists about. Guides normally confirm or slightly correct the detail asked about and the interpreters go on in their rendition including the 'new' detail in it.

Let us look at two examples. In extract 6, the interpreter's request "quella è una botte madre?" [is that a mother barrel?] refers to the way very old barrels are called: while the guide says that the barrel in question is one of the oldest they have, he does not mention that this barrel is a "mother barrel". The interpreter's question then makes this detail relevant and is responded to by the guide with confirmation:

(6)

Guide: ad esempio, queste sono una serie di botti di origine siciliana, perché i miei genitori prendevano il vino in sicilia e dopo le botti sono rimaste qua nell'acetaia. invece l'ultima là è una delle botti più vecchie di della famiglia
for instance, these are a series of barrels of Sicilian origin, because my parents took wine from Sicily and then the barrels have remained here in the vinegar production. Instead the last one there is one of the oldest barrels of my family

Int: you see these barrels here, in this long longer shape, and these barrels come from sicily because (.) his family used to buy eh the wine from sicily, they were marsala wine barrels, and then drank the wine and kept the barrels for the vinegar=whereas the: (.) **quella è una botte madre?**
is that a mother barrel?

Guide: sì, sì. è una botte madre
yes, yes. it's a mother barrel

Int: and, the big barrel there is called the mother barrel and it's one of the oldest barrel of the family

In extract 7, the request "cinque?" [five?] refers to the number of barrels that are needed to produce vinegar for a family. While the guide mentions that family batteries are normally small, he does not specify what "small" means. The interpreter's question, here too, makes this detail relevant and is responded to by the guide with a confirmation and a correction ("almeno" – [at least]), which makes the suggested detail very relevant, highlighting that the minimum number of barrels in a battery is not that small:

(7)

Guide: la batteria non è altro che un set di barili che serve, praticamente una piccola famiglia, che serve per produrre circa un litro di aceto balsamico tradizionale all'anno
the battery is nothing else than a set of barrels which serves, in practice a small family, which can produce about a litre of balsamic vinegar each year

Int: so a battery is a set of usually (.) **cinque?**
five?

Guide: almeno cinque
at least five

Int: of at least five barrels which every year produce only one litre of traditional balsamic vinegar

These sequences seem interesting for at least four reasons. First, similarly to the sequences seen in section 4.1, they show that some information that is not in the guides' utterances may be identified by the interpreters as relevant in their rendition for the tourists. In extract 6, for example, the interpreter's question refers to a detail that may be interesting to know, i.e. those very old barrels are called “mother barrels” and, in extract 7, the specification of the number of the barrels in a small battery is relevant to give a sense of how small is small. Second, the extracts show that interpreters have access to details which are potentially relevant and useful to make the explanations informative and effective for the tourists and this gives them authority to propose them. Third, the form of these questions is interesting. Although they are constructed as requests for repetition (a quite common type of interpreter question in the data), since they do not refer to information provided by the guides in previous turns, they are taken up as suggestions to introduce new details. Finally, the guides’ uptake is notable too. In basically all cases, guides’ responses are very quick, confirming answers acknowledging the detail as relevant in the presentation and supporting its inclusion in the interpreter’s rendition. In this dynamics, interpreters’ questions are taken up as expert suggestions and a “go ahead” to the interpreter to include new items in their renditions is immediately given. These sequences may thus provide another device by which guides and interpreters distribute their access to knowledge and their rights and obligations to deal with it.

5. Conclusion: from ethics to the distribution of responsibilities

The analysis discussed here is rather preliminary for both the quantity of the data involved and the study of the mechanisms outlined. A more accurate exploration of the acknowledgment forms used by the guides (e.g. “esatto” and “okay”) and of the interpreters’ requests (polar, declarative, etc.) may reveal more about the types of actions that are projected and responded to and may also tell more about the interplay between epistemic status and stance which was discussed by Heritage (2013a, 2013b) and has not been fully explored here. More work may also be needed to examine the type of interpreter-provided information that is treated as “extra” in talk. This may in fact give clearer suggestions about what the participants consider as part of the interpreters’ or the guides’ territories of knowledge.

For the time being, however, some points are worth highlighting. First, in rendering guides’ presentations, interpreters use their knowledge and expertise to: a. clarify and explain “what is behind” items mentioned by the guides; b. propose the guides items that have been “left behind” and that may be included in the rendition of the presentation. Both bring back to the talk something that has been taken for granted or just mentioned and not fully explained by the guide. In both cases, interpreters use their knowledge and expertise to introduce some extra information into the talk that may make the guide’s presentation appreciated by the tourists.

Interpreters in my data, then, do deal with knowledge which is their knowledge, but also ‘the guides’ knowledge. Access to knowledge and responsibility to deal with it are however distributed between guides and interpreters in different ways. Guides show they can understand not only that interpreters are adding information, but also the type of added information and they acknowledge the interpreters’ doing so as appropriate and legitimate. Interpreters suggest items that were left behind in guides’ explanations and they propose to include these items in their renditions. They thus show their expertise in potentially collaborating with the guides. Guides accept this expert collaboration and confirm the relevance of the details suggested by the interpreters. Interpreters then show they may have rights and obligations to deal with information that was potentially behind the guides' words and the guides' show their rights and obligations to confirm the relevance and correctness of the interpreters' suggestions. Responsibilities are thus allocated partly on the basis of the participants' roles, but largely on the basis of a local construction of effective presentations in two languages. While exploration with different research methods (e.g. interviews) may provide interesting details about the interpreters' perception of their role (e.g. whether they 'feel' involved in providing an effective presentation of the products), it is interesting to observe that rights and obligations to participate in a specific 'role' are constructed in the interaction.

In conclusion, the interactional dynamics of interpreter-mediated interaction show ways in which participants get access to knowledge that is "behind" what is said and negotiate rights and obligations to deal with it. In talk mediated by interpreters, this may be an interesting research issue because in negotiating access to knowledge and dealing with it, participants construct their responsibilities in talk, not only on the basis of their roles (as guides and interpreters), but also on the basis of the expertise they negotiate as locally relevant.

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“And maybe you can translate also what I say”: interpreters in football press conferences

Annalisa Sandrelli
UNINT - University of International Studies of Rome (Italy)

Abstract

Today most professional football teams are multilingual; at the same time, the increasing media exposure of this sport has led to a growing number of press conferences involving players and coaches with limited proficiency in the language of the country where they play. As a result, there is a niche market for interpreters in professional football. This paper presents a case study based on a small corpus of press conferences organised for the official presentation of new players: its aim is to describe communication dynamics, common practices and pitfalls and to discuss interpreter roles in such settings.

Introduction

As a consequence of globalisation in sports, in recent years professional football has been characterised by the increasing mobility of players, referred to by Baines (2013: 207) as *elite migrant athletes*. The trend is especially marked in the main European football leagues, the so-called Big 5 (England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain), but also affects most European countries and some “new” football countries, such as China, India, the United Arab Emirates, the US and Canada. A recent survey has revealed that in the 2013-2014 season 62.93% of footballers playing in the English Premier League were foreign nationals, followed by 54.56 % in the Italian *Serie A*, 41.45% in the German *Bundesliga*, 39.02% in the Spanish *Liga* and 32.34% in the French *Ligue 1*. Over the last five years the number of foreign players has increased steadily in all of the above leagues except Germany; the Italian Serie A has seen the biggest increase, +13.16% (CIESFO 2014).[1] The trend also concerns clubs in the lower leagues, virtually flooded with new players from Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Africa, and so on.

Mobility in modern football also extends to coaches and their staff: the English Premier League boasts the highest number of foreign coaches (9 out of 20 in the past season), followed by the German Bundesliga (5 out of 18 coaches).[2] There are European and South-American coaches working in China, India, Australia, the US, and so on. Moreover, the trend can be seen not only in club football, but also in the coaching of national teams. In the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, 13 out of 32 teams had a coach of a different nationality, and, more specifically, 6 came from countries that were not linguistically related to the host country (e.g. the Italians Alberto Zaccheroni and Fabio Capello coached Japan and Russia, respectively).

As this brief overview shows, it has become relatively common for professional footballers and coaches to spend part of their careers abroad. In a way, this is hardly surprising, since footballers and coaches are selected by clubs on the basis of their football skills, not their language skills. However, there is very little research on the role played by multilingualism, translation and interpreting in professional football. This paper aims to contribute to filling this gap by presenting a small-scale case study on interpreting during a special type of press conferences, i.e. the ones that are organised to announce the signing of a new player. After a brief overview of the available literature (§1), football press conferences are presented as an example of institutional communication and the interpreting modes most commonly used in such events are discussed (§2). Then, the paper focuses on interpreting in official presentations of players (§3): communication dynamics and interpreter roles are analysed with a view to describing common practices and pitfalls in such settings.

1. Multilingual teams and the language issue

The language issue comes up relatively often in the football press,[3] but journalists usually mention it either as a curiosity or to refer to specific controversial incidents, such as misunderstandings on the pitch or during press conferences. An example of the former case is a piece about multilingualism in the Bundesliga (Gladwell 2014), which suggests that players overcome language barriers on the pitch thanks to body language and the use of English as a *lingua franca*. Comments on the use of professional interpreters (Peach 2013), or on players or coaches acting as interpreters for the benefit of newcomers (Mullock 2012) are

1 The CIES Football Observatory is a research group affiliated to the University of Neuchâtel (Switzerland).

2 These figures were obtained by checking the nationalities of the head coaches on the teams' websites, since, to our knowledge, no official statistics are available.

3 Here the expression "football press" is used to refer to the football pages in the main papers (both tabloid and quality newspapers) and to specialised football publications and websites.

fairly common, and so are articles on translation errors in press conferences or interviews. For example, Bascombe (2011) describes an incident involving the Argentinean player Carlos Tévez (when he was playing for Manchester City) and the club performance analyst who interpreted for him in an interview to Sky TV. Tévez allegedly refused to play when asked by coach Roberto Mancini and wanted to leave the team in the following season; the player's agent claimed the "interpreter" had mistranslated his words. This situation caused serious tension between player and coach and led to an internal investigation within the club, resulting in a suspension and a heavy fine for the player: what had actually happened never became entirely clear.

These examples show that there is some awareness of the importance of the language issue on the part of the media. However, there is very little research on the topic, despite the obvious importance of communication in many daily situations in professional football. A rough distinction can be drawn between *internal* and *external communication*. The former refers to communication within a football club (i.e. not meant for public scrutiny), among team members, coaches and other members of staff, during training sessions, in dressing-rooms, the gym, etc. The latter refers to communication in the public sphere, i.e. not only verbal exchanges during games (involving team mates, opponents and referees), but also football-related media events before and after games, such as press conferences and interviews (Lavric/Steiner 2012: 17).[4] Clearly, language problems may affect both internal and external communication.

To our knowledge, the Innsbruck Football Research Group is the only one investigating the role of language in professional football. Lavric/Steiner (2012) interviewed 55 players, coaches and referees in Austria, Italy and Germany and also selected articles published in the football press, to find out what solutions clubs had in place to ensure communication. They identified 4 common strategies. The first one, adopted only by big clubs, is the use of *personal interpreters* who are assigned to foreign players. A more common option is the use of a *factotum*, usually an ex footballer with language skills, whose task is to accompany the foreign player everywhere. A third solution is the use of a *team mate* who speaks the foreign language and acts as an interpreter and cultural mediator. The advantage is that he knows not only the culture of the host country, but also club policies, dressing-room dynamics, and so on; he can act as a guide because he has already been through the same adjustment process himself. Finally, clubs sometimes arrange *language courses*: this option is not very popular among players, who often find these courses too general (not football-specific enough). Language classes are much more successful if motivation comes from players themselves.

Similarly, Ringbom (2012) reports on a questionnaire-based survey on language use in a multilingual team (IFK Mariehamn) on the Åland Islands between Finland and Sweden: there were eight different nationalities in the dressing-room and Swedish was mostly used in training sessions, while English was the preferred language of communication off the pitch. The club organised

4 The term "interview" here includes both extended encounters and *flash interviews* at half time or at the end of a game.

Swedish and English language classes in the local adult education centre to try and help its foreign players.

Losa (2013) analysed the role played by multilingualism and code-switching in coaching the Swiss national youth team, made up of German, French and Italian speakers. Thanks to field observation, Losa concluded that, although German was the preferred language used in training (because the majority of players were German-speaking), the coach tended to code-switch and give explanations or ask for confirmation in both French and Italian. Moreover, when providing feedback, he tended to use each player's native language, which contributed to establishing his authority in the eyes of the players.

The Swiss case is the aspirational ideal for the modern coach: it is certainly better to speak to players in their own language. The same applies to players, who certainly enjoy a more direct relationship with their team mates, coaches, fans and the press if they can speak the language of the host country. However, not all football coaches and players can be polyglots: there are subjective factors (e.g. a penchant for languages), but also objective factors, such as how long they spend in each country and whether the new language is related to the one(s) they already speak. In this scenario, significant numbers of professional coaches and players require interpreting services when they move to a new country: "The linguistic diversity created by the presence of elite migrant athletes in national football leagues has created a need for translation and interpreting in professional sporting contexts" (Baines 2013: 209).

Interestingly, the power and special status enjoyed by elite migrant athletes means that the fact that they are speakers of another language and, at least initially, outsiders in the host country, is not necessarily a disadvantage. Baines (2013) analyses how the above-mentioned Tévez incident was reported by the British press and how the player's agent put the blame on poor quality translation in order to defend his client. He also discusses another example, involving the accusations of racism made by Manchester United's Patrice Evra against Liverpool's Luis Suárez, and the role played by translation on that occasion. In both cases,

> translations were strategically manipulated by all sides: the elite migrant athletes and their associates sought to protect their financial interests and the players' character; the media sought to maintain its role in the national distribution of knowledge and values among its readers; and the host institutions had a stake in upholding their rules, regulations and national and international reputation. All parties relied on the ambiguities and information gaps that translation creates to turn the events to their advantage (Baines 2013: 224).

Having established that there is a need for interpreters in professional football, especially in external communication settings (see above), and given the potential manipulations by all the parties involved, it seems important to investigate the role of interpreters in the most public media events of all, namely press conferences.

2. Interpreting football press conferences

The number of press conferences that clubs are expected to organise during every football season has grown exponentially in recent years, hand in hand with their media exposure: they have gone from quick, closed-door weekly media briefings with local reporters to prolonged, full-blown events broadcast on TV and on dedicated web channels. There are different types of press conferences: a basic distinction can be drawn between *press conferences before and after games* and *special-purpose press conferences* organised for important events in the life of a football club.

During the football season regular weekly press conferences are held at the club training ground or the stadium media centre before and after games. They always involve the coach, often the team captain and sometimes another player who meets the press for various reasons (e.g. he has come back to the team after a serious injury). Attendees usually include members of the local press, and occasionally foreign correspondents if the match is between two top-flight teams. Very high-profile press conferences are organised during major international club competitions (e.g. UEFA Europa League, Champions League, etc.) and competitions for national teams (e.g. UEFA European Championships, FIFA World Cup; see Sandrelli 2012a and 2012b). By contrast, special-purpose press conferences may take place at any time of the year, to announce the signing of a new player or coach, a new sponsorship deal, and other initiatives. Press conferences to introduce new players take place during the transfer periods, i.e. when the market to buy or exchange players is open:[5] their function is to enable journalists and fans to get to know new signings, to hear their reasons for joining the team, and so on.

All football press conferences are examples of *institutional communication* (Orletti 2000; Sandrelli 2012a); they are highly ritualised, with pre-established roles for participants and a limited range of acceptable topics, determined by the purpose of the press conference. Bearing in mind that one of the distinguishing features of institutional interaction is the symbolic meaning of space (Orletti 2000: 37-39), it must be noted that the primary participants (coaches, players, and club representatives) always sit at a table in the team colours, with a backdrop bearing the club's main sponsors. There is usually a press officer to act as a moderator and manage the flow of communication. Only accredited journalists can take part in these events, organised to allow the press to ask questions, obtain quotable answers and collect the information they need to produce written or video reports (Sandrelli 2012a).

Journalists (as ratified participants) act as both interviewers and members of the *primary audience*. However, most professional football clubs have a website and dedicated YouTube channel or TV channel (e.g. F.C. Juventus' JTV), and press conferences are often broadcast live or made available later via web streaming: therefore, as well as a primary audience of journalists, there is a *secondary audience* of football fans. When there is a language barrier, an interpreting service is provided for the benefit of primary participants (players, coaches, club officials and journalists);

5 In Europe players may be bought and exchanged during the summer pre-season training period and the January transfer window.

big clubs may decide to offer the service even during monolingual press conferences, in order to enable foreign fans to watch the event on TV or on the Web.

2.1 Interpreting modes

The full range of interpreting modes may be found in football press conferences, but the most common choice is consecutive interpreting (sometimes in combination with whispered interpreting), because it is relatively easy to organise and does not require any specialised equipment. For the same reason simultaneous interpreting in the booth is rarely found in pre- and post-match press conferences in domestic league games and during the official presentations of players: only some big clubs, such as Real Madrid CF, FC Barcelona, FC Bayern Munich, and Arsenal FC, have the necessary equipment in their stadiums.

By contrast, simultaneous interpreting is generally preferred in the final stages of international tournaments: given the truly multilingual nature of these events, simultaneous interpreting is the only practical solution to provide several language versions at the same time (Sandrelli 2012a, 2012b). FIFA and UEFA have their own Chief Interpreters who recruit the conference interpreters with the required language combinations and liaise with the suppliers of interpreting equipment and technical support services. In the two most recent editions of the FIFA World Cup (South Africa 2010 and Brazil 2014) remote interpreting was used: all the interpreters worked from an interpreting centre (in Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro, respectively) connected to the various match locations via videoconference link (Binder/Hof 2014).

Despite the relative variety of situations, the interpreter's role in press conferences would seem to be fairly clear: if a foreign player or coach does not speak the official language of the press conference (L1), the interpreter translates the questions into the foreign language (L2) and the interviewee's answers into L1; similarly, if questions are asked in L2 by a foreign reporter (and answered in the same language by the coach or player), they are translated into the official language of the press conference for the benefit of all the other participants. However, it is not always so straightforward, as the case study in §3 shows.

3. Interpreting in official presentations of players: a case study

As was explained in §2, the press conferences organised for the official presentation of players are an "induction ceremony" for new members of the team. They are formal events in which the new player is introduced to the press by a representative of the club, such as the chairman, the sporting director, or, in England, the manager himself.[6]

6 In the English Premier League coaches are generally referred to as "managers" and have direct control over player transfer dealings. In Italy, France, Spain and other European countries, this responsibility usually lies with the sporting director.

An important part of these press conferences is the photo session (held either at the beginning or at the very end), in which the new player shakes hands with the club representative and holds up the new shirt with his name and number. In the opening stages of the press conference, the club representative usually explains how the deal came about, and highlights the added value of the new player for the team. Then the floor is open for the Q&A session.

In order to study communication dynamics in this type of interpreter-mediated press conferences, it was necessary to collect relevant interpreting data for analysis. Gaining access to recordings is possibly the biggest challenge in Interpreting Studies, as it is often difficult to obtain the collaboration of conference organisers, speakers and interpreters themselves. Another methodological challenge is ensuring that the data are sufficiently homogeneous and representative of the specific communicative event under study. The huge variability in interpreter-mediated events makes it difficult to compare different situations; therefore, in order to obtain reliable results, it is essential to try and control as many variables as possible (Bendazzoli/Sandrelli 2009).

To get over the above-mentioned methodological hurdles, a small corpus of interpreter-mediated press conferences was collected on YouTube. Today all major football clubs have a YouTube channel, which made it possible to search for interpreter-mediated player presentations and download them: they were all freely available and in the public domain, which solved the problem of access to data. The selected press conferences concern the following clubs: Paris Saint Germain (PSG), Manchester United FC, Juventus FC, AS Roma, and FC Shaktar Donetsk. The choice of teams and specific players was influenced by the languages, which had to include Italian, English, Spanish or French (the researcher's working languages), in various combinations.[7] A common element is that all of them are major teams in their domestic leagues (French Ligue 1, the English Premiership, the Italian Serie A and the Ukranian Premier League, respectively), so in all of these clubs the official presentation of new players is a key media event, in which smooth communication is very important. Another selection criterion was that the recording had to include the whole of the press conference: this reduced the number of potentially interesting videos available on YouTube. Finally, all the interpreters involved in the selected press conferences are professionals with previous experience in football-related events.[8]

The press conferences involving the Italian-Spanish language pair were fully transcribed by a final-year student writing her MA dissertation under my supervision (Maselli 2013); all the other examples were selected and transcribed specifically for this study. The transcription conventions are the ones used in the FOOTIE corpus (Sandrelli 2012a). Overall, 7 press conferences were used in this

7 One exception was the Shaktar Donetsk press conference, in which the language combination was Italian-Ukranian. It was included in the study because it provided an interesting example of a player who was totally reliant on the interpreter: in this case the analysis was not linguistic, but focused on interaction and turn-taking dynamics (see Example 2 in §3.2).

8 Unfortunately, it was not possible to contact them for an interview to find out more about the circumstances of these press conferences.

case study: the sample is small, but highly homogeneous and representative of this speech situation (Sandrelli 2012a).

The approach taken in the analysis below is purely descriptive, not prescriptive: the aim is to illustrate what actually happens in interpreter-mediated press conferences. As they are highly ritualised events and all the participants have their pre-assigned place in them, it seems appropriate to begin our case study by looking at the seating arrangement and the interpreter's position.

3.1 The seating arrangement

The club representative is usually seated in the middle, with the new player at his side (left or right), and another club representative on the other side. This reminds everyone in the room that the men in the spotlight are the new player and those who worked hard to sign him for the club. Any other participants, including the club press officer (acting as a moderator) and the interpreter, must be accommodated in a way that does not alter this visual hierarchy. In our corpus, the issue was tackled in different ways on different occasions.

The first case is a good example of the interpreter's *invisibility*. In the screenshot below (figure 1), from David Beckham's official presentation at PSG, the player is the first one on the left, the club chairman (a Qatari businessman) is in the middle and Leonardo, the sporting director, is on the right: it is the traditional set-up used in monolingual press conferences. All the participants were wearing formal clothes and the table had been placed on a stage. The two "supporting actors", the interpreter and the press officer, were as unobtrusive as possible: the former was sitting away from the table in a darker area of the stage to the right of the player (far left in the picture below); the latter was standing at the opposite end of the stage, slightly in the dark as well.

Figure 1. David Beckham's official presentation at PSG

The considerable distance between the interpreter and the player meant that consecutive interpreting had to be used at all times, both when the interpreter was translating questions into English for him and when translating his answers into French for the audience. This increased the overall duration of the event and made it slightly uncomfortable for both player and interpreter: the former had to turn towards the interpreter every time he heard a question in French and the latter found himself speaking *at* him from a distance rather than *to* him.

A different solution was chosen during Martín Cáceres' presentation at FC Juventus (January 2012), when the interpreter was seated at the table, next to the player requiring translation (sporting director Giuseppe Marotta was in the middle and next to him was another new player, who did not need the interpreter). The interpreter alternated between whispered interpreting into Spanish (for the player) and consecutive interpreting from Spanish into Italian (for the audience); she could take notes quite comfortably and had her own microphone.

Figure 2. Martín Cáceres' official presentation at Juventus FC

Strangely enough, this effective configuration was not replicated about a year later (July 2013), when Fernando Llorente joined the same club: this time the interpreter and the player were sitting on either side of the sporting director. The choice was unfortunate, because the sporting director found himself literally "in the middle" of a lot of exchanges between the interpreter and the player. Since the interpreter could not use whispered interpreting, all of these exchanges had to be made on open microphone (see examples 3, 8, 9 and 12 in §3.2 and §3.3).

Figure 3. Fernando Llorente's official presentation at Juventus FC

As these examples show, the seating arrangement is no trivial matter and impinges on the choice of interpreting mode and overall duration of the event. But there are a number of other thorny issues, including a very basic question: what do you actually translate in these press conferences? Careful study of many videos (not just the ones in our corpus, but also several others that were not included) has revealed that certain parts often go untranslated. Clearly, this does not correspond to common interpreting standards, which include accuracy and completeness of the message (explicitly mentioned in the Codes of Ethics of many interpreting organisations). The following section discusses a number of examples.

3.2 To translate or not to translate?

As was mentioned in §3, before the Q&A session there is an introduction by the club representative who explains how the signing came about. In our corpus this part was often untranslated or summarised; in some of the videos the interpreters can be seen whispering from time to time, summarising what is being said. It could be hypothesised that they did not bother translating the introduction because the players already knew the whole story behind their contract negotiations. However, during the course of the introduction new information might come up that the player needs to hear. Indeed, this is precisely what happens in Example 1.[9] When the Argentinean Ángel di María first met the press as a Manchester United player (August 2014), he was accompanied by the manager, Louis

9 The examples used in this section and in §3.3 involve 3 interpreters: interpreter 1 (I1) in Cristiano Lucarelli's press conference at Shaktar Donetsk; interpreter 2 (I2) in Fernando Llorente's press conference at Juventus FC; and interpreter 3 (I3) in Erik Lamela's and Ashley Cole's press conferences at AS Roma. In all the examples, players are indicated as P, moderators as M, coaches as C.

Van Gaal. After a short introduction (during which the interpreter kept quiet), a journalist asked the manager whether the arrival of the new player would make him rethink the system of play. Van Gaal began his answer and then suddenly stopped in mid-sentence to prompt the interpreter to begin the translation:

Example 1

C: but he fits in our philosophy and what he can do more than to fit in our philosophy – <u>and maybe you can translate also what I say, because it's very handy for him to know</u> – that I can change the system with him.

When the languages involved are not related and the player is totally reliant on the interpreter, it may be very hard for him to realise what is going on. When the Italian Cristiano Lucarelli signed for Shaktar Donetsk (July 2007), the press conference opened with an introduction in Ukranian that went untranslated, and the beginning of the Q&A session was not signalled to him in any way. When the first question was asked, the player did not know whether the interpreter was making small talk with him or whether he was translating an official question (i.e. whether he was *speaking as himself* or *speaking for another*; Straniero Sergio 2007: 417):

Example 2

I1: la prima domanda è che cosa tu lo sai… di Ucraina… quando tu hai firmato il contratto… prima che tu vieni qua
P: no, n- non sa- … ma <u>ora è ufficiale, stiamo parlando, è iniziato</u>?
I1: sì
[I: the first question is what do you know about Ukraine when you signed the contract, before you come here?
P: no, I d- didn't… but now is it official, are we talking, has it begun?
I: yes]

When cognate languages are involved, the interpreter has the opposite problem, i.e. s/he can never be sure when translation is actually needed. Fernando Llorente's presentation at Juventus FC was a tricky case, since the player spoke and understood some Italian: as the interpreter was sitting at the other end of the table (see Figure 3 in §3.1), she could not discreetly ask him if he needed help. As a result, the very first utterance produced by the interpreter was the following:

Example 3

I2: [off mike:¿<u>te ayudo</u>?] ehm son cuatro preguntas en realidad
[<u>shall I help you</u>? well it's four questions, really]

When the player understood a question asked in Italian, or when a question was asked in Spanish, he tended to reply straight away, forgetting the translation process altogether. In those situations, the interpreter took the floor after him and both question and answer were translated in the same turn. This mechanism is quite common in press conferences in which consecutive interpreting is used, and usually determines a shift in the interpreter's footing (see Examples 6, 8 and 9 in §3.3). In other cases the club press officer intervened to give the floor to the interpreter:

Example 4

M [off mike]: traduciamo prima...
[let's translate first]

In the same press conference, the interpreter was not always sure whether the player's answers should be translated or not, since his mixture of Italian and Spanish was partially comprehensible to both Italian and Spanish journalists. For example, when he was asked about his choice of shirt number (14), the interpreter began to translate his answer, but after a few words the Spanish-speaking journalists stopped her.

Example 5

I2: las respuestas serían el número catorce me gusta y creo que puedo hacer un buen papel con él ehm ¿no es necesario? / de acuerdo
[the answers would be I like number 14 and I think I can play well with it ehm is this unnecessary? / alright]

In the course of the same event, the interpreter occasionally acted as a *prompter*, to help the player with difficult words in Italian: for example, she suggested the past participle *meritato* (deserved) to replace the Spanish *merecido* that the player was using. She only suggested words when the player was very hesitant: once again, had she been sitting next to him, the whole process would have been less awkward for both of them.

Let us now analyse in greater detail the issue of the interpreter's footing. When producing the target language rendition, the default option for the interpreter is to take on the role of *reporter*, i.e. to relay another's words as if they were his/her own: therefore, the standard grammatical choice is the first person in most settings. However, this is by no means the only possible choice.

3.3 Shifts in footing and interpreter roles

In our press conferences there are many instances of shifts in footing, with interpreters mixing the role of *recapitulator* and *reporter* (Wadensjö 1998; Merlini/Favaron 2003), not only within the same press conference but often within the same turn. There may be different motivations behind such shifts (Straniero Sergio 2007). Football interpreters most commonly take on the role of *recapitulators* when they have to translate both question and answer in the same turn. In the following example, taken from Ashley Cole's official presentation at AS Roma (July 2014), the player was asked a question by a British reporter and replied immediately, without waiting for the interpreter's rendition in Italian. Therefore, in the next turn the interpreter (I3) began by signalling that he was translating the question first (la domanda era – *the question was*) and then indicated the beginning of the answer (la risposta – *the answer*). In the rest of his rendition he switched back to the 1st person (Example 6).

Example 6

I3: appunto, la domanda era, sicuramente avrai visto qualche partita dell'Inghilterra al mondiale / che cosa come è stato, ecco, guardare da fuori, da ex nazionale inglese, senza poter dare una mano ai tuoi compagni? / la risposta, sì certo, ho visto le partite della nazionale questa volta… questa volta da tifoso
[*right, the question was, you must have watched some England games in the World Cup / how was it, you know, to watch from the outside, as a former England international, without being able to give a hand to your team mates? / the answer, yes, of course, I did watch the games of the national team, this time… this time as a fan*]

In the following example the Argentinean Erik Lamela, who had just signed for AS Roma (August 2011), was asked to talk about his personality and what it felt like to move so far away from home at his young age. The interpreter (the same of Example 6) began his rendition in the 3rd person (dice - *he's saying*), switched to the first person (non saprei – *I wouldn't know*), then changed back to the 3rd person (fa – *he's going*) and then concluded in the 1st person (Example 7). In this example three repetitions are also noticeable (dice, dice – *he's saying, he's saying*; non saprei, non saprei – *I wouldn't know*; arriverà, arriverà – *will be arriving will be arriving*), signalling hesitation.

Example 7

I3: dice, dice sì, non saprei, non saprei come come definirmi / fa, in ogni caso a fine mese arriverà, arriverà qui, qui la mia famiglia / per me questo è molto importante, naturalmente mi dà tranquillità e mi faciliterà le cose
[he's saying, he's saying yes I wouldn't know, I wouldn't know how to define myself / he's going, in any case at the end of the month my family will be arriving will be arriving here / for me this is very important, of course it gives me peace of mind and will make things easier for me]

These shifts in footing were repeated several times by I3 in both press conferences: it could be hypothesised that he uses this device as a stalling technique, in order to organise his ideas and plan the next sentence. Clearly, if it is too frequent, it can be distracting and potentially cause comprehension problems.

Here is another example from Fernando Llorente's press conference, involving a different interpreter, I2. A Spanish journalist asked why the player had left his former club; the question was translated into Italian for the local press. I2 probably anticipated that the player would not welcome the question, as his decision to leave Athletic Bilbao had been the object of much controversy in Spain.

Example 8

I2: ehm la domanda sarebbe quest'anno, quest'ultimo anno è stato un anno molto difficile e ehm chiedeva da un lato come ha vissuto quest'anno complicato e forse in questo momento, che è il momento di tranquillità visto che in avanti c'è una prospettiva ehm di speranza di crescita, ehm, voleva capire il perché se n'è andato dell'Athletic Club
[the question would be this year, this past year has been a very difficult year and he was asking on the one hand how did this complicated year feel for you and maybe this moment, that is a moment of relaxation given that in the future there is a prospect of hope, of growth… he wanted to understand why you left Athletic Bilbao]

The interpreter began by specifying that she was translating a question (as I3 had done in example 6), but she also used the conditional verb form as a hedging device (la domanda sarebbe – *the question would be*). She noticeably continued to use the 3rd person throughout the turn (chiedeva – *he was asking*; voleva capire – *he wanted to understand*). The actual question (why Llorente decided to leave his former team) is finally formulated at the very end of a long turn. The same thorny issue came up again in a subsequent turn, when another Spanish journalist asked for more background details. Once again the interpreter used the 3rd person in the question and switched back to the 1st person in the player's answer.

Example 9

I2: la domanda era, chiede scusa per ritornare al discorso de, di come si era sentito nella prima partita una volta che si è saputo che aveva intenzione di lasciare l'Athletic Bilbao e chiedeva anche se le reazioni negative erano reazioni da parte di … di colleghi … compagni di squadra o della direttiva / la risposta è no … non sicuramente dai compagni di squadra, non sicuramente dalla direttiva, ma comunque la verità è che le cose sono andate in modo diverso a quello che io volevo
[the question was, he apologises for going back to the issue of, of how he felt in the first match after the news he would be leaving Athletic Bilbao was leaked and he also asked if the negative reactions were reactions from colleagues, team mates or the management / the answer is no… certainly not from team mates, certainly not from management, but the truth is things did not go as I wanted]

It could be hypothesised that these shifts in footing were used by the interpreter to put some distance between herself and the journalists who were probing into sensitive issues: they could be seen as face-saving strategies for the interpreter.

As well as acting as a reporter and a recapitulator, the interpreter sometimes acts as an *author*, i.e. producing coordinating talk that is not a direct translation of any remark made by primary participants, but is aimed at improving the communication process (Wadensjö 1998). In Example 10, I3 spotted a potential problem in Erik Lamela's distance from the microphone and instructed him to speak directly into it: here he was acting almost as if he were the press conference moderator.

Example 10

I3: si puedes hablar allí [points at the microphone]
[if you can speak into it]

Other instances of coordinating talk include asking the player to expand his answer. In example 11 Erik Lamela was asked about his ankle injury and expected recovery time; he replied that he was better but he was not the one who could say when he would be fit to play again. The interpreter asked him to explain this and the player added that the team doctor would decide. The resulting interpreted answer incorporated all the information:

Example 11

P: bueno muchas gracias y … y bueno el tobillo está ehm mejorando y hay que ver en la próxima semana si … si progresa y eso no puedo decírselo yo
I3: ¿quién lo puede decir?
P: el médico
I3: el médico / bene allora ringrazio, molte grazie per il benvenuto / per quanto riguarda la caviglia sta, sta migliorando e dobbiamo vedere la prossima settimana come evolverà la situazione e ovviamente spetterà al medico ehm deciderlo
[*P: well, thank you very much and, well, my ankle is getting better and we'll have to see next week if it improves or not, and it's not for me to say*
I: who can say?
P: the doctor
I: the doctor / well, then, thank you, thank you very much for your welcome / as regards my ankle, it is improving and we'll have to see how the situation evolves next week and obviously it will be up to the doctor to decide]

It must be taken into account that I3 is the in-house interpreter at AS Roma, and has been part of the staff for several years. He knows the reporters and the kinds of questions they ask; in this case, he probably anticipated the player's answer would not be considered complete and would prompt further questions, so he decided to step in and clarify the answer before translating.

A final observation can be made about another important coordinating function often carried out by football interpreters in these press conferences, i.e. managing turn-taking. One of the characteristics of football press conferences is that each journalist is usually allowed only one speaking turn by the moderator (Sandrelli 2012a: 140). To bypass this limit, journalists tend to ask multiple questions within the same turn, which can be quite long and difficult to remember. Interpreters can break up multiple questions into individual questions, to give players the opportunity to answer one at a time. This happened several times during Fernando Llorente's press conference, and the mechanism is fully accessible for analysis because all the exchanges were interpreted consecutively.[10] An Italian journalist asked a four-part question, which the interpreter translated in full. The player answered the first part and then was at a loss about how to continue: the interpreter stepped in to help (¿recuerdas? / la pregunta era – *remember?/ the question was*) and translated each part of the question in turn (en tercer lugar – *thirdly*; y en último lugar – *and finally*).

10 The same mechanism can be seen at work twice in Ashley Cole's press conference, but it was not possible to transcribe and analyse the whole interaction because the renditions into English were whispered.

Example 12

P: eh, el segundo, ¿cómo era?
I2: ¿recuerdas? / la pregunta era ¿porqué la Juventus? que ha sido un equipo que le ha seguido mucho tiempo
[...]
I2: en tercer lugar si ha habido otras solicitudes por parte de clubes de la misma altura
[...]
I2: y en último lugar si le han hecho referencia a la Copa Uefa que la Juve le ... ganó al Bilbao en el año '77
[P: ehm, the second one, what was it?
I2: remember? / the question was why Juventus, that is a team that chased you for a long time
I2: thirdly, whether there were other offers from clubs of the same level
I2: and finally, whether they mentioned to you the UEFA Cup that Juventus... won against Bilbao in '77]

Clearly, this strategy makes it easier for players to answer questions, but slows down proceedings considerably. However, if moderators allow journalists to ask excessively long and complex questions, it is a sensible strategy for interpreters to use.

4. Conclusions

Today many professional football players and coaches spend part of their careers in a foreign country, and most football teams are multilingual. There are several ways to bridge the language gap within a team, including the use of a *lingua franca* or the help of a non-professional interpreter (a team mate or a *factotum*; see §1); however, in public events such as press conferences and interviews it is important to ensure that messages are communicated clearly and accurately, so as to prevent potential manipulations by the media, by players' agents, and so on. The use of a professional interpreter is certainly the best solution, as long as the interpreter in question is familiar with the press conference environment and as long as football clubs are aware of how to make the best use of the interpreting service. The small case study presented in this paper has shown that, unfortunately, that is not always the case. Many factors seem to have an impact on how football interpreters perform their task, sometimes to the extent that common interpreting standards do not apply.

The study was conducted on a small but homogeneous corpus of press conferences organised to officially present new football players. The physical set-up of these events and the interpreter's place in them were examined in §3.1. More specifically, if the interpreter is seated next to the player requiring his/her services, questions can be interpreted simultaneously (whispered interpreting into L2), while answers can be interpreted consecutively into L1 (for the audience): this speeds up the pace of the press conference and makes interaction smoother (see Figure 2). If the player needs explanations or repetitions, or if the interpreter needs clarifications before translating, it is easy for both of them to let each other know, verbally or non-verbally (i.e. via touch or gaze). As was discussed in §3.2, this is especially important when the player already has some knowledge of the language of the host country and does not require a continuous translation. In such cases, the interpreter can function as a prompter and simply help the player along by confirming that he has understood the question correctly or by suggesting L1 words. By contrast, if the interpreter is not sitting close to the player (see Figures 1 and 3), consecutive interpreting in both directions is the only option and any requests for additional information or repetitions must be formulated on open microphone (see Example 3): this slows down proceedings and forces the audience to listen to these asides in L2 between interpreter and player.

The analysis has confirmed that there is some variability in the seating arrangement and that not all football clubs seem to be aware that the interpreter's positioning has a direct impact on how he/she can carry out his/her task. A briefing with the interpreter before the press conference to discuss these issues could easily solve the problem.

Another interesting aspect that has emerged from this analysis is the fact that sometimes the first section, in which the sporting director or manager talks to journalists about the transfer deal, is not translated at all or is only summarised, with the result that the player is completely left out (Examples 1 and 2). Although the player can imagine what the club representative is telling the press, this practice is potentially problematic, because it deprives him of potentially useful bits of information not only about the club he has just joined, but also about the reporters: indeed, in Example 1 the manager had to prompt the interpreter to start translating. Of course, it is not known whether the interpreters in our videos were following their clients' indications or whether it was a personal initiative; however, once again this issue could easily be discussed and settled in a briefing before the assignment. The same applies to the wider issue of the need for translation during the Q&A session when the player in question has some knowledge of L1: if the interpreter can meet the player before the press conference starts, they can decide whether the player is going to ask for help only when he needs it or whether a full translation of all the questions into L2 is preferable. Similarly, the interpreter can explain the turn-taking mechanism and discuss possible options with clients. For example, it is useful to point out that if questions are asked in L2 and the player replies in the same language straight away, then the interpreter will have to take on the role of recapitulator (Examples 6,8 and 9); on the other hand, if the player can remember to wait for the translation of the question into L1, standard turn-taking norms apply and, incidentally, this can be exploited by the player to his advantage, as it gives him more time to think of his answer.

Football interpreters play not only a relaying role (*reporter*), but also a coordinating role (*recapitulator* and *author*), as indeed happens in dialogue interpreting in other settings (Wadensjö 1998; Merlini/Favaron 2003). This becomes evident in their management of turn-taking (Example 12), in their requests for clarifications and expansions (Example 11) and in their taking control of other aspects of press conferences, such as advising on the proper use of the microphone (Example 10). However, it is important to be able to coordinate talk without overstepping one's role; specific training would be useful in familiarising aspiring football interpreters with the specific interactional dynamics of press conferences.

This study has obvious limitations in the small data sample, which was influenced by the availability of video recordings in the researcher's language combination. However, since the data were taken from interpreter-mediated press conferences that took place in different countries and football leagues, and involved different interpreters, they can be taken to be fairly representative of common practices in this specific setting. Football interpreting remains under-researched and it is hoped that these observations will serve as a starting point for future studies.

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Dialogue interpreting in multi-party encounters: two examples from educational settings

Mireia Vargas-Urpi
Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona (Spain)

Abstract

This article examines two multi-party encounters involving dialogue interpreting. Participant observation was conducted in these mediated interactions between service providers and Chinese users. The analysis of field notes and transcripts reveals some challenges these complex situations can pose for the interpreter: translating, coordinating turn-taking, and managing exchanges that include both adults and children, or even bilingual participants. The conclusions discuss how the interpreter can ensure an equal balance of power among the participants.

Introduction

Public service interpreting (PSI) has mainly been described in terms of triangular interactions where the interpreter enables communication between a public service provider and a user who cannot understand or speak the local language(s). Studies analysing interpreted interactions often presuppose this triadic nature of the exchange (see, for instance, Baraldi 2009; Bolden 2000; Davidson 2000; Gavioli/Baraldi 2011; Valero Garcés 2010; or Wadensjö 2001, among others). This description has also influenced the way PSI has been taught, at least in Spain, where the research described here was conducted.

This paper discusses two cases in which PSI was required in multi-party encounters in educational settings. The study is based on qualitative research which draws on different data collection strategies. In the first case, participant observation was employed in a mediated interaction with Chinese users. In the second, the interaction was also audio-recorded and transcribed. Both the field notes and the transcripts were subjected to qualitative content analysis. In-depth interviews with the interpreters in these encounters were also transcribed and subjected to qualitative content analysis.

These different sets of data have been triangulated in order to give an overview of two similar situations in which interpreters were present. The interviews document the interpreters' training and experience, while the participant observation data confirms the challenges often posed in complex situations: for instance, the interpreters' need to change their physical position during the exchange, to shift between different interpreter roles, and to manage interactions including both adults and children. The coordination of turn-taking may also be more complex if different participants who share the same language are involved.

The analysis shows that participants' empowerment depends on the interpreter's decisions, and we consider how the interpreter can promote a more equal distribution of power among them.

1. Previous research

Previous research in PSI has examined the different roles and functions the interpreter must perform (Brisset *et al.* 2013). Since Wadensjö's (1998) seminal contribution, it is widely accepted that dialogue interpreters normally assume a function of coordination, managing turn-taking in the interaction. This function has been described in different ways: in Bot's (2005) work on dialogue interpreting in mental health, the author compares three models of coordination, i.e. the *translation-machine model*, where the interpreter is not in charge of turn-taking but the therapist is; the *restricted interactive model*, where the interpreter limits his or her interventions to the coordination of turn-taking; and the *liberal interactive model*, where the interpreter is not only in charge of turn-taking, but may also intervene freely where s/he thinks it may help communication.

Baraldi (2009) distinguishes between *transformative dialogic mediation*, where the mediator's support enhances user involvement in the interaction, and *mediation as a dyadic separation*, which avoids direct interaction between the service provider and the user. In this regard, Gavioli/Baraldi (2011) attribute an empowering function to the coordination of turn-taking. For instance, in interpreter-mediated interactions, the power distance between service providers and users may place the user at a disadvantage, and this often leads to shorter turns when users intervene in the conversation. However, interpreters may resort to *suspended rendition*, allowing users more time to intervene, and hence re-involving them in the interaction. The coordination of turn-taking is thus directly related to the interpreter's role.

Various metaphors have been used to describe the agency of the dialogue interpreter. For instance, Davidson (2000) sees the interpreter as an *institutional* *gatekeeper* when s/he attempts to meet the expectations and requirements of the institutions, a role similar to Pöllabauer's (2004) providers' *assistant* and to Hale's (2008) *gatekeeper*. On the other hand, when interpreters try to help users, for instance by simplifying explanations, they seem to adopt the role of the *advocate* (Kaufert/Koolage 1984; California Healthcare Interpreters Association 2002).

Intercultural mediation is sometimes regarded as part of the interpreter's job. For instance, the IMIA Code of Ethics (2006) acknowledges that:

> interpreters will engage in patient advocacy and in the intercultural mediation role of explaining cultural differences/practices to health care providers and patients only when appropriate and necessary for communication purposes, using professional judgement.

However, most authors distinguish between interpreters and intercultural mediators as different professions. In Spain, where this research was conducted, García-Beyaert/Serrano Pons (2009) suggest that while both share the same general objective (enabling communication between providers and users), intercultural mediators tend to intervene more in the interaction, while interpreters adopt less intrusive roles.

Bolden (2000: 391) argues that dialogue interpreting constructs a single conversation between the two principal parties (i.e. service providers and users), while mediation results in two interweaving but separate conversations – a distinction similar to that of Baraldi (2009) between dialogic mediation vs. dyadic separation.

The interpreter's role has also been related to physical location during the triadic exchange. Some authors advocate a triangle, so that all the participants (service provider, user and interpreter) can look at each other directly, and the interpreter has a complete view of the primary participants' non-verbal behaviour (see, for instance, Phelan/Parkman 1995). However, others point out that this kind of seating arrangement emphasises the interpreter's visibility and suggest that s/he sit behind the user. Wadensjö (2001), Bot (2005) and Aguilera *et al.* (2015) agree that in mental health encounters, location behind the user is unsafe or unpleasant, since the patient needs to have a good view of the other participants.

Nevertheless, questions arise when the triadic exchange becomes a multi-party encounter. Among the few contributions on this issue, Amato's (2007) analysis of interpretation in multi-party medical encounters sheds some light on interpreters' agency in prioritising interventions by certain participants (usually doctors), or omitting to interpret side conversations (husband-wife; father-daughter). This article attempts to shed further light on multi-party encounters in which the dialogue interpreter is still needed in moving beyond a triadic schema.

2. Method

This study, which is part of a broader investigation of public service interpreting and intercultural mediation for the Chinese in Catalonia (Vargas-Urpi 2012), focuses on two multi-party encounters where dialogue interpreting was used. A mixed-method approach is taken.

It is based on the one hand on participant observation in two Chinese-Catalan mediated interactions in educational settings in the province of Barcelona in September and November 2010. In both encounters field notes were taken, and the second was also audio-recorded. The field notes were subjected to discourse analysis and for the second encounter were complemented by conversational analysis of a transcript of the recording.

The interpreters were also interviewed as part of the broader research project. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted between March and December 2010, and were transcribed and subjected to qualitative content analysis. For the purposes of this paper, the information about interpreter training and experience gathered in these interviews is used to contextualise the analysis of the two encounters.

3. Two examples of dialogue interpreting in multi-party encounters

This section describes the settings and objectives of the selected multi-party encounters. It examines the mediators' training and experience, their roles in the encounters, the seating arrangements, and the participation of the various interlocutors.

3.1 The first encounter

Primary schools in Catalonia also provide three years of preschool courses for children aged between 3 and 5 years old. The first encounter is a parent-teacher meeting held in September 2010, where the participants were the mother of a three-year-old boy, the teacher of a P3 preschool group, the interpreter and the child. There was also a toddler (the boy's sister). Mother and child were Chinese and used Standard Chinese (Mandarin) to communicate with the interpreter. The teacher used Catalan. The interpreter, who was not from Catalonia but another region in Spain, used Catalan to talk with the teacher and Standard Chinese with the mother and child.

The purpose of the meeting was to give the mother general information about the school, where her son had just started some days before. The meeting lasted approximately 40 minutes.

3.1.1 The interpreter

The interpreter worked part-time as bilingual staff for a city council (20 hours per week) and mainly covered educational settings and social services. Apart from enabling communication in Chinese-Catalan interactions, she also undertook functions that are commonly related to intercultural mediation; for example, promoting activities to enhance intercultural exchange in neighbourhoods where the immigrant population was considerable. She had an MA in Immigration and Intercultural Education. At the moment of the data collection, she had been working with the Chinese community for nearly ten years (since 2001).

3.1.2 Seating

Seating was arranged around a hexagonal children's table in a preschool classroom. These tables are normally used in preschool, so that six children can sit together at each table, and all the adult participants had to adapt to sitting at a children's table on the corresponding chairs, considerably smaller than adults'. Figure 1 depicts distribution around the table.

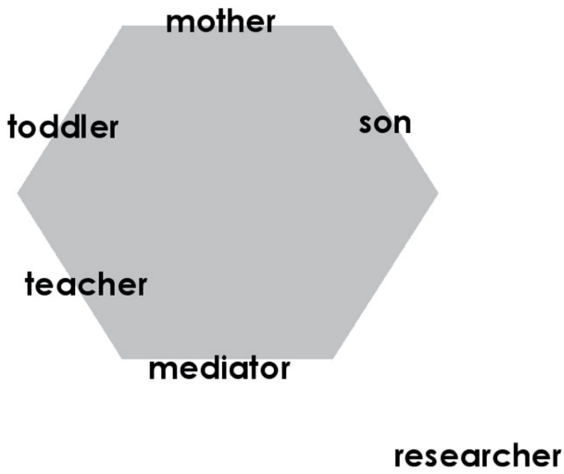

Figure 1. Seating arrangement in first encounter

As can be seen, the interpreter sat next to the teacher, a fact that may have portrayed her as the service provider's assistant from the mother's perspective. Initially the three-year-old son was also seated at the table, but he soon started moving around the classroom, playing with things, and the mother stood up to watch him. Consequently positions were not all static.

3.1.3 Participation in the encounter and the role of the interpreter

The interpreter took an active role during this encounter, in which she suggested questions and clarifications that could help the mother understand how the school was organised. For instance, the teacher wanted to start by explaining the purpose of the encounter, but the interpreter suggested she start by introducing the teacher, as maybe neither the mother nor the son knew her name. The teacher agreed and the interpreter not only introduced the teacher, but also herself (extract 1).

Extract 1

这个老师是小朋友的班主任，名字叫［...］．我今天来这里翻译，我叫［...］．
(This teacher is the little boy's tutor, her name's [...]. I have come here today to interpret, my name's [...].)[1]

The interpreter carefully used the word *xiaopengyou* (小朋友), literally meaning "little friend", but normally just translated as "child" or "little boy". This is a common endearment used by adults when addressing children in Chinese and, in this example, the interpreter used it when talking to the mother and the boy, thereby making them both more active participants in the conversation.

After some short questions and answers between the teacher and the mother, the teacher asked if the boy had other friends outside school. The mother answered that he had a friend who was also living with them, and after interpreting that piece of information, the interpreter suggested another question to the teacher: "Do you want me to ask her if there are other people living with them?" The interpreter's own intervention is evident in this question. On the one hand, she may have thought this information could be relevant to contextualise the mother's answer; on the other hand, because the interpreter had an in-depth knowledge of Chinese immigrants' living conditions she may have thought this explanation could be useful to understand the family's situation. In this specific example, the interpreter seems to act as intercultural mediator, facilitating provision of cultural information that may be relevant to understand the other (IMIA 2006). However, she also plays the role of service provider's assistant described by Pöllabauer (2004), searching for information that could be useful for the teacher.

In the following extract, the interpreter uses her own voice to suggest a different approach to the information she has to render.

1 English translations of utterances in Chinese or Catalan are provided in brackets.

Extract 2

Teacher	*Quan sigui el seu aniversari, pot portar pa de pessic o galetes per compartir amb els companys.* (For his birthday, he can bring a cake or cookies to share with his classmates.)
Interpreter	*Però és una cosa que fa tothom? Així l'hi introduiré dient que és una cosa que fan tots els nens…* (But is that something everyone does? Then I can tell her it's something all the children do…)
	(…)
Interpreter	*Però és igual com siguin aquests pastissos? Poden ser de nata?* (But it doesn't matter how these cakes are? Can they also bring cream cakes?)
Teacher	*Sí, sí, mentre no siguin llaminadures, és igual com siguin.* (Yes, yes, as long as they're not candies, it's OK.)
Interpreter	*T'ho comento perquè als xinesos els hi agraden els pastissos amb MOOOLTA nata i a vegades més que res que embruten molt… és que en altres escoles ja s'hi han trobat.* (I'm telling you because the Chinese like cakes with LOTSSS of cream and sometimes they can get really dirty… and other schools have already been in this situation.)
Teacher	*Ah, llavors, comenta-l'hi…* (Oh, OK, then tell her…).
Interpreter	蛋糕最好是没有奶油的。 (It is better if the cakes are not cream cakes.)

In extract 2, the interpreter first asked for information that could help contextualise a specific practice inside the school. In her second intervention, though, she establishes a short exchange with the teacher to introduce a cultural practice. It must be noted that the content of the exchange is not transmitted to the mother, only its conclusion. The interpreter again tries to act as an intercultural mediator, providing information based on her own experience with the Chinese community. However, even though this information may be useful to the teacher, the mother and son are excluded from the monolingual exchange.

In another intervention, the interpreter seems to adopt an advocate role. The teacher explains the activity of the *travelling notebook*. Every weekend, a different child takes the notebook home, so that parents can note down what they have done during the weekend, and the next Monday brings it back to school. The interpreter asks: "And what if they can't write in Catalan or Spanish?". By asking in advance, she seems to protect the mother from a possible face-threatening situation.

As already noted, the active role of the interpreter is evident in her questions and suggestions when she believes some information may not be shared by the participants. For instance, she asks the teacher: "Do you want me to tell the mother that they should let you know in advance if they plan to travel to China during the school year? I'm telling you because some of them just go without saying anything." Again, it is her experience with the Chinese community in Catalonia which underlies this suggestion.

In brief, in trying to act as a mediator who is searching for the most relevant information for both participants, the interpreter also shifts between the roles of the service provider's assistant and the user's advocate. Even though the teacher-mother exchange is primary, there are also monolingual exchanges between the interpreter and the teacher, which are instead scarce between the interpreter and the mother. The boy is only engaged at the beginning and at the end of the meeting.

3.2 The second encounter

The second encounter took place in November 2010 in an Educational Welcome Space (*Espai de Benvinguda Educativa*). These kinds of settings, created in various cities in 2008, aimed to offer an introduction to Catalan and to Catalonia to newly arrived immigrant children before their enrolment in an ordinary school, which took place a couple of weeks later. The Educational Welcome Spaces were closed in 2012.

In this specific meeting the participants are the community worker (*educadora social*), a Chinese mother, and her two children (teenage daughter and eight-year-old son), and the interpreter. The mother only spoke Chinese, but the children could understand and speak basic Catalan. The interpreter's mother tongue was Catalan and she also spoke fluent Chinese.

The purpose of the meeting was to collect and confirm information about the two children, who were about to start the course offered in the Welcome Space, and to give information about the course to the mother and children. The encounter lasted approximately 25 minutes and was also audio-recorded.

3.2.1 The interpreter

The interpreter worked full-time as intercultural mediator for the city council and mainly covered educational settings and social services. She was in charge of public service interpreting for Chinese users of the latter, and of intercultural mediation activities with the Chinese community in the city. She had a degree in Translation and Interpreting, but her degree programme had not included work on community or dialogue interpreting. She had, however, attended a seminar on intercultural mediation. At the moment of data collection, she had been working in this area for two years (since 2008).

3.2.2 Seating

Seating was arranged at a round table in a meeting room (Figure 2). The researcher sat with the participants around the table.

The interpreter sat between the community worker and the mother, which may have transmitted a more balanced image of her status to the main participants. She and the mother and children already knew each other, having met at a city council meeting. They had also met by chance on their way to the Educational Welcome Space, arriving together. This may have helped produce a certain closeness and complicity between the interpreter and the family, and may have also reinforced their sense of trust towards the interpreter (Edwards *et al.* 2005).

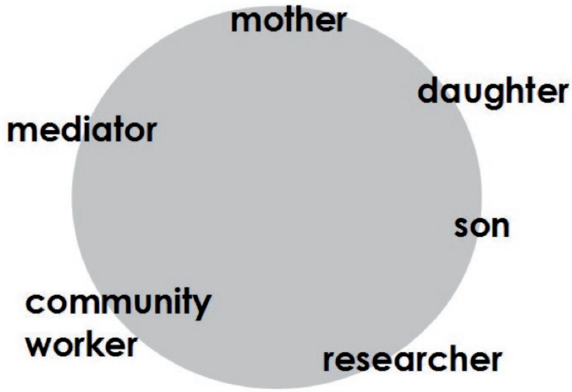

Figure 2. Seating arrangement in second encounter

The interpreter and the community worker also knew each other, from previous meetings with other Chinese families. All these factors (the purpose of the meeting, the seating arrangement and the fact that the participants already knew each other) helped create a relaxed atmosphere.

3.2.3 Participation in the encounter and the role of the interpreter

Since both children could understand basic Catalan and the little boy was eager to answer the community worker's questions, the interpreter's turns and renditions were relatively scarce. The community worker also addressed her questions to the children and overtly involved them in the conversation, as may be noted in extract 3.

Extract 3

C.W.	*Sí. Llavors, ja ja havíeu estat a l'escola aquí a […]? Eh, vosaltres, quan vàreu venir de Xina, la primera vegada, vàreu venir a […].* (Yes. Then, did you already go to school here in […]? I mean, when you came from China, the first time, you came to […].)
Boy	*Sí.* (Yes.)
C.W.	*Tu recordes a quina escola anaves?* (Do you remember which school you went to?)
Girl	*Sant Jordi.*[2] (St. George's.)
Boy	*Sant Jordi.* (St. George's.)
C.W.	*Tots dos a Sant Jordi anàveu? Molt bé. I això quin any era?* (You both went to St. George's, right? Great. And what year was that?)
Boy	*El dos mil vuit.* (In two thousand and eight.)

As may be noted, interpreting was not needed in this exchange, which took place at the beginning of the encounter. The community worker-boy axis was given priority, though the girl also tried to participate. In fact, the community worker used the second person singular in Catalan (*tu*) in her second question, addressing it only to the boy. The mother was excluded from this dialogue, which was not interpreted to her, neither by a summarised rendition (Wadensjö 1998) nor by means of *chuchotage*.

Extract 4 shows the continuation of extract 3. It presents the first turn of the interpreter, a non-rendition (Wadensjö 1998), where she uses her own voice to pose a question.

Extract 4

Interpreter	是吧？你们是 = (Really? Did you =)
C.W.	= *Ui! Així fa quatre dies, d'això.* = (= Wow! That was not long ago =)
Interpreter	= 2008 年离开中国的吗？ (= leave China in 2008?)
Boy	< INAUDIBLE >
Interpreter	不是2008年，我觉得是早一点是吧？不是2007年吗？ (It was not in 2008, I believe it was a bit earlier, right? Wasn't it in 2007?)

2 Proper nouns have been changed to protect participants' identities.

Mother	2008年四月二十三号 (The twenty-third of April 2008)
Interpreter	是啊？2008 年…… Vale. (Really? 2008... OK.)

The interpreter's first turn here is interrupted by the community worker, who makes an observation that is left untranslated. The interpreter's second turn includes an intuition based on her personal experience (*I believe it was...*), as she started working at the city council in 2008. As in the previous excerpt, one participant is left outside the exchange, as the dialogue was not interpreted for the community worker.

The transcript of this encounter reveals that it is built on separate conversations which at certain points converge. While Bolden (2000) talks about "interweaving but separate conversations", the multi-party nature of this encounter allows participants to expand monolingual exchanges, and makes the separation between the participants more visible.

The monolingual exchanges take place between the community worker and the children, between the community worker and the interpreter, and between the interpreter and the mother and children. As the interpreter already knew the family, some of the community worker's questions are directly addressed to her, and the interpreter answers on behalf of the mother. The children's understanding of both languages puts them in an advantageous position, allowing them to participate in both the Catalan and the Chinese exchanges. Paradoxically, the mother almost becomes a spectator: when certain questions are addressed to her, the children answer on her behalf, as in extract 5.

Extract 5

C.W.	*D'acord. I quin any era això que van arribar els pares aquí?* (OK. And when did the parents arrive here?)
Interpreter	你们父母，你们两个是什么时候到[. . .]？ (Your parents, when did you both arrive in [...]?)
Boy	不一样的。 (It was different.)
Interpreter	是什么时候？ (When?)
Boy	不一样的。我妈妈先到。 (It was different. Mum arrived first.)
Interpreter	哦！ (Oh!)
Girl	你先到[. . .]是不是？ (You came to [...] first, right?)
Interpreter	我什么不知道。谁先到[. . .]？ (I didn't know anything. Who arrived first?)

Mother	或者西班牙？西班牙，我先到西班牙。 (Or to Spain? To Spain, I was the first to arrive in Spain.)
Interpreter	哦。 (Oh.)
Mother	我到西班牙六年了。 (I came to Spain six years ago.)
Interpreter	*Fa sis anys que és aquí.* (She's been here for six years.)

Despite herself understanding the questions, the mother allows the children to answer on her behalf and only intervenes to confirm and clarify after the exchange between the interpreter and the children. The interpreter does not translate, merely providing a partial answer to the community worker's original question.

Overall, the interpreter's reluctance to intervene as a coordinator or even as an interpreter, instead allowing monolingual exchanges to develop throughout the meeting, results in imbalanced participation, with some voices silenced or excluded.

4. Discussion

There are important differences between the interpreters in these encounters. The first interpreter limits her own interventions to what she feels is important for the teacher to know, based on her experience of mediating with the local Chinese community. She shifts between two roles, that of the service provider's assistant (e.g. suggesting complementary questions) and that of the user's advocate, especially when trying to avoid situations that may cause the latter to lose his/her face or feel uncomfortable, either now or in the future. However, during the short monolingual exchanges, one of the participants is excluded from the conversation, while other strategies might have avoided this; for instance, Bancroft/Rubio-Fitzpatrick's (2011) non-intrusive five-step mediation, which stresses the importance of directing interpreters' own interventions to both participants of the conversation.

The second interpreter becomes an active participant in the encounter, answering the community worker's questions on the basis of what she has learnt in previous encounters with the family. She selects what to interpret to the mother or to the community worker, and lets monolingual exchanges flow without interruption. Consequently, the two monolingual participants are excluded from the exchanges in the other language, as is particularly evident in the case of the mother.

Surprisingly, the interpreter in the second encounter has a degree in Translation and Interpreting. However, her answers during the interview did not link her work to her training, which had mainly focused on conference interpreting.[3]

3 This bias has now lessened, as PSI has been gradually introduced into most Translation and Interpreting degree courses in Spain.

She acknowledged not knowing how to introduce herself to Chinese users, as she did not feel comfortable with the label either of interpreter or of intercultural mediator, and sometimes just said *I will help you*. Nevertheless, more continuous dialogue interpreting, maybe combined with *chuchotage* during monolingual exchanges, could perhaps have helped provide more equal chances to participate in the encounter.

5. Conclusions

The encounters discussed in this paper support Baraldi's (2009) finding that mediated interactions (Bolden 2000: 391) often result in a dyadic separation where two distinct conversations develop. The context in which these encounters took place makes this study particularly valuable from the point of view of research on PSI.

First of all, interpreting in educational settings is one of the under-researched contexts in the growing literature on PSI, especially if compared to healthcare or court interpreting. Apart from Davitti (2012, 2013), Foulquié Rubio/Abril Martí (2013) or Vargas-Urpi/Arumí Ribas (2014), little has been written about the specificities of such encounters. The encounters presented in this paper show that despite developing in a more relaxed atmosphere, the unequal distribution of power still becomes evident. The interpreters in both these encounters displayed this difference in power, going so far as to intervene in place of the mother in the second encounter. Rendering all the original utterances could have helped to empower the less powerful participant, by providing a more constant flow of information.

Their broader experience in intercultural mediation certainly influenced the roles taken by the interpreters during these encounters. However, previous research has shown that intercultural mediation needs to be fitted to the specificities of dialogue interpreting. Baraldi (2009) and Gavioli/Baraldi (2011) stress the potential for interpreters to balance power relations by coordinating turn-taking. On the other hand, Bancroft/Rubio-Fitzpatrick (2011) suggest a strategy whereby cultural explanations are provided without excluding any of the participants, and promoting their direct interaction.

Multi-party encounters may call for particular turn-taking coordination strategies. Taking the example of the second encounter, the children's bilingual competence gave the interpreter less control on turn-taking, as the boy's quick responses prevented her from providing renditions of the original questions. Multi-party encounters seem to require basic communication rules to be established at the beginning, to ensure that interpreting turns are respected.

Having only considered two encounters, these findings need to be interpreted cautiously. More research is required to better understand and describe the specificities of interpreting in educational settings. Issues of role, empowerment and turn-taking have been considered, but what also arises as an issue worth studying is how the presence of children may shape interpreters' behaviour. In both these encounters, the interpreter seemed to adopt an affectionate tone, because even when not participating directly (e.g. in the first encounter), the children could still pick up on what was being said about them.

Finally, despite its limitations, this study suggests new variables to take into account when designing activities for PSI training. Role plays often depict the traditional triadic exchange, but real practice may involve more complex situations that need to be addressed in both formal and informal training courses.

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Talking emotions in multilingual healthcare settings. A qualitative study of interpreted-mediated interaction in Italian hospitals

Federico Farini
University Campus Suffolk (UK)

Abstract

This contribution discusses the results of research on the treatment of emotions in interpreted-mediated interactions in healthcare settings, discussing examples of interpreters' choices excluding or promoting the emotions of the patients in the interaction. The corpus consists of 40 Italian/Arabic interactions and 15 Italian/Chinese interactions. Analysis draws upon Conversation Analysis as well as on studies on Dialogue Interpreting and intercultural communication. Findings suggest that the activity of interpreters may prevent patients' emotions from becoming relevant in the medical encounter, but also that interpreting may promote an emotion-sensitive healthcare, in the interest of a patient-centred model of inter-linguistic medicine.

Introduction: the meaning of interpreted-mediated interaction

Research shows that differences concerning the meaning of health and illness or in the expectations towards the roles of doctor and patient may discourage people from linguistic and cultural minorities from accessing medical care (see American Psychiatric Association 2013). However, citizenship in late modern societies underpins the right of equal access to medical care. Moreover, if social groups are excluded from medical care, this may jeopardize strategies of sanitary control, blinding the "*medical eye*" which is a characteristic of European modernity (Foucault 1973). To help ward off this risk, resources are invested in developing instruments and procedures to support minority groups in accessing public facilities. Examples of such instruments are social advertising or the employment of health visitors. The focus of this contribution is on another instrument: interpreted-mediated interaction.

Interpreted-mediated interaction is triadic, in involving two primary participants (a service provider and a service user) as well as a third participant (the interpreter) who is required to support the user in accessing the service needed (Angelelli 2004; Baker 2006; Mason 2006; Pöchhacker/Kadrić 1999).

In order to explain the type of interactional work accomplished by interpreters, Wadensjö (1998) suggests that interpreters play a double role: they *translate* and they also *coordinate* the talk activity. Such coordinating activity is intended to facilitate the interaction between the participants of different languages and it is concerned with the promotion of their participation and understanding.

Hence, interpreting may be understood as a form of mediation, and interpreters may be understood as mediators in interlinguistic and intercultural settings. According to Wadensjö the most important function of the interpreter as mediator concerns the promotion of a shared knowledge, together with coordination (Wadensjö 1998: 108). The interpreter is an active participant who manages the flow of information and medical evaluations in the interlinguistic interaction (Davidson 2000: 400, 2001: 170).

As situations requiring mediation are increasingly common in Western medical systems, an important question concerns the effectiveness of mediation in empowering the migrant patient as an active participant in the medical encounter.

1. Methods

1.1 Context and outline of the study

This contribution discusses situations in which interpreters, as linguistic facilitators and as coordinators of intercultural communication, empower or inhibit migrant patients' emotional expressions. In particular, the article focuses on the treatment of patients' emotion in medical settings in the Italian National Healthcare districts of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Emilia-Romagna Region).

Last available statistics (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica 2014) indicate that immigrants in the Modena district are 92,998 (13.3% of the residents); in the Reggio Emilia district the number is 72,302 (13.5% of the residents). In both areas a major driver of organisational change in healthcare systems is the requirement to provide appropriate services for this large migrant population, including interlinguistic and intercultural mediation.

Both the General Hospital Board and the Local Health Board in Modena employ interpreters to help in reception, obstetrics, nursery, paediatrics, gynaecology, neonatology and the family advice bureau. The Reggio Emilia Local Health Board uses interpreters in the outpatients departments and specialized units for the care of women and children. Emilia Romagna Regional Law no.5 of 2004 states that

> the Region promotes, through institutions including Local Health Units and Hospitals, the development of informational channels aimed at immigrant foreign citizens,

> along with activities of intercultural mediation within the social-health field, with the objective of ensuring appropriate knowledge, in order to facilitate access to health and social-health services (Translated by the author).

This research involves four doctors, four nurses and four professional interpreters; all the healthcare professionals are native speakers of Italian. The interpreters are native speakers either of the Tunisian or Jordanian variants of Arabic on the one hand, and of Mandarin Chinese on the other. All the interpreters involved in the research are qualified professionals.

Interpreters working in the research settings are expected to promote the coordination between healthcare providers and migrant patients, in order to enhance the functionality of the healthcare system. Therefore, they are expected to be linguistic interpreters and intercultural mediators, bridging the interlocutors' "cultural reality" and their intercultural relationships when differences in meanings and expectations are observed in communication (Carbaugh 2005; Koole/ten Thjie 2001; Verschueren 2008).

Data discussed in this article were collected as part of a research project entitled *Interlinguistic and intercultural communication: analysis of interpretation as a form of mediation for the bilingual dialogue between foreign citizens and institutions*. The research project was supervised by a Management Coordination Committee (MCC), composed of the research coordinator and the coordinators of healthcare services. The MCC was in charge of decision making on knowledge protection, ethical and legal issues. The privacy of participants was preserved according to the Italian Data Protection Act 675 (31.12.1996).

1.2 Methodology

The analysis discussed here is based on 40 Arabic-Italian and 15 Chinese-Italian conversations recorded in two public healthcare service centres in Italy's Emilia Romagna Region: 1) *Centro per la salute delle famiglie straniere* (the Healthcare support centre for foreign families) in Reggio Emilia, and 2) *Consultorio* (the Local centre for health and social services) in Vignola (Province of Modena). In most cases, the conversations concerned issues related to obstetrics, pediatrics, gynecology and neonatology (47 cases, 85.4%).

Transcription was carried out by the researchers, with the help of non-researching interpreters. All conversations were transcribed following Conversation Analysis (CA) conventions (see Figure 1 below). In all excerpts presented, D is for Doctor, P is for Patient and M is for Interpreter-Mediator. Each line of talk is numbered before the letter used to identify the speaker.

A "three lines" format is used to transcribe the multilingual talk: the first line reproduces the transcribed talk in the original language, the second offers an English word-by-word gloss, and the third a functionally equivalent translation in idiomatic English.

[ ]	Brackets mark the start and end of overlapping speech
(.)	A micropause, hearable but too short to measure
Te:xt	Colons show degrees of elongation of the prior sound
Tex-	Hyphens mark a cut-off of the preceding sound
((comment))	Additional comments from the transcriber
Text	Italics is used for *English translations*
<u>Text</u>	Emphatic utterance
°Text°	Low voice

Figure 1. Transcription conventions (Jefferson 2004)

The conversations are analysed using two sociolinguistic methodologies. The first is based on CA and focuses on how participants co-construct medical conversations through a coordinated system of turn-taking (Sacks *et al*. 1974). The second derives from studies on intercultural communication (Gudykunst 2005; Samovar/Porter 1997; Ting-Toomey/Kurogi 1998). In line with the perspective of intercultural communication studies, the aspect of whether the features of multilingual talk in the data either reproduced or tackled particular cultural aspects of the medical system is analysed, for instance, the marginalisation of emotional expressions.

The excerpts discussed here were selected for their clarity; however, they can be considered fully representative of the kind of mediation processes observed in the entire collection of data.

2. Results

In the last three decades, the facilitation of emotionally-sensitive relationships between doctors and patients has become an area of primary interest for healthcare professionals. Professionals' engagement in the patients' life-world, including their emotions, is now widely recognised as a key component leading to the successful outcome of medical treatment and care (Mead/Bower 2000; Schouten *et al*. 2007). Doctors' affective involvement in the interaction is considered of primary importance in helping patients comply with treatment (Barry *et al*. 2001; Heritage/Maynard 2006; Robinson/Heritage 2005; Stivers 2002). As a result, healthcare providers are now invited to observe illness through the patient's lens and "treat the patient, rather than just the disease" (Heritage/Maynard 2006: 355).

However, numerous studies show that the patient-centred approach encounters severe difficulties in the case of multilingual medical interaction. Migrant patients struggle to express their emotions and to present their case histories and medical concerns (Davidson 2001; Baraldi/Gavioli 2011). This communicative difficulty can significantly impact the success of medical intervention as well as patients' motivations to follow a prescribed course of treatment (Hsieh 2010).

This section discusses two types of interactions: 1) those in which interpreters exclude migrant patients' emotional expressions, and 2) those in which interpreters promote patients' emotional expressions.

2.1 Interactions that exclude patients' emotional expressions

In the corpus of data, *reduced-* or *zero renditions* (Wadensjö 1998) are the most common types of action limiting the possibility of a direct connection between the doctor and patient's emotions. When producing a reduced rendition, the interpreter excludes some component of a translatable turn, while a zero rendition is the missed translation of the whole translatable turn.

Excerpt 1, which culminates in a long dyadic sequence in Mandarin Chinese (lines 8-27, including an incomplete turn in Italian produced by the interpreter). In the dyad, the interpreter plays a pedagogical role, advocating the use of Western medicine against traditional remedies, which the patient is reluctant to abandon.

Excerpt 1

1D: adesso la pressione é a posto (.) martedì è sette, vero?
now the pressure is in place (.) Tuesday is seven, true?
now blood pressure is OK, next Tuesday, it is the 7th, right?

2M: °mmh, mmh°

3D: allora, gli dici di portare pazienza perché:
so, to him tell of bring patience because:

4 per le prime due settimane ci vedremo spesso
for the first two weeks us see often
now tell him to be patient because in the first two weeks we'll meet very often

5M: ok, però l' orecchio-
ok, but the ear-
ok, but his ear-

6D: no, no, no adesso ci occupiamo dell' orecchio,
no, no, no now we work of the ear

7 intanto digli che deve portare pazienza.
for now tell him that must bring patience.
no, no, no. now we'll take care of his ear, for the moment, tell him that he has to be patient.

8M: ok (.) nǐ zhèigè yuè jǐnliàng duō,
ok (.) as much as possible this month

9 xià gè xīngqī èr, qī hào, xiàwǔ liǎng
next Tuesday, the 7th, at 2:30

10 diǎn bàn lái zhèli,
in the afternoon and come here

11 *wǒmen zài gěi nǐ zuò xuèyā jiǎnchá*
we give you to do blood pressure check

12 *xīnzàng jiǎnchá*
heart check

13 *chī zhège yào, zhōngyào bùyào chī le*
eat this medicine, traditional Chinese medicine must not eat
this I recommend you, next Tuesday, the 7th, at 2:30 you come here so that we check your blood pressure, your heart. And take this medicine, don't take the Chinese medicine any longer.

14P: a:h zhōngyào bùyào chī le?
a:h traditional Chinese medicine, must not eat?
ah, I don't take Chinese medicine?

15M: zhōngyào yīgài bùyào chī le,
traditional Chinese medicine must not eat,

16 bùyào wàng le, dào Yìdàlì lái bùyào chī le,
must not to forget, to Italy to come must not eat

17 tīngdǒng le méiyǒu?
to understand not to have?
no, remember this, you have come to Italy so you
do not have to take don't eat traditional medicine, don't forget you come to Italy don't take, do you understand?

18P: zhōngyào bù lún zhī liàn,
traditional Chinese medicine not good,

19 bù néng chī?
can't to eat?
the Chinese medicine, is it not good so I can't take it?

20M: bù néng chīde:: ok? qīngchu le? hái yǒu méiyǒu
can't eat:: ok? to understand? still to have or

21 bù qīngchu de?
not to have unclear?
you can't ok? Is it clear? Is it clear now or is it still unclear?

22P: zhè yào gěi Wǒba. °zhège yào°
this medicine they give me. °this medicine°
they have given me this medicine

23M: zhège yào bù yào chīde, ok?
this medicine not to eat it, ok?
you do not have to take this medicine okay?

24 ((to D in Italian)) allora sto cercando di::
so I am trying of::
so I'm trying to

25P: bù shì yào zuò xuèyā dema?
not to be medicine to do blood pressure?

26   bù yòng   chī   yào   piàn?
need not to take medicine sheet?
aren't those medicines right for my blood pressure? Shouldn't I take the medicine sheet ((of the Chinese medicine))?

27M: bù   yòng   chī   yào   piàn
need not to take medicine sheet
no, you don't have to take it

In lines 1-7 the doctor negotiates which information to pass to the patient with the interpreter. Already from the first lines of the excerpt, the model of consecutive interpreting is abandoned. The doctor addresses the interpreter who becomes immediately a ratified participant in the medical encounter. In excerpt 1, linguistic mediation is a two-phase process. The first phase consists of a dyad involving the doctor and the interpreter (lines 1-7) and the second phase consists of a summarized translation for the patient (lines 8-13).

In line 14 the patient opens the sentence that responds to the last statement in the interpreter's translation with an acknowledgement token, *ah,* which suggests that the previous turn of talk made a difference in his cognitive landscape (Heritage 1984). From this line, a monolingual dyadic sequence generated by the summarised translation develops as a conflict between the interpreter as an agent of Western medicine and the patient, who is reluctant to abandon traditional Chinese medicine.

There are three points worth highlighting in the analysis of the dyadic sequence. The first point concerns the way in which the patient resists the interpreter's instructions. In the turn following the interpreter's instruction (lines 15-17), the patient is expected to react either by accepting (the preferred action) or refusing the instruction.

However, human interaction offers resources to avoid the constraints posed by a polar yes/no question. In this sequence, the patient produces a second question, asking for clarification, thus releasing himself from the pressure placed on him by the question (lines 18-19).

The whole dyadic sequence in Mandarin Chinese may be understood as an exchange between the interpreter's relayed instructions (lines 20-21, 23 and 27) and the patient's interactive attempt to avoid accepting the instructions without explicitly refusing them (lines 22 and 25-26).

The second point is the missed re-inclusion of the doctor in the interaction within (check with the author) the Mandarin Chinese dyad. The doctor, who is the technical expert, is excluded from an interaction of medical relevance. Only in line 24 does the interpreter attempt to explain to the doctor what is going on, to be immediately re-engaged in the dyadic conversation by the patient (line 25).

The third point concerns access to the triadic medical interaction of the social and personal worlds of the patient. In the course of the Mandarin Chinese dyad, the patient tries four times to defend the use of traditional Chinese medicine; however, none of these attempts reaches the doctor, because the interpreter does not translate them. The interpreter systematically produces zero renditions; instead of translating the patient's contributions for the doctor, she answers the patient directly. Hence, it is the interpreter, rather than the doctor, who manages the patient's reluctance to abandon Chinese medicine.

In the context of medical encounters, narrations are evaluated for the ways in which they contribute to a coherent explanation of disease (Heritage/Lindström 2012). In excerpt 1, the interpreter thinks that the patient's contributions are useless for treatment, so she does not translate them. The interpreter's zero renditions prevent the patient's personal and social world, which includes the use of traditional Chinese medicine to treat blood pressure, from being included in the medical consultation.

It could be argued that the interpreter's zero renditions enable the medical consultation to proceed faster, thus supporting the functionality of the system. However, it could be asked what kind of functionality is supported by these actions. Research by Leanza *et al.* (2010) suggests that zero renditions keep the interaction coherent. Zero renditions may exclude from translation components of the medical discourse parts not comprehensible or manageable by the patient, or part of the patient's discourse not relevant to healthcare treatment. But the same research shows that these types of actions on the part of interpreters hinder the trust building process between patient and the healthcare provider. By creating more distance between the principal participants, zero renditions pose risks to the therapeutic process and, paradoxically, compromise the core values (e.g. self-determinism and informed decision-making) of the Western medical system (Hsieh 2010).

2.2 Interactions that promote emotional-sensitive healthcare

2.2.1 Dyadic interactions

In the corpus it is also possible to appreciate doctors' and interpreters' actions encouraging patients' emotional expressions, giving voice to their concerns, doubts, needs and requests.

The data suggest that doctors' actions promoting patients' emotional expressions are rare, probably because of the difficulty in interacting directly with the patients. For this reason, interpreters' promotional actions are more common than doctors'. Interpreters may promote patients' emotional expressions through different interactional practices, depending on the nature of the interaction, either dyadic (patient-interpreter) or triadic (patient-interpreter-doctor).

In dyadic interactions, the expression of emotions is mainly accomplished through *backchannelling* (Schegloff 1982; Schiffrin 2001), using feedback tokens, continuers or echoing to manifest attentiveness and involvement in patients' emotional expressions.

In excerpt 2, the interpreter displays her attentiveness and understanding of patient's emotional status by producing feedback tokens ("Ah", line 116, "mmh", line 118, "Ah I understand you", line 120).

Excerpt 2

113P alnmra btaa almhmol btaak btktbiliaha
number of your mobile, can you write for me
your phone number, can you write it for me?

114M eh

115P .hhh °oatoni shi haja orqa mshan alfhs°
.hhh °I have received the paper examintation°
I have received the invitation for an examination

116M ah (.) ah

117P kl thlath snoa:t adoz alfhs llrhm
every three year:s pass the examination uterus
I pass the examination for the uterus every three years

118M اه
Mmh

119P .hh jtni alorqa oma bghit nmshi lan lazm
.hh received paper and don't go want because I would
nfhamham ani amlt alamlia
have explained I put the coil
I received the paper and I don't want to go, because I would have to explain I put the coil

120M ah (.) fhmt aliki
ah (.) understood you
ah (.) I understand you

121P knt astna
You waiting to ask
I was waiting for you to ask

122M °khfti° .hh ank tiji otkoni,
°Afraid° .hh were come and being,
so you were afraid to come and being

123P ah ano iqlboni almkina oala shi alamlia (.) alahsn
yes me examine machine and move the coil (.) I need

124 Ano itni orqa oiqolo ani mshan alml (.) bs ano iani
Me better you give me paper says (.)I did the

125 iqlboni
operation
yes that they examine me and move the coil or whatever so it's better if you give me a paper saying I made the operation so they examine me because they examine the uterus

In line 116, the interpreter uses a feedback token to support the incipient narration of the patient, which is further promoted by the continuer in line 118.

When the patient expresses her concern (line 119), the interpreter produces the acknowledgement token to display her understanding of the patient's emotions.

In line 122, the interpreter encourages the patient to express her concerns; this is accomplished by producing an *upshot* that advances an interpretation of the patient's emotional stance (Antaki *et al.* 2005). The interpreter's upshot makes the expression of either agreement or disagreement by the patient relevant in the following turn. In both cases further knowledge about the patient's emotions and concerns will be produced. The interpreter's upshot is not a translation; rather, it is a discursive initiative taken by the interpreter that elicits more contribution from the patient.

In lines 123-125, the reiteration of affective and promotional actions culminating in the upshot succeeds in encouraging the patient to express her doubts about the therapy.

In the corpus of data, consecutive translation is often intermingled with other actions which are relevant for the achievement of interactional goals. In many instances, after a translatable turn the interpreter reacts by producing items which differ from translation (acknowledgment tokens, continuers, requests for clarification or direct replies). Such types of actions suspend consecutive interpreting, which is substituted by subsequent summarised renditions of the dyadic sequence. When summarised renditions are provided, the interaction moves to a triadic format, with the re-inclusion of the doctor.

2.2.2 Triadic interactions

The main difference between dyadic and triadic interactions is the inclusion of the doctor in the interaction, which in turn depends on the interpreter's actions. The most important interactional resource used to involve doctors in patients' emotional contributions is *affective formulations*. Formulations are a conversational object recognized and analysed by Conversation Analysis (Antaki *et al.* 2005; Bolden 2010; Heritage 1985). Formulations are summaries of previous turns, which provide directions for subsequent turns by inviting a reaction from the recipients. Formulations

> advance the prior report by finding a point in the prior utterance and thus shifting its focus, redeveloping its gist, making something explicit that was previously implicit in the prior utterance, or by making inferences about its presuppositions or implications (Heritage 1985: 104).

In the data reported on here, interpreters' formulations are interpretations following patient-interpreter dyadic sequences, with adaptations in order to build, expand and recreate the meanings of the dyadic sequences. Formulations, therefore, are not word-for-word translations of contributions in prior dyadic sequences; rather, they rely on the interpreter's discursive initiative and willingness to create common ground between patients and doctors (Cirillo 2010). Specifically, interpreters use formulations as conversational resources that (a) provide an interpretation which highlights content from dyadic monolingual sequences; and (b) propose inferences about presuppositions or implications of patients' contributions (Baraldi/Gavioli 2008).

Affective formulations are formulations focusing on the emotional aspects of patients' utterances, giving the doctor the chance to share and get involved in the affective dimension of the interaction. Affective formulations make doctors aware of patients' emotions; in this way, patients assume an identity that goes beyond the generic social role of the sick.

In excerpt 3, the patient, who is a woman in her seventh month of pregnancy, complains about a severe abdominal pain (line 1).

Excerpt 3

```
1P:  rhuti     almasha (.) ((Arabic untranscribable))
     emergency went to (.) ((I had pain in my belly))
```
I went to the emergency room (.) ((I had pain in my belly))

```
2M:  ehm  dolori  forti  crampi: (.)
     ehm  pains  strong cramps: (.)
     ((to P)) igiaki        iluagiaa?

3    contractions  did you have?
```
ehm, she had a lot of pain with cramp ((to P)) did you have contractions?

```
4P:  mhm  uagiaa
     mhm  yes

5M:  mmh mmh  ((to D)) è  andata   al    pronto soccorso,
     mmh mmh ((to D)) is  gone   to the  emergency room,

6    perché   ha  avuto  del  dolore
     because  has  had  some  pain
```
mmh mmh ((to D))she went to the emergency room because she had pain-

```
7D:  ah un' altra volta?
     ah one other time?
```
ah, again?

```
8M:  sì
     yes

9D:  ((to P))  ti     volevo  chiedere (.)
           to you  wanted    ask    (.)

10   come mai  hai  la faccia così sofferente?
     how  ever have the  face  so suffering?
```
((to P)) I wanted to ask you (.) what's causing all this suffering?

```
11M: lesh uigihik hek  tabaan bain aleki
     why  face    your  tired is   much
```
why do you look so tired?

12P: *.hhh* °((Arabic untranscribable))°
. hhh °((Partly because of this pain))°

13M: fi hagia muaiana mdaiktk
is there something wrong

14 uiani mdaiik, blbit mushkila?
in your house, that you worries?
is there anything wrong that worries you at home?

15P: lha (.) [khaifa hhhh.
no (.) [frightened hhhh.
no (.) [I'm frightened

16D: [>no mi sembra a me:< che abbia
[>no to me seems to me:< that has

17 la faccia sofferente
the face suffering
[no it seems to me that she has a suffering face

18M: .hh un po'spaventata perché diciamo pe::r
.hh a bit frightened because we say fo::r

19 la pancia
the belly
hh a bit frightened because let's say because of her belly

20D: e:h ma è bellissima la tua pancia!
e:h but is beautiful the your belly!
e:h but your belly, it's beautiful!

21M: btul shitabii btiilik ma tilaii
all normal everything you is fine
she is telling you that everything is normal, everything is fine

The patient's complaint is followed by a complex turn; the first unit of the turn is a translation, while the second unit of the turn is a question. The question projects an expectation of confirmation/disconfirmation of a possible cause of pain (line 3, *did you have contractions?*).

Following the patient's confirmation, the interpreter acknowledges receipt of the information (line 5, *mmh mmh*). The doctor's acknowledgement in line 7 is expressed as a news-receipt marker (*ah again*?), displaying the relevance of the information. In lines 9-10, the doctor displays her interest in the patient's situation with a question (*why you look so suffering*?), which opens the way for a translation by the interpreter and further explanations by the patient.

The doctor's question is followed by a short dyadic sequence in Arabic (lines 11-15) between the interpreter and the patient. The interpreter translates the doctor's question (replacing "*suffering*" with "*tired*") and subsequently displays interest in the patient's emotions.

The doctor interrupts the dyadic sequence to re-express her concern for the patient (line 16-17); however, the doctor's contribution is not translated by the interpreter, who formulates her own understanding of the patient's worry (*"a bit frightened because, let's say for her belly"*, lines 18-19). The interpreter's initiative makes some form of reassurance by the doctor relevant in the following turn (line 20). Finally, the interpreter translates the doctor's reassurance and provides further support to the patient (line 21).

3. Discussion and Conclusion

3.1 Discussion

In the analysed data, zero renditions are used to exclude the patient's emotional expressions from the medical interaction, when interpreters consider such expressions to be irrelevant to healthcare treatment. Narrations are co-authored through interactional activities between teller and recipients (Monzoni/Drew, 2009); the interpreters' support is necessary to the development of patients' expression of emotions.

When, on the other hand, interpreters promote patients' emotional expressions, the conversational resource used is affective formulations. Affective formulations are produced to provide the doctor with the opportunity to tune in to the emotional status of the patient. Affective formulations are inclusive because, while highlighting the emotions of the patient, they also involve the doctor in the formation of affective relations. By producing an affective formulation, the interpreter develops and emphasises an implicit emotional expression as a basis for subsequent interaction.

Zero renditions and affective formulations reveal the interpreter not as a neutral conduit, but as an active agent in the medical interaction. The interpreter's active participation may concern the management of the patient's implicit, difficult, and embarrassed emotional expressions, either excluding or promoting them in the medical interaction (Farini 2012).

3.2 Conclusion

When the interpreter acts as a mediator, otherwise hidden factors, such as patients' emotional expressions, can be relayed to the doctor, which in turn creates opportunities for him/her to respond. Where the interpreter does not act in this way, patients' emotions may be neglected.

The examination of patient-doctor mediated interaction in this study suggests that interpreters may support the relevance of patients' emotions in the medical encounters in two ways: 1) in dyadic interactions by affiliating with the patients, checking the patients' perceptions and emotions; and 2) in triadic interactions by promoting patients' emotional expressions.

In particular, the data show that a conversational resource, affective formulations, is effective in maximising potential empathic opportunities offered by the patient in the course of dyadic sequences. Through affective formulations, interpreters introduce patients' emotions, doubts and concerns to doctors, making it possible for healthcare personnel to access the many facets of the patient's situation on both the personal and the cultural levels.

Analysis of emergency visits in two large pediatric departments in the USA suggests an association between interpreter training and errors in mediated interactions (Flores *et al*. 2012). Well-trained, professional interpreters demonstrated a significantly lower likelihood of errors than *ad hoc* interpreters such as family members or other hospital staff. The study suggests that training for interpreters may have a major impact on reducing interpreter errors and their consequences in healthcare, improving the quality of care and patient safety.

While the importance of technical competence is acknowledged, it is argued here that professional training should include consideration of the complexity of the interpreter's task. In triadic interactions, the interpreter is never a neutral conduit, so errors in translation are not the only issue; interpreters as mediators necessarily co-ordinate the contingent and changeable construction of multilingual healthcare communication, and the corresponding distribution of communicative opportunities.

Statement

I confirm that all patient/personal identifiers have been removed or disguised so that the patient/person(s) described are not identifiable and cannot be identified through the details of the story.

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Empathy in healthcare interpreting: going beyond the notion of role

Raffaela Merlini
Mariadele Gatti*
University of Macerata (Italy)

Abstract

The paper investigates empathy in healthcare interpreting by suggesting a theoretical framework through which some of the rigidities and ambiguities of traditional role categories may be overcome. Methodologically, a trifocal model has been designed entailing: a close-up view at locally produced interactional moves in mediated professional-patient encounters recorded at family planning clinics; an intermediate view focusing on the mediators' responses to a situational questionnaire; and a distance view of their tested individual dispositions. The interest of the analysis lies in the presentation of an innovative research model built on the core construct of empathy, and in the working hypotheses that may be derived from the interplay between its three in-built perspectives, rather than in the findings themselves which are hardly generalizable given the limited set of data under scrutiny.

Introduction

This paper stems from a preliminary reflection on some of the rigidities of the notion of "role", a notion which has been at the very core of investigations into dialogue interpreting since the very beginning (Pöchhacker 2004: 147-151), becoming over time one of its most prominent topics (see Valero-Garcés/Martin

* Although this paper is the outcome of a joint project, sections 3.2 and 3.3 were written by Gatti, and the others by Merlini.

2008). Though it has undoubtedly served many purposes – first among them the much-needed professionalisation of community interpreting – the schematic classification into typologies of behaviour proves to be rather ill-suited to an in-depth theoretical analysis of real-life interpreting practice. Pre-existing to talk as sets of normative behavioural expectations, roles are generally construed as rigid and formal conversational alignments that shape the interaction; in the sense that the participants' contributions are in some ways dictated by them. In a study of mediated encounters with asylum-seekers (Merlini 2009), Davies and Harré's (1990) socio-psychological construct of "positioning" was used as a more flexible and dynamic interpretative framework to account for the multiple and shifting identities that interlocutors construct and negotiate in conversation. Whereas, in that study, the two conceptual tools of roles and positions complemented each other, here we are moving a step farther, abandoning the notion of role altogether to present a more comprehensive analysis of the interpreter's capacity to adopt a primary speaker's perspective through what is known as "empathic behaviour".

1. Empathy as perspective taking

The term "empathy" was coined by Titchener (1909) from two Greek words, the prefix ἐν meaning "inside" and πάθεια meaning "feeling, emotion". Originally, the notion of empathy, which translated the German "Einfühlung", developed within the field of German aesthetics and referred to the subject's self-projection into the objects of perception; in Titchener's definition the process is one of "feeling ourselves into them" (1924: 417). In the first half of last century, theories of empathy in psychology were predominantly influenced by this affective view foregrounding the subject's *vicarious emotional response*; with a few notable exceptions: Kohler (1929), Piaget (1932) and Mead (1934), for instance, held that empathy was more an *understanding* of the other's feelings than a *sharing* of them.

Despite the multiple theoretical and disciplinary perspectives from which the concept has been studied since then,[1] there seems to be general consensus among researchers on at least three points:

1. empathy entails, at a very basic level, a sort of awareness of another's experience;
2. empathy is not only an intrapersonal phenomenon that exists inside the empathizer, but is also an interpersonal activity, where the empathizer shows and communicates empathy to a receiver;
3. empathy correlates with beneficial effects for the receiver; in other words people are more likely to help others and less likely to harm them when they feel empathy towards them.

1 For a comprehensive and detailed overview of the history of empathy research see Håkansson (2003).

In the remainder of this section, we shall briefly look at each of these statements.

If *awareness of the other's experience* represents a minimum common denominator (Håkansson 2003: 2), more fine-grained and often conflicting definitions of empathy have proliferated. One factor leading to this extreme diversification is the classic distinction between the emotional dimension and the cognitive one. Quoting from Adam Smith's (1759) *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Davis (1980: 3) describes the two forms of empathy respectively as *instinctive*, in which case empathy can be described as a "quick, involuntary, seemingly emotional reaction to the experiences of others"; and *intellectualized*, described as the "recognition of the emotional experiences of others without any vicarious experiencing of the state". Given the relevance of this latter dimension of empathy for the present study, let us quote from the seminal works of Carl Rogers, the father of contemporary research on empathy, who brought the notion centre-stage in psycho-therapy and gave it its present popularity. Of his definitions of empathy, which remain among the clearest and most complete to date, the following two excerpts are worth considering:

> the state of empathy, or being empathic, is to perceive the internal frame of reference of another with accuracy and with the emotional components and meanings which pertain thereto as if one were the person, but *without ever losing the "as if" condition*. Thus it means to sense the hurt or the pleasure of another as he senses it and to perceive the causes thereof as he perceives them, but without ever losing the recognition that it is as if I were hurt or pleased and so forth. *If this "as if" quality is lost, then the state is one of identification* (Rogers 1959: 210-211; italics added).

Construing empathy, in a later definition, as a "process" rather than a "state", Rogers (1975: 4) wrote:

> to be with another in [an empathic] way means that for the time being you lay aside the views and values you hold for yourself in order to enter another world without prejudice. In some sense it means that you lay aside your self and this can only be done by a person who is secure enough in himself that he knows he will not get lost [...] and can comfortably return to his own world when he wishes.

Though reference here is specifically to the psychotherapist-patient relationship, some aspects have much more general significance. First among them is Rogers' differentiation between empathy – characterised by the "as if" condition – and identification with the other. Secondly, the cognitive orientation integrates an emotional component, but keeps this firmly anchored to an unfaltering awareness of one's own self. Lastly, only "security in oneself" makes it possible to move back and forth between one's own world and that of the other in a non-judgemental manner. This way of being empathic is so complex and delicate that, as Rogers himself notes, it "is rarely seen in full bloom in a relationship" (1975: 2). Significantly, the title of his 1975 paper is "Empathic: an unappreciated way of being".

Whilst some authors have used the term empathy to refer to either an exclusively cognitive phenomenon or an exclusively emotional one, others have opted for two separate terms, drawing a clear-cut theoretical distinction between "empathy" and "sympathy" (see for instance Wispé 1986, 1991). Empathy is thus viewed as understanding and perceiving the other's emotional state, but without acquiring it; the maintenance of a dual perspective remains fundamental even when a degree of emotional resonance is envisaged. Sympathy, on the other hand, always entails emotional identification – i.e. sharing the other's experience and sensations.

Reuniting these diverse conceptualizations within a single theoretical framework – the most inclusive one in contemporary literature – Davis treats empathy as a multidimensional phenomenon; in his own words, a "set of constructs, related in that they all concern responsivity to others but [which] are also clearly discriminable from each other" (1983: 113). He identifies four such constructs: 1) fantasy, i.e. the tendency to imaginatively transpose yourself into the feelings of fictitious characters in books and movies; 2) perspective-taking capability, i.e. the tendency to spontaneously adopt the psychological view of others in real everyday life; 3) empathic concern, i.e. the tendency to experience other-oriented feelings of warmth, compassion and concern for unfortunate others; 4) personal distress, i.e. the tendency to experience self-oriented feelings of apprehension and discomfort at witnessing the distress in others. Highly significant are the correlations Davis establishes between the constructs. In particular, he demonstrates that a greater perspective-taking capability is associated with more concern for the others and with less distress in the face of others' negative experiences. In other words, the more able we are to cognitively apprehend another person's perspective, the less self-centredly distressed and the more other-oriented concerned we are.

Coming thus to the second point of consensus, namely that empathy is an *interpersonal* as well as an intrapersonal phenomenon (Håkansson/Montgomery 2002, 2003), the current trend is to conceive of it not merely as a general organizing principle of social interaction, nor as a set of communicative acts practised unidirectionally by the empathizer on a passive recipient, but rather as a joint activity in which the empathic experience is co-constructed by interlocutors (Broome 1991; Della Noce 1999). In the specific field of medical communication, Ruusuvuori (2005, 2007) explores empathy and sympathy as two distinct processes of talk-in-interaction. Drawing on "empathy in action" studies by Branch/Malik (1993), Suchman *et al.* (1997), Beach/Dixson (2001), and Beach/LeBaron (2002), and applying the conversation analytical method, Ruusuvuori analyses sequences of troubles telling by patients and their receptions by medical practitioners. The study shows that in those cases where affiliation is present – a minority of instances in the overall corpus – both physicians and patients orient towards a restriction of such displays, which rules out sympathetic moves of experience sharing. Conversely, empathic actions – through which the professional manifests understanding of the patient's troublesome situation and makes it relevant to the consultation – are deemed not only acceptable but even desirable, as they maintain the focus of talk on the patient's experience, thus preserving problem solving as the main activity of the consultation. Far from arguing the inappropriateness of empathic behaviour in the specific institutional environment, Ruusuvuori points out possible ways of showing compassion and relating humanely to the other, albeit within the limits imposed by the professional activity at hand.

The existence of a close connection between empathy and altruism has long been posited by philosophers and psychologists alike (in the latter field, among contemporary studies see for instance Eisenberg/Miller 1987; Batson 1991; Davis 1996; Hoffman 2000; Batson *et al.* 2002); this takes us to the third consensual statement that *empathy is beneficial for social relations*. Experiments by Batson and his colleagues, in particular, have not only validated Davis' correlation between perspective taking and concern for the other, but have also demonstrated that empathic concern, in its turn, leads people to improve the other's well-being through altruistically motivated efforts. If this applies on principle to all kinds of interactions, in service encounters between professional and client, unlike ordinary conversations, improving the other's well-being may be seen as conflicting with manifesting empathy, given that the trouble reported by one of the parties is usually the problem to be solved by the other party, who is therefore called upon to provide an objective and focused task-related response. As we saw earlier on, this contradiction is resolved if empathic displays are seen and used precisely as a means of problem solving to complete the institutional task while, at the same time, responding to a human being "in search not only of a solution to their problem but also of understanding and compassion" (Ruusuvuori 2007: 598). In fact, Coulehan *et al.* (2001: 221) unhesitantly state that empathy – which they define as "the ability to understand the patient's situation, perspective, and feelings and to communicate that understanding to the patient" – lies at the very heart of medical practice. There is by now ample documentation that an effective use of empathy promotes diagnostic accuracy, therapeutic adherence, and both patient and physician satisfaction (see among others Bertakis *et al.* 1991; Nightingale *et al.* 1991; Suchman *et al.* 1993; Roter *et al.* 1997). Viewing thus empathy as a clinical tool, a number of medical educators (see Spiro 1992; Brock/Salinsky 1993; Coulehan *et al.* 2001) have started conceptualising it as a set of teachable and learnable communicative skills, which need practising to achieve adequate mastery.

To conclude, considering our focus on (linguistically mediated) healthcare interactions, for the purposes of the present study empathy is conceived of here as a perspective-taking capability, entailing: awareness of both self and the other (and of self as distinct from the other); understanding of the other's situation; and a degree of concern for the other, communicated through a range of carefully selected affective displays in compliance with the aims and overall objective of the specific institutional activity.

2. "Empathic: an unappreciated way of...interpreting"?

In the last century, the earliest attempts at producing modern codes of ethics and standards of practice were made in the field of conference interpreting, where the process of professionalization has been relatively fast and unproblematic if compared to dialogue interpreting. Owing to the specific contexts of international cooperation in which conference interpreting is habitually performed, the most appropriate behaviour was thought to be self-effacement, implying, as corollaries, maximum objectivity, confidentiality, impartiality, and neutrality. The basic equation between professionality and emotional detachment resulted in the stigmatisation of any form of interpreters' empathic involvement. This has been particularly true in Western countries, as Rudvin (2007) convincingly argues in "Professionalism and ethics in community interpreting". In particular, she points out that human and moral responsibility has been relegated to a place of secondary importance against the extensive dominance of professional responsibility. Provocatively, she raises the following question:

> can we and should we make an absolute distinction between our private and professional lives, private emotions and professional detachment? (*ibid.*: 55).

The idea that professional conduct and empathic behaviour are irreconcilable seeped into debates on professional ethics in community interpreting at a time when the best strategy to promote its professionalization seemed to be the adoption of the same principles and rules laid down in conference interpreting codes of practice – witness, as another eloquent example, the interpreting-in-1st person rule (Merlini/Favaron 2009). Gradually, not least thanks to the fora of discussion provided by Critical Link conferences, practitioners as well as researchers started documenting and exploring the significant differences between the two interpreting domains, and their implications for professional ethics. Taking stock of the evolution of community interpreting over the last two decades, Martin/Valero-Garcés (2008: 2) relevantly observe that, however professionalized this practice becomes, community interpreters will always find themselves in "circumstances in which it would be difficult for any human being to remain unperturbed". Emergency and often dramatic situations, power imbalances between participants, clients' conflicting expectations, and wide cultural gaps account for the multiple and mutable dilemmas with which practitioners are constantly faced. The polarisation between the "impartial" and "advocate" role models is a theoretical simplification with very limited value for actual community interpreting practice, given the virtually infinite range of situational and interactional variants.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of identifying solutions which may be applicable throughout even one single sector of activity, setting-specific guidelines have nonetheless been produced in countries where the professionalization of community interpreting is more advanced. Narrowing the focus down to healthcare interpreting, and coming back to the object of the present paper, in her comprehensive report *The Interpreter's World Tour. An Environmental Scan of Standards of Practice for Interpreters*, Bancroft (2005) observes that the concept of empathy is mentioned in several of the more recent codes. To provide just one example, let us quote from the first such code in the US, i.e. the *National Code of Ethics for Interpreters in Health Care*, a most influential document drawn up by the National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC) in 2004:

> [impartiality] is a principle that is misunderstood and misinterpreted by many to mean that interpreters should be disinterested in or uncaring with regard to the patient. To the contrary [...] *one of the overarching values* of the health care interpreter's code of ethics, a value that is shared with other health care professionals, *is the well-being and welfare of the patient*. In upholding this value, interpreters fully recognize and

> accept the humanity and the human needs of the parties in the encounter. *Responding with empathy* to a patient who may need comfort and reassurance *is simply the response of a caring, human being* (NCIHC 2004: 16; italics added).

Here, not only is empathy acknowledged as a natural response to a patient's plight – the lack of it being implicitly viewed as tantamount to inhumaneness – but, even more importantly, the interpreter's empathic behaviour is linked and made instrumental to the achievement of the over-arching goal of medical practice, i.e. the well-being and welfare of the patient.

The notion of "humane medical care", as derived from Mishler (1984), was first applied to the study of interpreter-mediated healthcare interactions by Merlini/ Favaron (2005). Their analysis of speech-therapy sessions showed the interpreter's "overall tendency to strengthen [...] the healthcare practitioner's *empathic* model of communication" (*ibid.*: 295; italics added). Though implicitly running through the entire paper – the only explicit reference being the just-quoted one – empathy did not constitute the theoretical tool for analysis, which revolved instead around the discourse categories of "voice of medicine" and "voice of the lifeworld".

Subsequent investigations into healthcare interpreting by Baraldi/Gavioli (2007), Ciliberti (2009), Zorzi/Gavioli (2009) and Baraldi (2012) deal with the interpreter's management of participants' emotional utterances. While express, if cursory, mention of empathy is made in the latter three – with Zorzi/Gavioli's contribution also introducing, tangentially, the empathy vs. sympathy distinction – the discussion is built around such concepts as "emotional involvement", "affect", and "affiliation", which are empirically explored through the methodological lenses of Conversation Analysis. Admittedly, these concepts largely overlap with that of empathy; so much so that the findings of such research are of the utmost interest to any one scholar approaching the theme of interpreter-mediated emotional communication dynamics. Baraldi/Gavioli (2007), in particular, expose a two-fold behavioural pattern. Contrary to what is frequently observed in the literature, i.e. a loss of emotional expressions (see Bolden 2000; Davidson 2000), in their corpus interpreters are invariably found to challenge affective neutrality through affiliative responses which provide reassurance and support, and treat the patient's manifestation of feelings and worries as conversationally relevant. Yet, in some interactions, the patient's affective contribution is cut out of the rendition, which prevents the involvement of the doctor in the affective interactional sequence. In others, instead, interpreters first affiliate to encourage the patient to say more, and then formulate their understanding of previous talk for the doctor, conveying the emotional gist of the patient's utterances, to enable its topicalization and elaboration by the healthcare professional. An affective triadic interaction is thus achieved.

Seminal as they are, these works are predominantly concerned with the effects of the interpreter's behaviour on the interaction, and their broader professional, institutional, and social implications. No consideration is given to the interpreter's inner dispositions, seen as the precinct of psychology. The present study differs in that empathy is specifically used as the core theoretical concept, and as a construct which brings together both the objective (interactional) and the subjective (attitudinal) dimensions of empathic behaviour.

3. A *trifocal model* for assessing empathy in healthcare interpreting

The model we propose is designed to enable a comprehensive assessment of empathy (or the lack of it) in real interpreting practice through a "trifocal" approach. This entails a close-up view at locally produced interactional moves; an intermediate view focusing on elicited situation-dependent responses; and a distance view of tested individual dispositions. The progressive shift in focuses is thus a function of the researcher's positioning along a cline which goes from empathy as the actualised object of the conversational process, to the interpreter as the subject of the empathic experience. More specifically, the analysis is carried out on a three-fold set of data:

1. audio-recorded real-life linguistically mediated consultations in Italian family planning clinics;
2. questionnaires assessing *situational* empathy, i.e. empathic responses to a specific situation;
3. questionnaires measuring *dispositional* empathy, i.e. empathy understood as a person's stable character trait.

Our contention is that a combination of these analytic focuses is likely to yield a higher-quality image of interpreters' empathic vs. non-empathic behavioural choices. While referring the reader to the literature on empathy-related assessment tools and methods (for a review see, among others, Zhou *et al.* 2003; Gerdes *et al.* 2010), the specific interest of this paper lies in the presentation of a research model and the potential interactions between its three in-built perspectives, more than in the findings of the analysis itself, which hold no value in terms of representativeness of interpreting trends, given the limited set of data under scrutiny.

3.1 The recorded interactions

Seven linguistically mediated consultations were recorded in 2011 in two Italian family planning clinics. Since permission was obtained only to audio- and not to video-record, detailed observation notes on contextual and non-verbal aspects were taken during the consultations. Originally, the corpus was used to investigate the roles played by linguistic and cultural mediators[2] (Gatti 2011); the limits of a role-based analytic approach came once again in view. For the purposes of this study, a new analysis was conducted on the encounters to find evidence of empathic communication cues in three broad areas:[3]

1. *attentive listening cues* – e.g. confirming understanding through feedback tokens (mhm, yes, right, etc.) to invite the speaker to continue;
2. *perspective-taking cues* – e.g. checking understanding through requests for

2 For an in-depth discussion of the differences between the figures of "linguistic and cultural mediator" and "community interpreter" see Merlini (2009: 57-62). Given that these differences are of no immediate relevance to the scope of the present paper, the term mediator will be used henceforth as synonymous with interpreter.

3 On this see also Myers (2000) and Burgoon *et al.* (1984, 1996).

clarification, reformulation of speaker's utterances, elicitation of listener's questions; expressing understanding/approval of the other's point of view, reassuring, encouraging, offering advice;
3. *non-verbal cues* – e.g. eye contact, facial pleasantness, smiling, laughing, head nods, frequent and open hand gestures, touching.

Following the analysis, three consultations have been selected, showing respectively high, low, and zero levels of communicated empathy on the part of three different mediators. A summary overview is supplied in Table 1.

	Interaction 1 (I1)	**Interaction 2 (I2)**	**Interaction 3 (I3)**
Place	Family planning clinic		
Date	22 Nov. 2011	22 Nov. 2011	15 Nov. 2011
Duration	29'00"	15' 15"	13' 23"
Service-provider	Italian sociologist female 45-50 years old	Italian obstetrician female 45-50 years old	Italian gynaecologist female 40-45 years old
Service-user	Estonian patient female 25-30 years old	Chinese patient female 20-25 years old	Chinese patient female 25-30 years old
Mediators	Armenian mediator female 45-50 years old	Chinese mediator female 25-30 years old	Chinese mediator female 45-50 years old
Situation	Termination of pregnancy	Prenatal tests	Post-surgery check
Degree of empathy	HIGH	LOW	ZERO

Table 1. Summary overview of recorded interactions

In I1, a young woman from Estonia (P1) goes to the family planning clinic to ask for a voluntary termination of pregnancy, thinking it can be done then and there. The sociologist (S) who meets her explains that a longer procedure is required and starts enquiring about her personal circumstances (in particular the relationship with her boyfriend). This annoys P1, who does not understand why she is being questioned and closes up. After a few exchanges in which P1 produces minimal responses, in an attempt to overcome her mistrust S invites the Armenian mediator to shift from Italian – a language that P1 knows well enough to hold the conversation – to Russian. The sociologist, who does not understand Russian, thus entrusts the mediator with the task of getting (linguistically) closer to the patient. Excerpt [1] shows how M1 goes about this task.

[1] I1 (39-77)[5]

39 S: allora vogliamo parlare in russo che magari lei mi si smolla un attimo (.) eh↑
Now, shall we speak Russian so she will maybe relax a little bit?
40 M1: Ты хорошо говоришь по-итальянски
You speak Italian well.
41 P1: mhm mhm
42 M1: Она говорит Хочешь по-русски будем говорить чтоб ты расслабилась и всё
She says, do you like us to speak Russian so that you may relax? That's all.
43 P1: А вот это сейчас зачем вот эти вопросы↑ Надо это всё↑
Now, why all these questions? Is all this necessary?
44 M1: no dice per cosa queste domande↑
She's asking, what's the point of these questions?
45 S: no perché=
Well, because
46 M1: =Это такой уголок где стараются женщине дать помощь поддержать
This is a safe place where people try to give women help and support.
47 P1: Да я знаю Я думала я только приду меня только проверит врач Я вот
48 сделаю своё дело и уйду И всё Нет↑
Yes I know, I thought I'd come here, the doctor would simply examine me, I would do what I have to do, and go away. That's all, isn't it?
49 M1: ah perché dice vedi è pragmatica [dice io] pensavo di venire
Because, you see, she is pragmatic, she says I thought I'd come here
50 P1: [((laughs))]
51 M1: a fare l– ((hesitates))=
to have a–
52 S: =l'aborto=
abortion
53 M1: =risolvere il mio problema e andare via
to solve my problem and go away.
54 S: mhm e invece in Italia c'è una legge per: interrompere la gravida:nza
55 quando non capisci lo chiedi a lei eh↑
Yes, but in Italy on the other hand there's a law to terminate a pregnancy – when you don't understand you ask her okay? –
56 P1: mhm sì sì

5 Line numbers refer to their place in the original transcript. Idiomatic translations into English appear in italics; the use of punctuation is meant to increase readability. In transcribing the original utterances, on the other hand, the following conventions have been adopted:

[ ]	overlapping utterances
=	latched utterances
↑	rising intonation
°word°	decreased volume
word–	abrupt cut-off in the flow of speech
wo:rd	lengthened sound
(.)	untimed pause
(( ))	contextual information; characterisations of the talk and vocalisations that cannot be spelled recognisably

57 S: ((clears her throat)) per interrompere la gravidanza che dà la possibilità alla donna
58 di avere un colloquio (.) con un operatore (.) per poter parlare di sé perché si è
59 disperate no↑ quando si è incinta e non si vuole portare avanti una °gravida–°
60 quindi non lo vedere come (.) uno che vuole venire da te e: e ti vuole (.) fare delle
61 domande e:: te ti difendi e dici no non li voglio no↑ [vedila invece] come=
to terminate a pregnancy that gives the woman a chance to speak with a service provider, to speak about herself, because one is in despair – right? – when they're pregnant and don't want to carry on the pregnan– so don't take it as if someone came to you to ask you questions, and you are on the defensive and say no, I don't want them, okay? See it instead as
62 P1: [mhm mhm]
63 S: =una possibilità per poter piangere stare male ma anche vedere ((someone
64 knocks at the door and comes in)) quali sono le cose positive (.) i risvolti
an opportunity to cry, to let your pain out but also to see what is positive about it, the consequences.
65 ((S stops talking to attend to the person who's entered the room))
66 M1: Ты поняла да↑
Did you understand, yes?
67 P1: [Да всё поняла]
Yes, I understood everything.
68 M1: [Это уголочек] где можно выболтаться сказать понимаешь
This is a safe little place where you can talk, pour everything out. Do you understand?
[…]
74 M1: Просто стараемся понять твоё состояние психологическое
We are simply trying to understand your state of mind.
75 P1: mhm mhm
76 M1: okay (.) cerchiamo di capire la sua ehm sit– sit– situazione psicologica in che stato è p– =
Okay, we try to understand her psychological condition, the state she is in, t–
77 S: =per capire (.) °perché qualsiasi scelta tu faccia sia per te la scelta migliore°
to understand so that whatever choice you make may be the best for you.

To mitigate the face threat inherent in the language shift request made by S, M1 first compliments P1 on her Italian (40). She subsequently translates the patient's question (43-44) thus conveying to the service provider P1's emotional state of annoyance/apprehension. As S takes the floor to motivate her questioning (45), M1 butts in (46) feeling that, for the conversation to proceed smoothly, she needs to preliminarily reassure P1 that she has nothing to fear since all the professionals working at the family planning clinic are there to help. The alteration of the turn-taking sequence reallocates the floor to P1 enabling her to manifest her intention and expectations (47-48). These are once again translated into Italian for the benefit of S (49). Worthy of note is the humorous twist M1 gives to the rendition; most likely a way to ease P1's discomfort (see the latter's laughs 50). Further evidence of the mediator's delicacy towards P1's feelings is her reticence to utter the word "abortion" (51). Knowing that the woman speaks some Italian, M1 opts for a rendition ("to solve my problem" 53) that attempts to keep the indirectness of the original wording ("what I have to do" 47-48). Before illustrating the purpose of the counselling session (57-64), S invites P1 to ask the mediator in case she does not understand. Following her explanation, M1 checks P1's understanding (66); despite the latter's confirmation (67) the mediator reiterates her initial reassurance (46; 68) – note the use of the same word "уголок", "safe place", becoming "уголочек" through the addition of the suffix of endearment "чек" – and then proceeds to translate the service provider's turn into Russian (omitted lines). Highly revealing of the empathic communication model is M1's concluding remark "we are simply trying to understand your state of mind" (74), which she translates back into Italian (76). S, who is thus involved again in the exchange, confirms the orientation towards the patient's well-being (77).

Throughout the encounter, over and above the cues of perspective taking exemplified in [1] (see also in the excerpt the high frequency of Italian and Russian words for understanding), the Armenian mediator gives advice on issues of bureaucracy, and even suggests helping P1 solve a number of serious practical problems – having no identity document, no NHS health card, and no money to pay for the medical services. Field notes record that the Armenian mediator smiled frequently, kept eye-contact with the patient, and even touched her now and then as an affective display. No evidence was found either of sympathetic moves of experience sharing or of emotional distress. In terms of outcome, as the encounter progressed the patient's initial mistrust turned into a more relaxed and cooperative attitude.

In I2, a pregnant Chinese woman (P2) goes to the clinic to have information about routine pre-natal scans. Learning that P2's husband has a genetic defect, the obstetrician (O) recommends seeing a medical geneticist. The patient refuses taking any such appointment. O then asks her whether she is at least willing to have a nuchal translucency scan, and provides a detailed description of this non-invasive diagnostic test. Following P2's reiterated refusal, the obstetrician enquires about amniocentesis. In excerpt [2], the Chinese mediator (M2) is seen conducting an autonomous line of questioning in an attempt to understand the reason behind P2's third flat refusal.

[2] I2 (41-69)

41 O: è interessata invece all'amniocentesi↑ questa puntura nella pancia appunto
42 usata per vedere come sta il bambino però questo è un esame invasivo
43 rispetto all'altro per vedere esattamente i cromosomi quindi si va a fare
44 uno studio preciso sui cromosomi si chiama amniocentesi
Is she interested instead in amniocentesis? An injection on the belly which is used to see how the baby is. But this is an invasive test compared to the other one to see precisely the chromosomes; it is an accurate test on chromosomes, it's called amniocentesis.

45 M2: 有另外– 种很精确的那个测验方法 就是那个羊水检查 有个 =
There is another kind of diagnostic test which is accurate. It's the test of amniocentesis. There is a

46 P2: = 那个啊我不做
I'm not doing that one.

47 M2: 不做啊
So you don't want to do it, do you?

48 P2: 嗯
((onomatopoeic sound that confirms previous statement))

49 M2: già quest– ancora non ho finito di spiegarle già ha detto no [non] lo voglio fare
She's alrea– I have not yet finished explaining she's already said, no I don't want to do it.

50 O: [no] ((writing on a
51 form)) perfetto (.) e::: allora facciamo firmare che lei rifiuta qualunque
52 tipo d'indagine eh prenatale e anche la consulenza col genetista
Fine, so we'll have her sign that she refuses doing any kind of prenatal tests and consulting with the geneticist.

53 M2: 那上面是说=

Now, what she wanted to say earlier on was

54 O: =potremmo anche trovare il modo di non farla pagare se questo è un problema economico
55 eh [puoi dirlo

We could find a way to dispense her from paying if the problem is an economic one. You can say this.

56 M2: [她说你现在不做是于出经济方面的原因考虑呢 还是说就是不想做

She says the reason why you do not want to do it, is it because you think of the economic aspect or you just don't want to do the test?

57 P2: 不想做

I don't want to do it.

58 M2: 是因为她刚说可能要付费↑ 她说付费有可能你找到的话有些免费的

Is it because she's just said that you may have to pay? But she says that, as for the payment, if you find it perhaps there may be something for free.

59 P2: 也不是因为那个

That's not the reason either.

60 M2: 是你觉得没必要还是别的

Is it because you think there's no need for it, or for any other reason?

61 P2: 因为我看她们很痛很辛苦

Because I see it hurt them and it's fatiguing.

62 M2: 很痛↑ 是什么很痛 ↑

It hurts? What hurts?

63 P2: 看那个 因为我也有个同事也做了羊水检查 我看她们好累哦 我受不了

It is because I have a colleague of mine who did amniocentesis too. It seems to me they are exhausted, I could not stand it.

64 M2: 是做了检查之后 感觉她

It's after the test and she seems to

65 P2: 嗯

((onomatopoeic sound that confirms previous statement))

66 M2: perché lei è stata un po' spaventata da una sua collega che: che è che è incinta ((enters
67 a nurse)) e ha fatto amniocentesi dopo eh sembra che fisicamente lei dice l'ha–
68 comincia a stancarsi molto e lei l'ha visto e dice ma [questo mi spaventa

Because she was scared by a colleague of hers who is pregnant ((a nurse comes in)) and did amniocentesis, after which it seems that physically, she says, she started feeling very tired, and she saw this and says this scares me.

69 O: [come vuole lei come vuole lei

As she likes, as she likes.

M2's first timid perspective-taking move is a request for confirmation (47). P1's curt reply is conveyed to O (49), who accepts it as final and writes it down on the medical consent form (50-52). Immediately afterwards, however, O takes up the topic again to make sure that the reason behind P2's opposition to amniocentesis is not the high cost of the test (54-55) and thus, implicitly, her embarrassment to admit that she cannot afford it. Instructed to relay O's doubt to P2, the mediator initiates a dyadic sequence of exploratory questions (56-65) aimed at apprehending P2's psychological state and grasping her real motives. She finds out that the refusal is based on the experience of a female friend of P2 who told her that the test was painful and that she felt exhausted after having it. M2 does not respond to P2's manifestation of concern; she neither reassures her nor invites her to check with O whether her fears are founded or not. She does, however, convey the content of P2's turn to O – albeit in a rather emotionally neutral manner – thus making it relevant to the conversation. The obstetrician does not act on this, and closes the topic without dealing with P2's fears (69). Overall, the interaction sees M2 attentively listening to P2, frequently asking for clarifications, and checking understanding. On the other hand, no cues of emotional concern were found. Non-verbal displays of empathy were rare, with M2's body-language exhibiting a preferential orientation to the service provider. One of the outcomes of the encounter was that the patient decided against the diagnostic test on the basis of hearsay and fear, and not out of a reasoned and informed decision.

I3, a post-surgery check, involved a rather mechanic series of routine questions on the condition of the Chinese patient (P3), along with therapeutic instructions. Despite a few instances in which the interaction might have called for some form of empathic expression (specifically sequences of trouble telling where P3 complained of intense abdominal pain), no empathic cues were found on the part of the Chinese mediator (M3) – or indeed the gynaecologist (G) – in any of the three categories.

3.2 The situational questionnaires

Several months after the interpreted sessions had taken place a questionnaire assessing *situational empathy* was submitted to each of the three mediators. The questionnaire contains three scenarios which were designed to mirror the real contexts – i.e. a voluntary termination of pregnancy (scenario 1), a consultation on pre-natal tests (scenario 2), and a routine medical check (scenario 3). Going from 1 to 3, the respondent is thus presented with decreasingly delicate situations. The introduction of this variable was meant to check whether the sensitivity of the topic being discussed influenced the degree of empathy expressed by the mediators. Each scenario includes three multiple-choice questions. Answers are built on empathic cues belonging to the three categories of attentive listening, perspective taking, and non-verbal language. For each question, the respondent is required to opt for one out of three possible behaviours. An open question is added on to each multiple-choice one asking to motivate the answer. For reasons of length, only scenario 2 is reproduced here by way of exemplification (see Appendix).

Two out of the three mediators accepted to respond to the questionnaire: the Armenian one (M1) and the elder of the two Chinese ones (M3). The younger Chinese mediator (M2) refused, despite assurances of anonymity, saying questions were far too personal. This is a relevant datum; besides being possibly culture-related, it shows how the private sphere is thought of as totally distinct from the professional one. Equally significant was the reaction of M3, who initially refused to respond – giving the same reason as her colleague – but subsequently changed her mind, when we explained more in detail to both of them the importance of such data for community interpreting research and the training of future practitioners.

The analysis of the two available questionnaires confirms M1's preference for empathic behaviours, as against M3's predominant selection of the non-empathic alternatives. M3's responses were found to be mostly context-independent: in all three of the suggested scenarios, she opted for the same communicative modality. Interesting findings were yielded by her answers to the open questions. Her principal concern, as she herself states, is to translate as accurately as possible, make sure the patient has understood, and, if necessary, provide information of an institutional and administrative nature. Indicative of her priorities is the following statement: "It is very important to let the patient know about her rights, how to exercise them and what services she is entitled to". Referring to the situation in scenario 3, in which the patient feels embarrassed at answering sex-related questions, M3 chose the option: "I would help her overcome her discomfort by completing her sentences"; in motivating her choice she wrote: "[Chinese] women are quite introverted. Intercultural mediators usually have the skills to help them get over this embarrassment", which points more towards a functional rather than an empathic approach.

M1's behaviour, on the other hand, was found to be more dependent on the specific interactional context. Even though in the majority of cases she opted for empathy-marked answers, in scenario 2 (the one on pre-natal diagnostic tests), she displayed a preference for a less empathic attitude as her principal concern was that complete and correct information be conveyed to the patient. Her comments also indicate a preoccupation with not influencing the patient on such delicate and personal decisions. This raises the fundamental issue that empathic behaviour is thought of as potentially contrasting with professional neutrality and objectivity – it should be noted that none of the empathic options included in the questionnaire entail a trespassing of professional boundaries. Evidence of the perception of this contrast is forthcoming also in the other two scenarios, where M1 first followed her instinct and selected the most empathic behaviours, and then in the open questions felt the need to stress the importance of being neutral and not influencing the patient's decision making in medical matters.

The following are some of M1's most telling statements: "depending on the person I am mediating for, I am able to understand what the patient needs"; "I can feel it under my skin what a person is feeling and then I act accordingly"; "I would be willing to tell the patient about my personal experience to show that I understand what the patient is going through. Back in the 90s many people fled Russia, they fled severe depression and poverty, and they arrived in Italy hoping to find better living conditions. I myself lived that same experience, so I know what immigrants must undergo when they arrive in a new country"; "my role is that of being neutral and therefore I cannot be judgemental, but I may give my opinion and act in a more confidential manner especially if I have known the patient for quite a long time". These extracts taken from her abundant and lengthy comments reveal a highly empathic disposition, which would even incline M1 towards performing sympathetic moves of experience sharing. At the same time she prescriptively defines her role in terms of neutrality, which is however qualified as implying a non-judgmental rather than a disaffiliative behaviour. The contrast she perceives between professional ethics and a caring attitude is most likely resolved through the awareness that "my ultimate aim is to help these women".

3.3 The IRI questionnaires

Together with the situational one, a questionnaire measuring dispositional empathy was also submitted to the three interpreters. Again only M1 and M3 agreed to being tested. The measurement tool is Davis' (1980, 1983) Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI), which is to this day one of the most widely used tests of dispositional empathy. The IRI questionnaire consists of 28 questions divided equally among 4 distinct subscales, reflecting the above-mentioned components of fantasy, perspective-taking, empathic concern, and personal distress. These are answered on a 5-point scale ranging from "does not describe me well" to "describes me very well". M1's and M3's scores are shown in Table 2.

SCALES	**M1**	**M3**
FANTASY	13	9
PERSPECTIVE TAKING	20	10
EMPATHIC CONCERN	26	19
PERSONAL DISTRESS	12	9

Table 2. IRI scores

Scores reveal a marked difference between the two mediators. M1 scores especially high in the two central scales of perspective taking and empathic concern, 20 and 26 out of a maximum per scale of 28. Corresponding scores for M3 are significantly lower (10 and 19), yet with a narrower divide in the empathic concern scale. M3's score is in fact not as low as might have been expected in light of the preceding analyses. As for the personal distress scale – which we recall implies self-centred identification with the other person's distress – and the fantasy scale, scores are low for both mediators, with irrelevant marginal differences between them.

Findings for interactional, situational and dispositional empathy were thus found to coincide, with the only deviation of a relatively high empathic concern score for M3.

4. Some initial conclusions

For the purposes of the present study empathy was defined as a cognitive perspective-taking capability, entailing an understanding of the other's situation, along with a degree of other-oriented concern communicated through carefully selected affective displays. These do not include sympathetic moves of experience sharing which, in the institutional context under study, would shift the focus away from both the recipient of medical care and the problem-solving task. As for the personal distress component of Davis' empathy model, it bears limited relevance here, and only in so far as its manifestations are deemed incompatible not only with medical but also with interpreting practice. Thus qualified, empathy is seen as beneficial for professional relations in healthcare encounters, as it contributes to the achievement of their ultimate goal, namely the well-being of the patient. On this premise, we will attempt to draw some conclusions from the findings yielded by the three analytic perspectives.

M1 was found to exhibit a markedly empathic behaviour in real-life interaction. This is in line with her scoring particularly high on the IRI scales of perspective taking and empathic concern. The situational questionnaire confirmed M1's attitudinal preference; yet, it also gave evidence of her perception of (and preoccupation with) a conflict between empathy and professional ethics. M2, who interactionally performed mildly empathic moves, refused to respond to the questionnaires, drawing a clear-cut divide between her private and professional selves. Despite the lack of precious data, this negative response of hers was thought to be quite significant in itself. As for M3, her initial selfsame reluctance would point to the possible culture-relatedness of such a view. The availability, in this latter case, of the three sets of data allows, however, for a more interesting hypothesis. While M3's responses to the situational questionnaire mirror her adoption of a strictly non-empathic interactional conduct, her relatively high score in the empathic concern scale reveals a different inner disposition. A feasible explanation is that empathy is again considered to be inappropriate in professional practice, and thus deliberately inhibited.

Evidently, a much wider corpus of data would be needed to verify these suppositions; the same holds true, at a more general level, for the outcomes of the three interactions, which would appear to confirm the favourable effects of an empathic communication model and, conversely, the detrimental ones of the lack of it. While the findings of this study cannot in any way be generalised, they indicate the kind of issues that may be explored through our trifocal model. Central among them is the persisting bias against an empathic interpreting conduct. Hopefully, this paper has exemplified how empathy can be fruitfully used as a theoretical construct to highlight the complex interplay between the interpreters' inner dispositions, perceptions of situationally suitable behaviours, concrete interactional moves, and their effects on real-life conversations. In our view, such an approach may help avoid the strictures and ambiguities of an external and essentially prescriptive point of view as is implied in the notion of role, with such categories as "advocate", "culture broker", and the highly equivocal "detached" and "involved translator". Precisely because of its awareness-raising potential, the current analysis could have a major part to play also in training, where empathy can be shown not to clash with professionality, and the tenets of neutrality and impartiality not to be one and the same thing as emotional detachment. Provocatively, it may even be suggested that would-be healthcare interpreters should test for empathy.

The model presented here is anything but definitive. Not only have many factors been left out which may substantially influence the adoption of an empathic vs. non-empathic behaviour (e.g. age, gender and professional experience of the participants in the interaction, or the primary parties' preferred communicative models), but further dimensions of the empathic relation could also be added; first among these the reception and perceptions of the target, i.e. the addressee of the empathiser's actions. Finally, more refined and accurate analyses could be carried out through multidisciplinary team work, particularly in terms of design of assessment tools and processing of larger quantities of psychometric data.

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Appendix: Situational questionnaire - Scenario 2

A young non-EU pregnant woman with a regular permit of temporary residence in Italy is at the family planning clinic for the first pre-natal checks. The obstetrician asks whether any of her family members have suffered from genetic defects. In light of the woman's positive reply, the obstetrician suggests she might want to do some specific tests, such as amniocentesis.

1. The woman is quite reluctant and scared to do such tests as she heard from a colleague of hers that they are painful.

    - □ You facially express disapproval.
    - □ You smile at her in a caring manner.
    - □ You simply look at her.

Motivate your choice ....

2. As the interview goes on, the woman mentions a genetic defect affecting some of her husband's family members. While she speaks,

    - □ you ask for more details.
    - □ you listen and try to memorize the most important details.
    - □ you listen attentively to her confirming understanding and showing interest.

Motivate your choice ....

3. The service provider explains the usefulness of genetic tests. The woman says she does not want to do them.

    - □ You check again with her and then report her decision to the obstetrician.
    - □ You tell her that you understand how difficult and delicate such decisions are and then report her decision to the obstetrician.
    - □ You report her decision to the obstetrician without making any comments or enquiring further.

Motivate your choice ....

La bonne information : quand les interprètes corrigent les réponses du patient dans la consultation médicale

Anna Claudia Ticca
Véronique Traverso
LabEx ASLAN-ICAR, CNRS (France)*

Abstract

This paper studies the activity of lay interpreters (LI) in bilingual (Yucatec Maya and Spanish) medical consultations. It focuses in particular on the interpreter's correction of responses that patients give to doctors. The occurrence of such correcting sequences reveals some trouble in the patient's response to questions in Spanish, or in understanding the LI's translation of the prior question. It also reveals the LI's understanding of the doctor's questions, as well as her/his orientation towards the production of the appropriate information needed to match such questions. Central in this study are cases in which the doctor seeks to quantify an undetermined value (related to time, intensity, frequency of a symptom or trouble). The analysis shows that the LIs intervene recurrently to specify the patients' response to this type of question, pursuing a definite and translatable quantitative figure that could be delivered to the physician. Such practice also allows us to have access to the LIs' local understanding of their specific role in the current activity. As such, this study contributes to shed light on this common yet controversial and still under-investigated type of community interpreting in healthcare. The data, which consist of a large corpus of video-recorded consultations, have been analysed with the methodological tools of Conversation Analysis.

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Dans cette contribution, nous étudions l'activité des interprètes 'non professionnels'[1] dans des consultations médicales bilingues dans le Yucatan. Notre étude se focalise sur l'activité parfois produite par les interprètes, qui corrigent les réponses que les patients apportent aux questions des médecins. Ces corrections sont une forme de réparation (*repair* en anglais, voir Schegloff *et al.* 1977), dans le sens où elles permettent à un locuteur de demander ou de produire des clarifications sur le tour de parole d'un précédent participant, afin d'assurer la compréhension réciproque et de faciliter la progression de l'interaction. Dans nos données, les médecins, locuteurs d'espagnol, et les patients, locuteurs de maya yucatèque (MY), recourent souvent aux deux langues pendant leur interaction, du fait que les patients maya font preuve d'une certaine compréhension de la langue majoritaire (l'espagnol), et que les médecins s'avèrent comprendre quelques mots courants et des phrases simples dans la langue minoritaire. Cependant, il est très fréquent que des locuteurs bilingues participent à la consultation afin de traduire si nécessaire (Müller 1989; Ticca 2010). Ces traducteurs interviennent aussi spontanément et participent de différentes manières à l'interaction (voir Ticca à paraître, a).

Les séquences de correction analysées dans cette étude manifestent la présence d'un 'trouble' dans la réponse du patient à la question du médecin produite en espagnol, ou dans la compréhension de la traduction qui a été faite de ce tour. Elles révèlent par ailleurs comment l'interprète lui-même comprend la question, et s'oriente vers la production d'informations appropriées en réponse (voir aussi Bolden 2000). L'étude s'attache plus précisément aux cas dans lesquels la question du médecin concerne une valeur (comme la durée, l'intensité ou la fréquence d'un symptôme ou d'une gêne) qui a été jusque-là exprimée de façon vague par le patient. L'analyse montre l'intervention récurrente de l'interprète qui demande une donnée quantifiée précise et traduisible afin de la transmettre au médecin. Cependant, il n'est pas rare dans le corpus que, dans la suite de l'échange, la traduction du tour corrigé ne soit pas faite pour le médecin. Cela peut être dû au fait que la séquence de réparation, réalisée en langue MY, soit suspendue par le médecin qui initie une nouvelle activité sans attendre la traduction des tours précédents. Il n'en reste pas moins que l'ensemble de la procédure (réparation de la réponse du patient entre l'interprète et le patient, puis absence de traduction à destination du médecin) interroge et justifie une investigation plus poussée.

Nous allons d'abord présenter les données sur lesquelles se base l'analyse et la méthodologie utilisée, puis illustrer le contexte de l'interprétariat dans le domaine de la santé dans le Yucatan. Nous présenterons ensuite les recherches antérieures sur les formes de correction dans l'interaction, avant de passer à l'ana-

1 Différentes terminologies sont utilisées dans la littérature pour faire référence aux interprètes qui n'ont pas reçu de formation académique en interprétariat : traduction naturelle, *ad hoc*, interprétation improvisée, de communauté, etc. (voir Ticca/Traverso 2015a). Dans cet article nous utiliserons le seul terme 'interprète' pour indiquer ce participant.

lyse d'extraits illustrant les séquences de réparation et la façon dont ils peuvent se dérouler.

1. Corpus et méthodologie

Les données utilisées dans cette étude font partie d'un important corpus de consultations médicales vidéo-enregistrées dans leurs contextes naturels (des cliniques rurales et un hôpital urbain dans la région 'Oriente' du Yucatan), durant plusieurs terrains (de 2006 à 2013).[2] Les médecins ne sont pas originaires de la région et parlent espagnol, la langue majoritaire du Mexique. Les interprètes présents dans les interactions sélectionnées pour cette étude sont soit des membres de la famille du patient, soit des personnes sans lien avec le patient, par exemple des employés de l'institution qui possèdent des connaissances dans les deux langues. Ni les uns, ni les autres ne sont formés à la traduction.

Les analyses sont réalisées dans la perspective de l'analyse conversationnelle d'inspiration ethnométhodologique, et reposent sur un important travail ethnographique (Garfinkel 1967; Sacks *et al.* 1974; Duranti 1997; Maynard 2006).

Les extraits sont transcrits selon la convention présentée en annexe, et traduits en français.[3]

2. L'interprétation dans les services de santé dans le Yucatan

La *Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos*[4] mexicaine (loi générale sur les droits linguistiques des peuples) déclare la reconnaissance, la préservation et le soutien des langues indigènes parlées sur le territoire national, auxquelles elle reconnaît le même statut et la même valeur que les autres langues nationales du Mexique. Elle mentionne aussi le droit des personnes à utiliser leur langue dans toute procédure légale, ainsi qu'à être assistées par des interprètes et des avocats connaissant leur langue. Ce droit n'est pas garanti dans d'autres contextes sociaux, comme les services de santé, dont l'administration est décentralisée et placée sous la responsabilité des institutions régionales. Dans le Yucatan, les institutions de santé ne disposent pas d'un service de traduction assuré par des professionnels. Des organismes locaux, comme Indemaya,[5] commencent aujourd'hui à proposer un service d'interprétation dans le domaine de la santé aux personnes qui le demandent, mais ils n'assurent pas un service suffisant pour satisfaire les besoins réels de la communauté. C'est donc très souvent des non

2 Pour une description détaillée de la situation socio-culturelle du contexte des interactions, voir Ticca 2011.

3 Nous remercions Lorena Pool Balam en particulier pour son aide dans la transcription et la traduction du maya.

4 Publiée dans le Journal Officiel du 13 mars 2003.

5 L'*Instituto para el desarrollo de la cultura maya del Estado de Yucatán* (Institut pour le développement de la culture Maya dans la région du Yucatan) est un organisme gouvernemental qui forme ses propres interprètes spécialisés dans le domaine de la santé.

professionnels, c'est-à-dire des membres de la famille ou des connaissances des patients, ou bien alors des employés de l'institution possédant quelque connaissance des deux langues, qui assurent l'interprétation. Il est aussi très fréquent que les consultations médicales se déroulent de façon bilingue, chaque participant utilisant sa propre langue, sans l'aide d'aucun interprète.

Contrairement à ce qui est le cas pour d'autres zones géographiques où des langues indigènes sont parlées (Canada, Australie, Afrique, etc.), la recherche sur l'interprétation dans les services de santé au Mexique, que ce soit avec des interprètes formés ou non, est peu développée.[6] Avec cette étude nous entendons contribuer au développement de ce champ de recherche de l'interprétation avec les langues indigènes.

3. La correction, une forme de réparation dans l'interaction avec interprète

Schegloff *et al.* (1977) ont mis en évidence l'organisation systématique de la réparation dans la conversation. Cette pratique concerne les 'troubles' rencontrés dans l'interaction, que ce soit dans la parole, l'écoute ou la compréhension, qui viennent mettre à mal l'intersubjectivité, condition *sine qua non* de l'interaction humaine. Nous résumons succinctement l'organisation qu'ils mettent en évidence. L'initiation de la réparation est effectuée sur un segment de parole précédent qui est ainsi traité comme problématique. Cette initiation peut permettre d'identifier le '*trouble source*', ou '*repairable*' à l'intérieur du tour qui le contient. Deux dimensions sont importantes pour décrire le fonctionnement de la réparation, dont l'une concerne la position séquentielle dans laquelle elle est initiée, et l'autre le locuteur qui prend en charge cette initiation (auto- ou hétéro-initiation).

Dans cette étude, nous nous intéressons aux hétéro-initiations de réparation, c'est-à-dire celles qui sont initiées par (un des) récepteur(s) du tour qui contient l'élément traité comme problématique. Nous avons établi une collection de réparations portant sur la réponse du patient à une question du médecin, que celle-ci ait lieu immédiatement après la question du médecin (donc sans médiation/traduction de l'interprète) ou après la traduction de cette question par l'interprète.

Dans la pratique, ces interventions de l'interprète visent à corriger, ou 'calibrer', les réponses du patient en demandant des informations plus précises que celles qu'il a données dans un premier temps. Cette pratique a ainsi des traits communs avec les corrections produites (en troisième position) par les enseignants dans les interactions de classe, à propos des réponses problématiques (deuxième position) apportées par les étudiants aux questions qu'ils ont posées (en première position) (voir Mehan 1979; McHoul 1990; Macbeth 2004). Ce déroulement peut être représenté de la manière suivante:

6 Quelques études existent toutefois, voir entre autres Ticca 2010, 2011, à paraître ; Ticca/Traverso 2015b.

Cas A [FPP : première partie de paire ; SPP : seconde partie de paire]. L'échange encadré se tient entre l'interprète et le patient

1. FPP (docteur)	(espagnol)	[question]
2. SPP (interprète)	(MY)	[traduction de la question]
3. SPP (patient)	(MY)	[réponse]
=> ((*réparable*))		

4. FPP (interprète)	(MY)	[initiation de la réparation] [traduction/reformulation de la question]
5. SPP (patient)	(MY)	[réponse]

6. SPP (interprète)	(espagnol)	[traduction de la réponse]

Cas B

1. FPP (docteur)	(espagnol)	[question]
2. SPP (patient)	(MY)	[réponse]
=> *((réparable))*		

3. FPP (interprète)	(MY)	[initiation de la réparation] [traduction/reformulation de la question]
4. SPP (patient)	(MY)	[réponse]

5. SPP (interprète) (espagnol) [traduction de la réponse]

Dans le cas A, la correction est faite sur un tour produit après la traduction de la question du médecin par l'interprète ; dans le cas B, elle porte sur une réponse produite par le patient en position immédiatement adjacente à la question du médecin.

Ces échanges sont intéressants par rapport à la trajectoire (cf. Auer 2002) de l'activité. Comme l'ont montré Arminen *et al.* (2010), les formes de réparation varient selon les situations. Dans leur étude sur les dimensions multimodales de la communication dans l'aviation, ils montrent comment les réparations sont essentielles pour garantir la sécurité, du fait qu'elles visent à remédier à des dangers potentiels émergeant à cause de troubles dans la communication entre pilotes et le centre de contrôle.

Dans nos données, les séquences de réparation sont parfois suivies de la traduction de la réponse 'retravaillée' à destination du médecin. Dans ces cas, la réparation effectuée par les interprètes est intégrée dans leur activité traductive, et fonctionne à son service. Et à partir de là, l'étude de ces séquences permet d'examiner le travail effectué par l'interprète sur les échanges question – réponse problématiques, et d'approcher sa propre compréhension de l'activité du médecin. Dans les cas où la séquence de réparation ne s'achève pas par une traduction de la nouvelle réponse, il est intéressant d'observer si cette absence est contingente, au sens de liée à des circonstances particulières de la trajectoire de la séquence, ou s'il faut la considérer plutôt comme relevant d'un autre type de séquence, qui serait moins totalement intégrée à l'activité traductive.

4. Quantifier la réponse du patient au médecin

Dans de précédentes études, nous avons décrit certaines des pratiques attestées dans les interactions bilingues dans les services de santé au Yucatan, montrant que des traductions *ad hoc* étaient produites lorsque les participants les demandaient explicitement ou en cas de trouble interactionnel (Ticca 2010, 2013).[7] Le même fonctionnement a été décrit dans d'autres contextes avec des patients migrants (voir Gajo/Traverso 2002). Dans les cas qui nous intéressent ici, la correction de la réponse du patient effectuée par l'interprète a pour objectif d'obtenir une quantification de l'information contenue dans cette réponse.

4.1 Demander et traduire l'information corrigée

Dans l'extrait suivant, une jeune femme (INT) traduit pour le spécialiste en médecine interne (DOC) et la patiente (PAT), sa mère, qui souffre de tension artérielle. Pendant la phase d'interrogatoire, le médecin pose des questions sur l'état de santé général de la patiente et sur ses problèmes. Dans l'extrait, il s'enquiert spécifiquement sur sa miction. L'activité se déroule selon le modèle du cas A (une traduction a été produite par l'interprète).

```
1.  "Wixi_2" (V09_03:30-03:50)
((DOC et INT se regardent))
01 DOC--> orina ↑mucho
          elle urine beaucoup
02        (0.3) +(0.7)
   INT       +regard à PAT-->
03 INT--> ya'abáa ↑bin a wiix
          il demande si tu urines beaucoup
04        (0.4)
05 INT    kéen xi'ikech (.) wiixi'
          quand tu vas      uriner
06        (0.7)
07 INT    ya'ab [juntéenel/
          de nombreuses fois
```

7 Harvey (2013) a étudié les interactions médicales interculturelles dans un village Maya du Guatemala, montrant leur dimension 'polyphonique', liée aux nombres de participants à l'interaction, parmi lesquels il mentionne aussi les locuteurs bilingues qui aident à la traduction.

```
08 PAT            [xxx
                   xxx
09          (0.4)
10 PAT-->   (kex) in seen wuk’ ja’e’ ma’ in tin seen bin wiix
            (même si) je bois beaucoup d’eau je n’urine pas
            beaucoup
11          (0.2) + (1.1)  +  + (0.6)
   INT            +vers DOC+  +détourne son regard
12 PAT      xx+x
            xx+x
INT           +regard PAT-->
13 INT-->   jay téen bin/
            combien de fois elle dit
14          (0.7)
15 PAT      yaan jump’éel de k’iine’ yaan\ ka’aten yéetel
            a’abeake’ óoxteni’
            ça fait une fois dans la journée ça fait deux avec
            la nuit dernière trois fois
16                       +(0.8)
   INT      + regarde DOC >
17 INT-->   (que) como dos o tres veces [al día\
            à peu près deux ou trois fois par jour
18 DOC                                 [dos o tres veces
                                        deux ou trois fois
19 PAT      °jaaj°
            °hm°
```

A la ligne 01, le médecin demande si la patiente urine beaucoup (“urina mucho”). Cette question est traduite par l’interprète dans un ‘*multi-unit turn*’ (lignes 03, 05 et 07), dans lequel elle demande si la patiente urine beaucoup (03) lorsqu’elle va uriner (05), puis elle ajoute “des nombreuses fois” (ligne 07). On peut souligner que cette spécification n’est pas présente dans le tour original du médecin. Elle n’est produite que suite à l’absence de réponse de la patiente (04). Ensuite la patiente répond qu’elle n’urine pas beaucoup, même quand elle a bu beaucoup d’eau (ligne 10). A ce moment-là, l’interprète regarde le docteur (ligne 11), qui lui-même la regarde, mais plutôt que de rapporter la réponse de la patiente, elle reformule la question (“jay téen bin”, ‘combien de fois elle dit’, ligne 13), la faisant apparaître comme rapportant un propos du médecin, par l’emploi de la particule *bin*, ‘il/elle dit’. Ce tour de l’interprète pourrait même être considéré comme un type particulier[8] de réparation tardive de la question initiale du médecin. En fait, ce n’est que

8 Particulier en effet, puisqu’il pose la question de la construction de l’intersubjectivité dans un cadre participatif trilogal. Dans notre cas, l’action corrective de l’interprète n’apparaît pas comme réparant le tour du médecin aux yeux (et oreilles) de la patiente, puisqu’elle n’a pas accès au tour initial, et pas non plus pour le médecin, qui n’a pas accès à la traduction. Ces configurations complexes posent de fascinants problèmes qui justifieraient une étude spécifique.

suite à cette nouvelle formulation de la question initiale que la patiente répond avec une quantification du nombre de fois que la patiente urine (15), information qui est ensuite délivrée au médecin (ligne 18).

Dans ce cas, la nouvelle information obtenue au travers de la séquence de correction est réutilisée dans le tour de traduction. Cela montre d'une part, la façon dont la question du médecin a été comprise par l'interprète et d'autre part, l'utilisation qu'elle fait de cette information détaillée (sur l'activité des interprètes professionnels et non professionnels en tant que co-diagnosticiens, voir Bolden 2000 et Traverso 2002, 2003).

4.2 Demander et ne pas traduire l'information corrigée

L'extrait suivant montre un cas similaire, qui a lieu au cours d'une visite avec un médecin généraliste. La patiente est accompagnée par son mari (MAN), qui parle MY et espagnol, et peut donc traduire en cas de besoin. Le médecin pose des questions sur l'importance des écoulements vaginaux que la patiente a mentionnés au cours de la présentation du problème. Dans cet extrait, la patiente n'a pas besoin d'une traduction systématique de l'espagnol, qu'elle montre comprendre dans une certaine mesure :

2. "marido" (V06 05:21-06:33)

01 DOC es ↑mucho
c'est beaucoup
02 (0.3)
03 DOC mucha ma[ncha
beaucoup de pertes (écoulement)
04 MAN [xxx-
xxx
05 PAT ya'ab [yaan kiini' [ya'ab yaan k'iini' ma']
beaucoup il y a des jours où c'est beaucoup et des jours où c'est pas
07 MAN [xxx [ya'aba k'iin-]
xxx combien de jours
08 (ya'abáa) xxx k'iin kumáan
(beaucoup) xxx de jours passent
09 (0.4)
10 DOC sí/
oui/
11 PAT sí todo el tiempo °beeyo'°
oui c'est comme ça tout le temps ((en regardant MAN))
12 (2.4)
13 DOC ah [ha
okay
14 MAN [jayp'ée(l) tyeempo chúunuk (bin teech)
quand ça a commencé (elle te demande)

```
15          (0.3)
16 PAT      desde [jo'ok in wa'aik teecho'
            depuis que j'ai commencé à te dire
17 DOC            [HUELE feo Vianey
             est-ce que ça sent mauvais Vianey
```

Dans cette séquence, le médecin pose une question sur l'importance de l'écoulement vaginal (lignes 01, 03). La patiente répond en MY, en utilisant le quantifieur "ya'ab" 'beaucoup' et en décrivant la fréquence dans les termes suivants ('il y a des jours où c'est beaucoup et des jours où c'est pas', ligne 05). Par cette réponse elle démontre sa compréhension de l'espagnol, qui lui permet de prendre la parole sans attendre la traduction. A la ligne 07, le mari ne traduit pas l'information apportée au médecin, mais pose une autre question à propos du nombre précis de jours ('xxx combien de jours (beaucoup) passent), corrigeant ainsi la réponse plus générale qu'a apportée la patiente. On observe que le médecin tente vainement d'obtenir une traduction (elle dit 'oui/' à la ligne 10), alors que le couple s'engage dans une séquence dyadique pour discuter de la durée du problème (lignes 11-16). Le docteur pose ensuite une autre question ('est-ce que ça sent mauvais Vianey', ligne 17), qui lui permet de clore la séquence dyadique et de reprendre le développement de l'activité précédente (i.e. l'interrogatoire).

Dans ce cas, à la différence de ce que nous avons observé dans l'extrait précédent, la réponse à la question initiale n'est pas traduite, et la question du médecin reste donc sans réponse. Cependant, la formulation en espagnol présente dans le tour de la patiente de la ligne 11 ("todo el tiempo" 'tout le temps') pourrait avoir été considérée comme suffisante par le médecin, qui, comme on l'a dit, ne poursuit plus la recherche de la réponse à sa question initiale et passe à l'activité suivante.

La correction de l'interprète sur le tour de la patiente soulève plusieurs questions : dans quel but exactement l'interprète agit-il ? Est-ce en prévision de sa propre activité traductive qu'il cherche des informations plus précises, qui seraient plus faciles à traduire ? Si c'est bien cet objectif qui semble à l'œuvre dans l'extrait (1), ce n'est pas le cas dans l'extrait (2). Ici, la séquence ouverte par la réparation semble permettre au mari de s'informer lui-même sur le problème de sa femme, qu'il a l'air de méconnaître. Et c'est l'intervention du médecin qui clôt la séquence dont elle est exclue (puisqu'elle ne comprend pas le MY).

Une situation similaire se produit dans l'extrait suivant, où l'interprète[9] corrige la réponse de la patiente en essayant également d'obtenir une réponse plus précise, qu'elle ne traduira finalement pas au médecin. Dans l'extrait (3) le problème de la patiente concerne un rhumatisme dans le dos.

9 L'interprète est ici la femme de ménage de la clinique, à qui l'on demande souvent de participer aux consultations bilingues.

(3) "Presión_1" (V09 01:39-02:00)

```
01 PAT      docto:ra yaj tak in paa:ch yaan reuma
            docteur c'est douloureux même mon do:s j'ai un
            rhumatisme
02          tin pa[ach\
            dans le [dos\
03 DOC-->           [desde CUÁ:NDO/
                    [depuis quand:/
04  (0.5)
05 PAT-->   >desde< ka'aj aajene' >ka' tin wu'uyaje'< máan
            >depuis<que je me suis réveillée>j'ai senti< que avec
            beaucoup de travail
06          istikyaaj in tojtal beya'\
            j'étais capable de me redresser comme ça
07          (1.3)
08 INT-->   [ba'ax k'inak lelo'
            quel jour c'était
09 PAT      [xxx
            xxx
10 PAT      le a:jal ken in beetej ka tin wu'uye' <a'abeake'>
            quand je me suis réveillée j'ai senti la nuit
            dernière
11          ka'a tin wu'uye'
            j'ai senti
12          máan yaaj [°in paach°
            très mal dans le dos
```

Très vite après l'énoncé du problème par la patiente en MY (lignes 01-02), le médecin généraliste initie l'interrogatoire, en demandant quand le problème a commencé.[10] La patiente répond "desde ka'aj aajene'", 'depuis que je me suis réveillée', lorsqu'elle ne pouvait plus se redresser (lignes 05-06). Après une longue pause l'interprète entre en lice et demande à la patiente quel jour cela s'est produit, ce qui conduit cette dernière à répéter la même référence temporelle indirecte, à laquelle elle ajoute une référence précise à la nuit précédente (line 10-12).

Comme avant, la séquence de réparation vise à obtenir un élément précis : le jour où le problème a débuté. On peut remarquer que cette spécification apparaît comme une demande propre de l'interprète, révélant sa propre compréhension de la question originale, qui demande une information précise ("depuis quand"). Ici encore, comme dans l'extrait (2), l'interprète ne transmet pas l'information

10 Bien que la patiente présente le problème en MY, c'est probablement l'utilisation du mot espagnol "reuma", 'rhumatisme' et le fait que la patiente montre le lieu où elle a mal dans le dos, qui permettent au médecin de comprendre le tour de la patiente (voir aussi Ticca 2010).

obtenue au médecin, mais elle ouvre une nouvelle séquence, où elle rapporte une blague qui a été faite par l'infirmière à propos du mal au dos de la patiente.[11]

(4) "Presión_2" (V09 01:39-02:00)

```
((Le médecin complète le dossier de la patiente))
12 PAT     máan yaaj [°in paach°
           beaucoup de douleur dans le dos
13 INT                [£como dice marina£ he
                       comme marina dit   he ((rire))
((lignes 14-21 omises. INT raconte la blague de l'infirmière
pendant que PAT décrit son mal au dos. DOC continue à écrire))
22 PAT     úuch bin lek in paach\
           ça fait longtemps
23         (túun) ya'ako'ob tene' reuma bin
           (que) mon dos va mal ils disent que c'est un
           rhumatisme
24         (0.5)
25 DOC-->  pero eres reumática/
           mais vous[12] avez un rhumatisme/
```

Le récit de la blague se développe en parallèle avec la poursuite de l'évocation de son mal de dos par la patiente. C'est juste après la mention du rhumatisme (ligne 23) que le docteur réintervient dans l'interaction : elle pose une question à la patiente pour vérifier la toute première information qu'elle a entendue au début de la présentation du problème (le rhumatisme, extrait 3). Ce faisant, le docteur 'bloque' le développement de l'interaction entre la patiente et l'interprète, l'oriente vers un nouveau *topic* (par sa question sur la nature du problème), et abandonne le cours d'action précédent, c'est-à-dire l'obtention d'information sur l'apparition du mal de dos.[13]

5. Conclusions

Dans cet article, nous avons examiné un format spécifique de réparation initié par les interprètes qui vise à faire préciser une information donnée par le patient dans sa première réponse au médecin. Sur le plan de l'emplacement séquentiel,

11 Avant d'entrer dans le cabinet du médecin, les patients sont reçus par l'infirmière, qui prend leur tension, remplit les dossiers, etc.

12 Dans le tour original, le médecin s'adresse à la patiente utilisant le pronom personnel de deuxième personne du singulier, mais cela n'implique nécessairement pas une proximité entre ces deux participants, c'est pourquoi nous traduisons par la forme la plus courante en français dans ce contexte ("vous").

13 Le fait que le médecin soit en train d'écrire favorise probablement le développement de l'interaction entre les deux autres participants (voir aussi Pasquandrea 2011), mais il ne semble pourtant pas que cette activité d'écriture ait un impact sur l'initiation de la réparation par l'interprète.

nous avons observé que cette séquence de réparation peut être initiée soit directement après la question du médecin, soit après sa traduction par l'interprète.

Ceci laisse penser que ces corrections ne sont pas liées à des questions de langue, mais plutôt à la recherche par l'interprète d'informations spécifiques et 'quantifiables' sur l'un des aspects du problème (durée, quantité, etc.).

L'aspect le plus inattendu de ces corrections réside dans le fait que les informations qu'elles aident à obtenir ne sont pas toujours traduites au médecin. L'hypothèse selon laquelle ces informations plus précises sont recherchées par l'interprète parce qu'elles sont plus faciles à traduire pour le médecin, sans être complètement réfutée, n'est donc pas suffisante pour expliquer la recherche de la quantification. A partir de là, on est contraint de voir s'exercer dans cette pratique, soit la quête d'informations à son propre bénéfice, lorsque l'interprète est un proche de la patiente (son mari), soit la mise en œuvre des représentations qu'a l'interprète de l'attente du médecin, de la forme de l'interrogatoire médical et des formes de réponses qui sont appropriées. Dans ce cas ce serait plus une construction d'identité à travers l'exercice d'un rôle (d'expert imaginé, voir aussi Ticca, à paraître), qu'une réelle participation à la consultation médicale dans sa réalité triadique qui s'exprime. Il serait intéressant d'étudier plus avant cette tension qui semble exister entre les objectifs pratiques (demander des précisions pour faciliter l'activité traductive) et d'autres enjeux liés à une démonstration de compétence ou d'expertise, d'une représentation du savoir faire qui paraît animer l'interprète dans sa pratique.

En ce qui concerne l'activité médicale, ce type d'intervention est visiblement problématique lorsqu'il peut détourner la trajectoire de l'action du médecin sans que les informations cherchées soient obtenues.

Bien que cette forme d'interprétation réalisée par des personnes non spécialisées soit fortement utile et nécessaire pour faciliter l'interaction dans les consultations bilingues dans la région du Yucatan, les difficultés qu'elle recèle dans la mobilisation et la gestion de l'information durant la consultation alimentent la discussion sur les enjeux de l'interprétation improvisée dans le champ de la santé.

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Conventions de transcription

[	chevauchement
(.)	micro-pause (< 0,2 seconds)
(2)	pause en secondes
/ \	intonation montante/ descendante\
(des)	transcription incertaine
:	allongement
xxx	segment incompréhensible
=	enchaînement immédiat
°volià°	voix basse
NON	saillance
par-	troncation
><	accélération
< >	ralentissement
+ +	délimitent les regards

Invisible, visible or everywhere in between? Perceptions and actual behaviours of non-professional interpreters and interpreting users

Aída Martínez-Gómez
John Jay College of Criminal Justice (City University of New York)

Abstract

The notion of the invisible interpreter, once – and for long – an uncontested principle, has recently started to be deconstructed in favour of the image of the interpreter as an active third party in the interaction. This study aims to contribute to this process through an analysis of interpreter visibility in a prison setting using a corpus of 19 interpreted interviews and pre-interview surveys. It describes the self-perceptions of non-professional interpreters and the expectations of interpreting users about the interpreter role, and contrasts these with actual behaviours during the interpreted event. Results indicate that these interpreters tend to perceive themselves as less visible than they in fact are and that interpreters' visibility in actual interaction is negotiated by all parties through conversational acceptance and rejection mechanisms.

Introduction

Conduit, machine, telephone, channel, language-switching operator, ghost. This has been the popular image of the interpreter for the last few decades. Historically, interpreters were anything but invisible – allies in explorations and conquests, partners in diplomacy and trade, helpers in private affairs. However, with the advent of training and the development of interpreting as a profession, role models such as the ones described through these metaphors took hold. Being invisible allowed interpreters to remain detached from the communicative event (and thus not responsible for its outcome), dissociating themselves from the decision-making processes of the parties involved, and to earn trust in a profession in the early stages of its making (Angelelli 2004b: 22; Roy 1993/2002: 349-350).

Nevertheless, the idea of the invisible interpreter was grounded in a perception of moral correctness rather than on actual strong empirical evidence (Clifford 2004: 92). Discrepancies between this invisible role, endorsed and enforced through training and professional ethics, and the actual behaviour of interpreters in practice – the interpreter's paradox (Metzger 1999) – called for a revision of these concepts. Studies examining the role of the interpreter, mostly in community settings, have evidenced the position of the interpreter as a co-participant and co-constructor of meaning in the interpreter-mediated encounter. Therefore, visibility is not contested in research circles anymore. Academics "no longer deliberate *if* community interpreters are visible and active participants, but rather *how much* and *with what consequences*" (Jacobsen 2009: 162; emphasis in the original). However, as Wadensjö explains (2008: 187), non-personhood prevails as an inherent element of the social role of the interpreter and both interpreters and interpreting users "are more or less oriented to this specific, culturally established character of the role of interpreter", at least – I would add – in abstract terms.

Through the analysis of non-professional interpreters' performance in prison settings, this study sets out to explore two issues: the own construction of role by untrained interpreters (prisoners in this context) and its translation into actual actions; and role expectations on the part of interpreting users (prison officers and prisoners, specifically) and their reactions towards behaviours which meet or fail to meet those expectations.

1. Musings about visibility

The study of the interpreter role has been central to Interpreting Studies, particularly since the inception of community interpreting as a sub-area of research (Pöchhacker 2004: 147). With the contribution of sociolinguistic approaches to the examination of the interpreter-mediated event, the invisibility metaphor suffered a profound deconstruction process across the board (Rudvin 2006: 36).

The main proponents of deconstructing the 'myth' of the invisible interpreter (Metzger 1999) challenge the understanding of meaning as a monolithic entity in favour of its constant negotiation in interaction, and emphasise interpreting as a situated practice influenced by interpersonal, institutional and societal factors. In such a situation, the interpreter emerges as yet another participant. As Angelelli (2004b: 45) puts it,

> all interlocutors, including interpreters, are key player (sic.) in the co-construction of meaning as they interact with the other parties and juggle the impact of both the institution and the society in which the interaction is embedded.

Discourse and conversational analyses, together with a smaller number of ethnographic and case studies, have been essential in the development of these new approaches. A wide array of linguistic strategies employed (not always consciously) by professional interpreters in naturally-occurring interaction evidence their agency in the communicative event. For instance, Berk-Seligson (1990) and Hale (2004) show how interpreters' shifts in active/passive voices, politeness forms, discourse markers, question structure, etc., lead to alterations in the pragmatic component of primary interlocutors' utterances in courtroom settings. However, researchers have been mostly concerned with interpreters' visibility through the adoption of a third-party status in the interaction. In fact, it could be said that Wadensjö's (1998) detailed description of the interpreter as a coordinator of talk in community settings served as the foundation upon which this paradigm shift started to be built.

Dialogue interpreting research has yielded compelling results contesting the invisibility myth, in the case of both professional and non-professional interpreters. Interpreters in television talk shows occasionally undertake entertainer functions by creating topic coherence and setting opportunities for applause-relevant comments (Katan/Straniero Sergio 2001), and are even subjected to public criticism for entertainment purposes (Straniero Sergio 2012). Analyses of interpreter-mediated events in business settings or in the workplace have shown interpreters promoting relations between primary parties, helping with arrangements, mitigating face-threatening talk (Gavioli/Maxwell 2007; Harris/Sherwood 1978), prompting ideas or engaging in small talk (Dickinson 2013). Similar examples are also found in community interpreting literature, both for signed and spoken languages – the subfield which has contributed a larger number of studies to this topic (Merlini/Favaron 2005; Metzger 1999; Pöllabauer 2004; Roy 2000; Valero-Garcés/Martin 2008, to name only a few). Angelelli (2004a) shows how medical interpreters move along a continuum of visibility throughout the interpreter-mediated event, from minor visibility in managing the flow of communication or adjusting register to the communicative practices and needs of the interlocutors, to major visibility – and hence high impact – when replacing a primary interlocutor (e.g. giving instructions to a patient on behalf of a nurse). Following up on this idea of the impact of role shifts on communication, Hale (2008) assesses the consequences of five different roles prescribed for or observed in court interpreters – advocate for one or the other party, gatekeeper, communication facilitator and faithful renderer – and concludes that the latter is the most appropriate for the adversarial courtroom, being the one carrying the fewest negative consequences. On the contrary, in her study of interpreters in mental health, Bot (2005) observed that adherence to the conduit model often results in divergent renditions that increase the likelihood of communication breakdown and/or reduce possibilities for repairs to be made.

Communication breakdown has often been attributed to non-professional interpreters adopting an active third party status, for instance by editing patients' utterances or following their own lines of inquiry (Elderkin-Thompson *et al.* 2001: 1352; Meyer 2001: 100), as they tend to "assume interactional tasks for which they lack training and expertise and which are liable to clash with the interpreting function entrusted to them" (Pöchhacker 2004: 152). Negative consequences of the blurring of role boundaries are even more noticeable in the case of dual-role interpreters (i.e. participants who act as ratified primary interlocutors and interpreters in the same event): TV hosts interpreting their own interviews may generate feelings of insecurity among interviewees (Jääskeläinen 2003), and police officers interpreting during questioning may manipulate suspects into producing a confession (Berk-Seligson 2009). However, despite the common assumption that the degree of visibility of the interpreter is inversely related to his/her degree of professionalism, empirical evidence has shown that both professional and non-professional interpreters fluctuate between minimal participation and full-fledged intervention, although at different levels (utterance vs. event) and with different goals (Pöchhacker 2012). Indeed, studies focusing on young bilinguals (Valdés 2003) evidence a similarity with professionals in terms of strategies employed in interpreting tasks, as well as successful visible interventions aimed at handling asymmetries of power and face-threatening acts.

Throughout interaction, the interpreters' shifts in participation status may be triggered by a variety of factors (Angelelli 2004a: 77). Users' expectations and requirements may become an important source of tension, even for trained interpreters, in their definition of role. Research has not only shown that public service users and providers may favour different degrees of visibility and agency (see Kuo/Fagan 1999 in healthcare; Hale 2006 in court), but it has also evidenced conflicting views within the same user group in the same setting (e.g. Miller *et al.* 2005), as user expectations may also be defined by individual preferences and previous experiences.

Finally, studies about interpreters' self-perception of role have shown that the interpreter's paradox is still notably prevalent in the profession. The academic and professional ideology in favour of the conduit model still remains notably unchallenged, even in the minds of interpreters themselves, despite growing evidence about its limitations. Angelelli's research on interpreters' views of their own agency revealed that even when they assume a certain degree of visibility, their dominating discourse, especially in conference and court settings, still frames invisibility and absolute neutrality not only as possible but also as desirable, even imperative (Angelelli 2004b: 77-79). However, it does create internal conflict among interpreters, who recognise the importance of these principles in training and codes of ethics, but experience difficulties in applying them to their actual practice without feeling that they are endangering effective communication (Angelelli 2004a; Hsieh 2006; Schouten *et al.* 2012).

In light of this literature review, a study about how all parties to the interaction conceive the interpreter role and act on and react to it emerges as a potentially fruitful path to explore. On the one hand, non-professionals' lack of exposure to the invisibility discourse during training or professional activity may shed light on constructions of one's own interpreter role which are more based on actual interactional and interpersonal factors than on acquired norms, and hence devoid of the – sometimes unconscious – pull towards invisibility that most trained interpreters seem to experience. On the other hand, whereas studies on the interpreter's role have traditionally analysed either interaction or participants' and interpreters' views, the potential gap between desired behaviour and actual behaviour and reactions to it has largely been overlooked. Establishing connections between those and analysing the causes and consequences of consistencies and inconsistencies may prove to be a valuable tool to understand interpreters' participation and agency in broader terms.

2. Analysing visibility in non-professional interpreters

2.1 The setting

In many parts of the world, prisons are notably diverse environments. In the last fifteen years, the Spanish prison system – the setting for this study – has witnessed a move away from a relatively homogeneous prison population mainly comprised of middle-aged white Spanish males towards the heterogeneity that comes along recent migration flows and the application of increasingly restrictive procedural law and sentencing policies for foreigners, among other factors (García García 2006: 253-254). The proportion of foreign nationals in Spanish prisons currently stands at 30.1%, whereas the overall proportion of foreign population in the country is 9.6%.[1]

This overrepresentation of foreigners within the prison system poses a wide array of challenges, including language-related ones. When direct communication (through broken Spanish or another vehicular language such as English or French, often combined with body language) is not successful, interpreting is needed. However, interpreter-mediated communication inside a prison is not restricted, as one may initially think, to client-attorney interviews, where professional interpreters may be brought in, as their fees are defrayed by prisoners themselves rather than the prison system. The reality of prison interpreting is wider and richer. Foreign language-speaking inmates need to interact with different members of staff in a variety of situations which differ greatly from one another in terms of frequency, conceptual complexity and associated emotional stress. A non exhaustive list would include admission procedures, random informal conversations (such as requests for basic information), medical and mental health visits, legal advice sessions, security processes (e.g. searches), disciplinary and parole hearings, education/training/job-related exchanges, treatment programme sessions and external communications. In order to enable these exchanges, as is also common in many countries (Martínez-Gómez 2014), prisoners with a certain level of competence in the languages involved are requested to interpret between the primary parties.[2]

2.2 Description of the study

This study was conducted in two Spanish prisons (C.P. Mallorca and C.P. Castellón I) as part of a larger project focusing on interpreting quality of non-professional interpreters' performance. The corpus consisted of 19 naturally-occurring inter-

1 Data retrieved from the Secretariat General for Prisons <http://www.institucionpenitenciaria.es/web/portal/idioma/en/documentos/estadisticas.html> and the National Statistics Institute <http://www.ine.es/en/inebaseDYN/cp30321/cp_inicio_en.htm> as of January 1, 2015.

2 The terms 'primary participants/parties/interlocutors' are used throughout this article for ease of communication, despite the implicit notion of the interpreter being thus a 'secondary participant', which is in no way intended or endorsed here.

views between a prison staff member (no.=8) and a foreign language-speaking male prisoner (no.=19) mediated by another male prisoner who acted as an interpreter (no.=13) between Spanish and one of the following languages: English (8), Romanian (6), Arabic (3), French (1) and German (1). Both primary participants and a team of external interpreting experts (trainers and practitioners) answered expectation and assessment questionnaires about interpreting quality – the former also including a question about the interpreter's role.[3] The interpreters were asked to complete a questionnaire about their role before their interpretations.

This part of the study focusing on interpreter role construction and perception of visibility aims to analyse (a) whether non-professional interpreters performing their duties in a prison setting see themselves as visible participants in the interactions they mediate in; (b) whether primary participants expect these interpreters to remain invisible or to exert certain degrees of agency; (c) whether the interpreters' actual actions match their beliefs or contradict them; and (d) whether certain interpreter behaviours trigger positive or negative responses from the parties in the interaction. For these purposes, three sets of data were used: answers to the interpreters' questionnaires, answers to the expectation questionnaires by primary participants, and transcripts of the interviews.

The interpreters' questionnaire was based on Angelelli's Interpreter's Interpersonal Role Inventory (IPRI) (2004b) and covered the five visibility subcomponents identified therein. However, given the notable differences between target informants in both studies, a simplification of this instrument was deemed appropriate in three main areas:

- The number of items was reduced from the original 38 to 18 due to time constraints in the administration of the survey.
- Item phrasing was simplified and explanations were added to accommodate literacy limitations and ensure understanding.
- Likert scales were replaced with dichotomous questions after unsuccessful piloting of scales. Items were paired under 9 questions. Each question addressed a particular subcomponent of visibility, with one item representing a visible alternative and one item representing an invisible alternative (a reversed IPRI item).

The final questionnaire for the interpreters included:

a. An informed consent form.
b. Nine dichotomous questions, totalling 18 IPRI items, distributed as follows among the five original IPRI visibility subcomponents:
    - Alignment with the parties: questions 4, 5 and 8 include IPRI items 5, 38, 9, 22, 28 and 21.
    - Establishing trust/facilitating mutual respect between the parties: questions 1 and 2 include IPRI items 35, 11, 16 and 13.
    - Communicating affect as well as message: question 7 includes IPRI items 17 and 29.

3 For further details about this methodology, see Martínez-Gómez (2015).

- Explaining cultural gaps/interpreting culture as well as language: questions 6 and 9 include IPRI items 36, 14, 20 and 33.
- Establishing communication rules during the conversation: question 3 includes IPRI items 7 and 23.

c. Eight questions addressing socio-demographic factors and previous interpreting experiences and training.

The questionnaire results were analysed quantitatively in order to shed light on non-professional interpreters' perceptions of their role in terms of visibility/invisibility. Both overall perceptions of visibility and each visibility subcomponent were examined considering all interpreters as a group, as well as by individual interpreter.

The second set of data used in this study was the responses to the primary participants' expectations questionnaire, which were analysed quantitatively at the group level. The relevant question was a multiple choice one where informants had to select the most appropriate interpreter's role description, according to their views. The four roles considered for these descriptions were conduit, communication facilitator, cultural broker and advocate, following Roy's taxonomy (1993/2002),[4] and were phrased according to the expected literacy levels of the two groups of informants.

Finally, the interpreter-mediated interviews were transcribed (and translated when necessary) and analysed qualitatively after coding the transcripts manually using the software tool ATLAS.ti. This coding followed a top-down method in order to identify instances of interpreter visibility in each of the five IPRI subcomponents. If the primary participants expressed some type of verbal reaction to these visibility instances in the exchange itself (e.g. from reprimand to implicit/explicit acceptance), this was also noted.

3. Non-professional interpreters' visibility in prison interviews

3.1 Visibility in abstract terms

The first issue that this study set out to explore was the views on interpreters' visibility and its appropriateness to the prison context by both (non-professional) interpreters and primary interlocutors. In line with previous studies (see section 1), these interpreters agree that there is a certain degree of visibility to their role. As a group, they seem to position themselves in middle ground within the visible/invisible continuum, although they tend to gravitate slightly towards agency in turn-taking management and in the facilitation of trust and mutual respect. A closer look at the factors constituting the five visibility subcomponents, which were made explicit in the questionnaire, shows that these interpreters do not

4 Although I agree with Knapp-Pothoff/Knapp (1986: 153), among others, that the interpreter's role is a "continuum between that of a mere medium of transmission and that of a true third party", four different roles were made explicit in order to facilitate informants' responses.

hesitate to intervene as third participants in order to balance power differentials and establish trust between inmates and prison officers. These views support the notion of interpreting as situated practice and the influence thereupon of social and institutional factors: when power differentials and mistrust are almost inherent to the nature of the institution where communication is taking place, none of the members of the communicative triad are immune to them; and these interpreters, possibly given their understanding of the system and its norms, exert their agency to ensure that communication is not threatened.

Interestingly enough, however, when their intervention is depicted in more explicit terms (e.g. expressing their own voice, supporting one of the parties, or minimising a cultural conflict), these same interpreters seem reluctant to become visible. Two hypotheses may explain this discrepancy. The first one lies in the fact that the discourse of interpreters' invisibility is not restricted to academic and professional circles, but also permeates society at large. Often, interpreting users stress their need for an interpreter who 'just translates'. These prisoners are not certified interpreters, and as such they need to ratify their competence constantly in front of the primary participants. One of the ways they may do so is by accommodating to expected societal norms, such as the interpreter as a code-switching machine, given that, as Angelelli indicates, "invisibility earns trust" (2004b: 22). The second hypothesis has to do, again, with the particular interpersonal dynamics of the prison setting: showing support for one of the interlocutors or trying to mediate in any type of conflict may be understood by the unsupported party as a declaration of animosity. In a system where allegiances can be such a delicate issue, it comes as no surprise that the interpreters – prisoners themselves – would try to avoid disrupting the established fine balance.

Visibility subcomponent	Invisible	Visible
Alignment with the parties	54%	46%
Interpreter's own voice (question 4)	*85%*	*15%*
Support for one party (question 5)	*69%*	*31%*
Balancing power differential (question 8)	*8%*	*92%*
Establishing trust/facilitating mutual respect	31%	69%
Facilitating respect (question 1)	*54%*	*46%*
Establishing trust (question 2)	*8%*	*92%*
Communicating affect as well as message (question 7)	46%	54%
Explaining cultural gaps/interpret culture	42%	58%
Explaining cultural differences (question 6)	*23%*	*77%*
Minimising cultural conflicts (question 9)	*62%*	*38%*
Establishing communication rules (question 3)	38%	62%
Overall position	**44%**	**56%**

Table 1. Interpreters' self-perceptions of visibility by subcomponent

An individual analysis of each interpreter's perception of his positioning within the communicative triad reveals a variety of approaches within the same prison setting: whereas four interpreters seem to remain in the middle ground, three lean towards the invisibility end of the spectrum, and six towards the agency side. Previous studies have considered social background factors as a possible explanation for this diversity of opinions. Angelelli (2004b: 68-70) found statistically significant correlations between the degree of reported visibility and self-identification with the dominant or subordinate group, age and income, and a weak correlation in the case of education level (not limited to interpreting). Social background data were collected in this study with an aim to test this hypothesis. Education level, experience in interpreting inside and outside the prison, frequency of those interpretations and specific training in interpreting or intercultural mediation were considered relevant for these purposes. Only the amount of experience in interpreting outside the prison (over two years for 46% of informants) yielded a significant direct correlation (using Spearman's correlation coefficient) with the degree of self-perceived visibility (r_s (13) = .680, p = .044).[5]

Interpreter	Invisible	Visible
ML01/02	78%	22%
ML05/06/10	44%	56%
ML08	22%	78%
ML09	78%	22%
ML13	44%	56%
ML16	67%	33%
ML18/19	33%	67%
ML20	33%	67%
CS01	22%	78%
CS03/04	44%	56%
CS05/06	44%	56%
CS08	22%	78%
CS10	33%	67%

Table 2. Overall perceptions of own visibility by individual interpreters[6]

These results point to the potential influence of institutional and societal factors on interpreters' construction of their own role – an issue which has already been suggested in the literature (*inter al.* Angelelli 2004a, 2004b; Berk-Seligson 2009; Valdés 2003; Zorzi 2012), and which seems to hold true as well in the case of non-professional interpreters acting in prison settings. Given these influenc-

5 During fieldwork, I became aware of overstatements in responses about interpreting experience and frequency inside the prison (possibly due to a social desirability bias). This, together with the small size of the sample, requires careful consideration of the results.

6 Interpreters are identified by the code assigned to their interview(s).

es, a study on interpreters' visibility would be incomplete if the expectations of the primary parties to the interaction were not accounted for. Table 3 shows that allophone prisoners and prison staff in this study tend to prefer interpreters who place themselves near the most visible end of the spectrum: whereas prisoners favour the culture broker role, staff favour the advocate role (understood as advocating on their behalf, as a 'helper' of the prison worker). Still, a non negligible number of prison officers support the concept of the (almost) invisible interpreter.

Role	Prisoners	Prison staff
Conduit	11%	13%
Communication facilitator	11%	25%
Culture broker	47%	6%
Advocate	32%	44%
No answer	0%	13%

Table 3. Role expectations by primary participants[7]

3.2 Visibility in practice

The second goal of this study was twofold: to analyse whether the views expressed by these non-professional interpreters about their role match their actual behaviours, and to describe the reactions these behaviours (especially instances of visibility) trigger in primary participants. Two interviews have been selected for these purposes, each of them mediated by a different interpreter who reported different degrees of visibility in their interpreting practice.

The interpreter who mediated interview ML16 identified himself better with the description of an invisible interpreter. He admitted, however, that he enters the interview as a ratified third participant, expressing his own voice at some points; and that he intervenes when he feels the need to explain a cultural difference or balance the power differential between inmate and officer. Indeed, a good number of instances of visibility detected in his interpretation seem to be related to cultural items and power/knowledge imbalances, as can be seen in excerpt 1.

Excerpt 1[8]

O: Cincuenta y tres. ¿De dónde eres? ¿Dónde naciste?
Fifty three. Where are you from? Where were you born?
I: Où est-ce que t'est né?
Where were you born?
P: En France. Nanterre
In France. Nanterre
I: Francia, Nanterre. **Es una ciudad cerca de París**

7 Two prison staff members selected two roles as their preferred ones. In those cases, each role selected accounted for 50% of the informant's response.
8 See transcript notation guidelines in appendix.

France, Nanterre. ***It's a city close to Paris***

O: Mhm. ¿Y cuánto tiempo llevas viviendo en España?
Mhm. And how long have you been living in Spain?

I: Ça fait combien de temps que t'habites en Espagne? **En fait, t'as jamais habité en Esp-**
And how long have you lived in Spain? ***In fact, you've never lived in Sp-***

P: J'ai jamais habité en Espagne
I've never lived in Spain

I: Nunca ha ha llegado a vivir en España. **Es que la policía lo ha arrestado en Francia y le ha extraditado**
He has has never lived in Spain. ***The thing is that the police arrested him in France and extradited him***

Firstly, in his second utterance, the interpreter handles a cultural item by providing a short geographical explanation of the location of the inmate's hometown for the benefit of the prison officer – a strategy that he would use again later to clarify a reference to a French liqueur, Ricard. Secondly, when the interpreter follows up the officer's question about how long the prisoner has lived in Spain with a potential suggestion for an answer, he may be using his own voice to correct what he may see as a power imbalance. The allophone prisoner is relatively new to the prison and this is the first interview that the prison psychologist is having with him, whereas the interpreter is an orderly in the admissions wing, who performs as an interpreter in this type of interview when a new French-speaking inmate enters the facility. The interpreter's knowledge of the information that may be relevant to the psychologist and his awareness of the prisoner's unfamiliarity with the system may have triggered this intervention, together with a willingness to portray himself as cooperative with the prison officer, as will be discussed below. Finally, he may also have identified a potential ambiguity in the officer's question of how long the inmate had lived in Spain, which derives from the prisoner's personal situation. The interpreter assumes that the officer does not know about his arrest in France and consequent extradition, and perhaps fears that the prisoner may respond mentioning the time he has been *in prison* in Spain, without specifying so, thus creating a miscommunication problem that may go unnoticed by the officer. By inducing the prisoners' response, he is trying to elicit this important background information from the prisoner, which he in fact completes himself when the prisoner fails to provide the full story.

There are other instances of visibility by this interpreter, however, that do not seem motivated by cultural items or power imbalances, and in a way contradict his own responses about his self-perception of his role. In excerpt 2, the interpreter adds information about the inmate's family situation that may be easily elicited by the officer should she deem it necessary. In any case, she does not seem to notice it or be troubled by it.

Excerpt 2

O: ¿Tus padres viven?
Are your parents alive?

I: Tes parents sont en vie?
Are your parents alive?

P: Mon père est décédé, ma mère est encore vivante
My father passed away, my mother is still alive
I: El padre ha fallecido. La madre está viva, **vive en París**
The father passed away. The mother is alive, ***she lives in Paris***

Despite the fact that both interlocutors stated in their questionnaires that they prefer a conduit interpreter, none of these deviations from such a position into the visible end of the role spectrum are contested. One may argue that some of them may go unnoticed by the parties. This "opaque visibility" may occur with less obvious interventions (expanded or substituted renditions in Wadensjö's terms, 1998), which take place at the expected turn of talk for the interpreter and do not differ notably in length from the original utterance, such as the one in excerpt 2. Cases of "transparent visibility", i.e. where the interpreter's assumption of a primary participant role is obvious, may, however, trigger certain reactions among the interlocutors. Excerpt 3 offers an example of contested "transparent visibility".

Excerpt 3
O: Mh, ¿y qué has estado haciendo el tiempo que llevas aquí?
Mh, and what have you been doing since you got here?
I: Elle te demande ce que ce que ce que tu fais depuis que t'es là, c'est-à-dire. **El tema es que este señor no puede salir de aquí**
She is asking you what what what you do since you got here, that is. ***The thing is that this gentleman cannot leave from here***
O: Ya. Deja que lo explique
Yes. Let him explain it

Factors affecting primary participants' reactions to interpreters' visible interventions may vary and would require further explorations. For instance, in excerpt 3, the officer intervenes in order to control interpreter behaviour which does not match her expectations and may also be counterproductive to her communicative goals. As will be discussed in relation to interview ML13, the purpose of these interviews, both led by psychologists, may not be limited to gathering factual information about the foreign language-speaking prisoner, but also includes gaining insight about his emotional state through his factual responses. Having the interpreter intervene in such a way may be detrimental for this latter goal.

Interview ML13 is also a 'first contact interview' between an allophone inmate and a prison psychologist. In this case, unlike interview ML16, the inmate had already been in this prison for over two years, but the psychologist was recently assigned to his residential block and had not interviewed him yet. The interpreter is brought in by the prisoner: he is his cellmate. In his answers to the questionnaire, the interpreter positions himself in middle ground within the visibility continuum, but denies acting as a primary participant or aligning with any of the parties. However, his visibility becomes evident in multiple instances when he answers questions directed to the allophone prisoner, as can be seen in excerpt 4.

Excerpt 4
O: ¿Pero tiene otros?
But he has more?

I: **Diez**
Ten
O: ¿Diez hijos con otra mujer?
Ten children with another woman?
I: **Sí.**
Yes
P: ((laughs))
O: ¿Con otra o con otras?
With another one or with several?
I: **Otras, eh, diferente mujer**
Several, er, different woman
P: **Diferente, diferente**
Different, different
O: ¿Y dónde están los niños?
And where are the children?
I: **En Inglaterra con sus eh madres**
In England with their er mums

Such participation patterns on the part of the interpreter clearly contradict his abstract understanding of his role before entering the interview. Throughout the corpus, examples of interpreters answering for the foreign-language-speaking prisoner are very common. A tentative explanation may be purely pragmatic in nature: the interpreter may believe that communication is more efficient if he answers himself, as the officer will be getting the correct information and less time and effort will be spent. However, communication may turn out not to be effective if the officer's goals differ from getting accurate factual information (see excerpt 6). Furthermore, as suggested above, these behaviours may stem from a willingness to be seen as cooperative by the prison officer, and thus the institution. As explained by Angelelli (2004b: 2, 85), the interpreter brings the self to the interaction and cannot be immune to the interplay of social factors affecting other interpersonal relationships. In the prison setting, the power differential between inmates and officers also affects the interpreter, who may see these tasks as an opportunity to improve his social image. Establishing a positive relationship with the staff may, in turn, play in his favour in the long run, when applying for training or work programmes within the facility or other privileges (e.g. furlough, parole, family visits, etc.).

More often than not, these visible actions do not trigger any particular reaction in the interlocutors, who seem to assume that this is part of the interactional dynamics of this type of encounter. In fact, they are at times ratified by the parties, as can be seen in excerpt 4, when the prisoner first laughs at one of the interpreter's interventions and then corroborates one of his answers ("Diferente, diferente"). Still, despite the language barrier, interactional cues such as length and position of turns within the 'adjacency trio' (Merlini/Favaron 2005: 271), and partially transparent language constellations (see Meyer 2012 for details on this concept), among others, often allow interlocutors to monitor interpreter visibility and exert a certain degree of control over it if, for instance, they feel it is hindering accomplishment of their communicative goals or harming their face in any sense. Excerpt 5 shows how the prisoner, thanks to some understanding of

Spanish and recognition of cognate terms, corrects the interpreter in an attempt to save face and provide accurate information about his drug use history.

Excerpt 5

O: ¿Y qué fue lo que consumió?
And what did he have?
I: What did you first have? Weed, huh?
P: Weed, hashish.
I: Pone, empezó con hashish, después anfetamina, [eh], éxtasi and cocaína
So, he started with hashish, then amphetamines, [eh], ecstasy and cocaine
P: [Pastillas]
[Pills]
P: Not until I was 23 I had coca.
I: Hasta tener 23 años, después 23 años empezar cocain fuerte
Until he be 23, after 23 he start cocain strongly

Once the prisoner's drug use history has been discussed and he has admitted to being clean for two and a half years, only smoking hashish occasionally, the prison officer asks him whether he thinks he will use drugs again after being released. In excerpt 6, when the interpreter answers for the prisoner, the prison officer redirects his behaviour by clearly showing her disapproval of this instance of visibility in her next turn – a behaviour that she had accepted at the beginning of the interview (excerpt 4). What makes these two excerpts different is the communicative goal that is being prioritised by the psychologist: in excerpt 6, she is probably not looking for factual information anymore but for more subtle hints about the prisoner's former drug abuse problem and potential for relapse.

Excerpt 6

O: Hachís sí consumes ahora. ¿Y cuando salgas a la calle tú crees que nunca más vas a volver a consumir?
You smoke hashish now. And when you get out, do you think you'll never smoke again?
P: No, no, no quiero.
No, no, I don't want to
I: No, él no quiero consumar más droga fuerta
No, he don't want to do hard drugs anymore
O: ¿Y porros?
And weed?
I: Di- di- depende. Él dicho cuando salida bebe una cerveza, posibilidad de fumar un porra.
De- de- depends. He said when exit drink a beer, possibility of smoking a joint
O: Eso no te lo ha dicho él. Eso te lo lo estás diciendo tú.
He didn't say that. You are saying that
I: Porque es mi compañero de celda. Yo saber fa- fa- when you get out.
Because he is my cellmate. I know...

This is yet another example of how situational factors specific to the encounter at hand also affect role negotiation. This case illustrates how a shift in communicative goals within the same interview forces the psychologist to redefine the boundaries of the role of the interpreter for that particular fragment of the conversation. In an informal discussion with the team of psychologists at the prison C.P. Mallorca, where this interview was conducted, about the use of prisoner-interpreters for mental health evaluation, another psychologist expressed her concerns about this issue as follows: "Sometimes how they say things tells you more than what they say. When the interpreter answers for them, that disappears. You get the facts but nothing else". This duality of communicative purposes and the resulting adaptation of roles that seems to happen organically in this interview are also evidenced by the psychologist's statement of her preferred interpreter role: she checked two answers – communication facilitator and (officer's) advocate.

4. Conclusions

The notion of the invisible interpreter, once – and for long – an uncontested principle, has recently started to be deconstructed in favour of the image of interpreters as active third parties who exert their agency in order to help to achieve interactional goals, be it through the organization of talk or by participating with their own voices. Still, the discourse prevalent in training and professional circles, and embodied in codes of ethics, advocates the idea of the interpreter as a neutral non-person. In the study of interpreters' visibility, resorting to non-professional interpreters as research subjects may allow researchers to overcome such normative assumptions. Their lack of exposure to these principles may prevent them from experiencing the interpreter's paradox, and thus act more freely on the institutional, interpersonal and conversational features of the situation at hand. For instance, young language brokers have been found to understand the potential effects of certain exchanges mediated by them on their family lives, and thus to become deliberately visible in order to make family interests prevail (Valdés 2003: 97-98).

The non-professional interpreters in this corpus, however, tend to describe their behaviours as only slightly visible – in the middle ground within the continuum, but still with a strong invisibility component. In his definition of native translation, Toury (1995: 241-256) explains that, in these cases, the acquisition of translational skills is based on observation, experience and exposure to socially accepted norms. And non-personhood is still a socially accepted norm – the general popular understanding of how an interpreter should behave.

Nevertheless, their agency in interaction is more present than they realise or acknowledge. In the cases described here, interpreters seem to be prompted to participate with their own voice in order to accomplish the communicative goals that they assume true, i.e. the gathering of factual personal and penitentiary information from the prisoner. As Zorzi (2012: 233) states when finding similar examples in her healthcare interpreting corpus, "the activities initiated by these non-translatorial tasks constitute goal oriented institutional talk". For such purposes, these prisoner-interpreters volunteer information and/or orient prisoners' answers, although to different degrees. Whereas ML16 seems to intervene only in order to make cultural information available or to make sure that important information about the prisoner's penitentiary and immigration status is not left out, ML13 seems to intervene more systematically. Interpreting experience in this setting may be shaping these behaviours, which may have been ratified by tacit/explicit acceptance not only in the past but also – as seen in excerpt 4 – by the interlocutors themselves in the situation at hand.

A higher-order influencing factor may be related to the dynamics of the correctional institution itself. As Merlini (2013: 268) explains with regard to politeness and face work, the interpreter's interactional behaviour not only has consequences for the particular encounter at hand, but also "an additional image of self is at stake during the communicative event". In a prison setting, where information is power and the sharing of information with the institution may be regarded as a collaborative move on the part of any prisoner, such dynamics can easily permeate the interpreted event and guide the interpreter's behaviour towards providing information unsolicited from him.

Examples of non-professional interpreters speaking for their users have also been found in other settings, and have drawn sharp criticism, given their potential adverse consequences:

> the natural inclination is to speak for the patient, with whose situation one is familiar, rather than interpreting for them. When a situation as such arises, the patient is excluded from the interaction and becomes the subject of discussion for two people who are speaking about them in a language they do not understand, thus rendering the patient powerless (Hale 2007: 46).

However,

> what is important for me is the patient and his condition, and therefore, to give an accurate diagnosis. And it is easier to give an accurate diagnosis if someone helps the patient to explain to me what is wrong, or if that person saw him get sick, if he is his cellmate and can explain to me in detail what is going on. If communication is "yes, no, ooow!", the diagnosis may not be accurate (Physician at C.P. Alicante Cumplimiento. Personal communication, July 2008. My translation).

No single stance is universally flawless. Research has shown that static prescriptions and descriptions of role are unrealistic. Interpreters' visibility and agency are subject not only to a wide array of societal, institutional and interpersonal constraints (Angelelli 2004b), but also to constant negotiation between the parties to each particular interaction. Interpreters move between different provisional 'identities' (i.e. roles) within one single event, which are co-constructed among all participants according to the relevant conversational tasks at stake in each moment (Zorzi 2012: 247). Although the interpreter normally assesses the situation and decides on the relevant 'provisional identity', the parties can use different conversational mechanisms to trigger, reaffirm or redirect them (see excerpts 3-6 above) in a process of collaborative building of interpreters' behaviours.

The limitations in size and scope of the corpus in this study require much caution in the analysis of results. Even though conclusions cannot be drawn about the co-construction of the interpreter's role throughout the interaction other than that it occurs, certain issues emerge as deserving further examination, such as factors influencing self-perception of role, patterns in its dynamic negotiation by all participants, causes and consequences of shifts in 'provisional identities', etc. Certainly, overcoming normative approaches about role may open the door to a broader understanding of the co-construction of interpreter-mediated events at the textual, communicative, interpersonal and institutional levels.

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Appendix

Transcript notation:

O	officer
I	interpreter
P	prisoner
[ ]	overlap
-	syllable cut short
(( ))	transcriber's comments
bold	turns discussed
italics	author's translation of original utterances (they attempt to reflect original grammatical/lexical errors)

The cooperation between the Waterway Police and the legal interpreters in the legal district of Antwerp: a qualitative study on best practices

Heidi Salaets
KU Leuven , Antwerp Campus (Belgium)
University of the Free State, Bloemfontein (South Africa)
An-Katrien De Pooter
KU Leuven, Antwerp Campus (Belgium)

Abstract

In spite of a growing interest in the statute and role relating to legal interpreters (LIs) in research and practice, there still is no standard legal statute for LIs in Belgium. Subsequently, this paper aims to investigate how the "Scheepvaartpolitie" (The Waterway Police) – by definition a division that is confronted with multilingual issues in ports – and LIs cooperate in the legal district of Antwerp. The literature review and the preliminary phase of this research focus on the work environment of the police and the interpreters in this area. To gain an in-depth view of the way the Waterway Police and LIs work together, we have interviewed ten members of the Waterway Police and five legal interpreters who were trained at the KU Leuven, Antwerp campus (former Lessius UC). The answers and remarks of both parties have shown that there is indeed cooperation, but it does not always run that smoothly. According to the Waterway Police this is mainly due to the non-user-friendly registers that are used to recruit interpreters. According to the interpreters, there is a lack of adequate training for the police in interpreter-mediated encounters.

Introduction

Communication between service providers of all kinds and people who need their services is vitally important. Moreover, when the person looking for such a service does not speak the language of the service provider, problems arise because the service cannot be assured properly. In many cases, the service provider tries to enable some form of communication in the dialogue through the help of a common language, an *ad hoc* interpreter or signs to make his message clear (Hale 2007). That is why we refer to this form of communication as dialogue interpreting. It is obvious that instances of highly infelicitous communication or even communication failure in any kind of social setting (be it legal, medical, social, asylum procedures, etc.) is a clear indication of a faulty service. One well-known example in which communication failed was the Coucke and Goethals trial in 1860. The case is documented as follows: both Dutch (Flemish) speaking men were sentenced to death because the trial was entirely held in French. This way, they had no access to justice because at that time in Belgian history, the *bourgeoisie* who had (financial and political) power, only spoke French and ignored the majority of Flemish speaking citizens. The language of the courts was also French. Even though Coucke and Goethals appeared to be innocent (because later the real offenders were caught and confessed), the sentence was a disgraceful consequence of bad interpreting by an *ad hoc* interpreter, namely a Luxembourgian *gendarme* who spoke badly French and Dutch while other sources speak of a sworn interpreter of Dutch. Moreover, even the defence did not speak or understand Flemish (Goethem 1980; De Lentdecker 1987). This led to the Coremans Act, the first in a long series of language legislation pieces in Belgium, allowing Flemish speaking citizens to use their own language at Flemish courts (not yet in Brussels). Up till today, the case is controversial and still the object of Flemish nationalism propaganda.[1]

Since the Nineties, several initiatives have been launched all over the world in Australia (NAATI), in the USA and Canada (Critical Link) and in Europe (mostly Scandinavian countries and the UK) to professionalize Community Interpreting or Public Services Interpreting due to a new immigration policy (Pöchhacker 2004: 30). One of the initiatives was the foundation of "Critical Link" an international organisation whose aim is to achieve international cooperation, both regarding research and professional best practices, and to guarantee more professionalism in the interpreter-mediated medical, social and legal fields.

In addition to Critical Link, many other national and international initiatives and projects have been undertaken, the Directorate General Justice projects, involving KU Leuven, Antwerp campus as a research partner, being cases in point. As described in Salaets (2014), there is indeed a clear common ground in LI training and research: the main goal of the projects was firstly to design a curriculum for LI training and, secondly, to draw up national and international (at EU-level) standards for legal interpreters and translators (LIT) (Hertog/Vanden Bosch 2001). More detailed information can be found on the Eulita website or the website of the KU Leuven, Antwerp campus research group. In one of the most recent research projects, cooperation between policemen and court interpreters in Belgium and other European countries was mapped out. Following a comparative study of interpreted police questionings in six different countries, some recommendations were firstly formulated after which several videos were

1 Since most sources are in Dutch, some general information in English can be found on <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Coucke_and_Pieter_Goethals>.

recorded to demonstrate how interpreter-mediated questioning should be conducted at a police station (ImPLI – project 2012)[2]. These videos are now used in both interpreter and police training.

In this paper, we will specifically focus on cooperation between the specialised section of the Waterway police and the LIs in the legal district of Antwerp. Since this is a specialised section of police forces, it sheds another, more focused, light on dialogue interpreting in a more specific setting than ImPLI did. This section was chosen because we expect a higher need of interpreters (because of Antwerp Port, which is by definition a junction point of international traffic) than in the daily assignments of general police forces. To start, we will look into the legislation regarding the right to interpretation. Then we will describe the professionalization of LIs in Belgium, mentioning briefly the unique training programme for LIs in Antwerp. Before moving on to the actual research, we will explain how the Waterway Police works in the Antwerp district. Subsequently, we will discuss our research methodology and the results of our research in detail. Finally, we will try to formulate some recommendations to optimise cooperation between the LIs and the Waterway Police.

1. Legal interpreters

1.1 The right to interpretation

There are several conventions and laws in place both in European and Belgian legislation setting out the right to provision of services, including the assistance of an interpreter. Some rules and guidelines are provided with reference to linguistic items even in police codes of ethics. In the ECHR (European Convention of Human Rights) article 6 stipulates that everyone is entitled to a fair trial. To secure a fair trial some specific rights are mentioned, namely the right to free assistance by an interpreter if the person (anyone charged with a criminal offence) cannot understand or speak the language used in court (ECHR article 6 (3)).[3]

The ECHR shows us that everyone in the EU has a right to assistance by an interpreter when he does not understand the legal language of the court. The 2010/64/EU Directive is a well-known and often cited additional document that safeguards this right, a directive that was supposed to be implemented in the national law of every Member State by October 2013.[4] For this paper we are specifically interested in the communication between police officers and people who do not understand the languages that are used in the jurisdiction they find themselves in (courts or police stations). Amongst other stipulations, the right to interpretation in police hearings is mentioned (article 2).

2 <http://www.isit-paris.fr/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/IMPLI__Final__Report.pdf>.

3 <www.echr.coe.int>.

4 Belgium has published too late (December 19, 2014) a law on a National Register for sworn interpreters and translators, *Belgisch Staatsblad – Moniteur Belge* (Belgian Official Gazette), 19.12.2014, 104479-104484.

The fourth clause of the same article stipulates that the Member States should ensure a procedure or mechanism in order to check whether the suspected or accused person understands the legal language. A directive is binding upon each Member State but how the procedure or mechanism should work is not mentioned in the articles. This procedure or mechanism often poses a large problem, as will be shown below.

1.2 The professionalisation of LIT in Belgium

The European Member State we focus on in this contribution is Belgium. The professionalization process of LI started only in 1998: it was prof. Erik Hertog who had DG Justice research projects approved (meaning with financial support of the European Commission), which allowed him to set up training courses for LITs – as we will further explain – with the Ministry of Justice in collaboration with the Antwerp Court district, local police and Bar.[5] Moreover, this initiative was taken only in Antwerp, just one city in the Flemish part of the Federal State (with Flanders, Brussels and Wallonia as its main areas). The first goal of the first research project (Grotius) was to map the situation of LITs, its main goal being the drafting of international standards for Court Translators and Court Interpreters (Hertog/Vanden Bosch 2001: 14). Furthermore, the researchers involved in the project wanted to draw up a statute for LITs. The research partners of this first project and the numerous projects that followed, were very well aware of the fact that drawing standards is one thing. They also realised that it is another thing to find professionals who meet these standards and criteria: this would not be possible without serious awareness raising and sound training (Hertog 2001, 2003).

The aforementioned training course for LITs has been carried out since 1998 (see 2.3) but now, more than fifteen years later, there is still no legal statute for LIT in Belgium. There is a huge gap in institutional support and in Belgian legislation which results in Antwerp remaining a kind of "island", meaning it is the only place (with the districts of Turnhout and Mechelen) in the Federal State where the completion of the LITs course at KU Leuven, Antwerp is compulsory before a LIT can be sworn in (Giambruno 2014: 153-154). A clear example of this lack of institutional support and interest is the terminology used in Belgian legislation for a LI. Different notions such as "translator", "interpreter", "sworn translator" and "sworn interpreter" are used interchangeably (Vanden Bosch 1999: 14). However, in Belgian legislation, it is written that all the included parties (in an investigation, for example) who do not understand the language used should have access to a "sworn interpreter", whatever that may be.

Finally, a Belgian law on the creation of a National Register of sworn translators, interpreters and translators-interpreters was published in the Belgian Official Gazette on December 19, 2014. This was a – much delayed – answer to the

5 More information can be found on the Eulita website where the DG Justice projects of the late Nineties (Grotius I & II, Agis I & II) and their outcomes through publications are described. This meant the start of the actual LITs training programme in Antwerp.

request of quality in the already mentioned 2010/64/EU Directive. Belgium will have (in the best case scenario) a law that enters into force in December 2016 only. Amendments are already proposed by different interest groups. Above all, according to the most important critique, it is not clear what the exact requirements are to be on the register, apart from agreeing with the ethical code that will be drafted by the King (Chapter 5, article 21, comma 7); having "obtained any diploma or valuable experience of at least 2 years" and legal knowledge (Chapter 5, article 25, comma 1 & 2). A level of knowledge of the languages to be used in the interpreting task, neither interpreting nor translating competences, heuristics, methodology or knowledge of the legal terminology are established. Yet this is a first step, but it has been established too late and in a very vague and general way. Besides that, a national register is not the only requirement of the 2010/64/EU directive to be complied with!

1.3 Training programme, code of ethics and register in Antwerp

As will become clear in this section, a number of efforts have been made to provide a training programme in Antwerp and to draw up a code of ethics for LIs. We specifically mention Antwerp as a case because it is the only place in Belgium where such a fully-fledged LI training programme of 150 hours exists (and has been in place for 15 years). In collaboration with interpreting and translation trainers, terminologists, lawyers, judges and police officers, the training has been conceived as follows:

- Legal education and training
- Legal Dutch and terminology
- Legal Interpreting
- Legal Translation
- Police hearings with an interpreter

Before the students can participate in the training, they are screened for their language skills. Both their levels of Dutch and the foreign languages are tested. When the students pass the tests, they can start the training, which is only given in Dutch. After completion of the training, students have to pass exams for the different parts of the training mentioned above.[6]

One very important training method and learning tool which is practised both in the LI module and in the police hearings module is role play: the central element of training comprises cooperation with the police officers, and the attitude and impartiality of the interpreter.

Finally, when the student completes the training and passes the subsequent exams, he is awarded a LIT certificate (one can also choose to become either a legal translator or a legal interpreter only). Next, the name of the trainee is handed

6 More information (but exclusively in Dutch) can be found on <http://www.arts.kuleuven.be/home/opleidingen/manamas/gerechtsvertalen__tolken>.

on to the public prosecutor's office at the court. There the trainee will be screened by the public prosecutor's office before taking the oath before the Court of First Instance (Belgian legal term and institution). The name of the certified LIT will be added to a list of sworn interpreters/translators that is administered by the Court of First Instance in Antwerp only after he has signed the legal translator and/or legal interpreter code of ethics.

This code of ethics has been drafted for the court district of Antwerp and every new interpreter or translator who is added to the list has to sign it. The main articles or principles of the code for interpreters are:

- The interpreter shall not change, omit or add anything
- The interpreter shall remain impartial
- The interpreter shall stay neutral and shall not engage in private conversation with the persons in question
- The interpreter is sworn to secrecy
- The interpreter shall respect the code of ethics both during the execution of his job and during his private life

As Hakkala pointed out in one of her studies, the principle of neutrality is very important in guaranteeing correct police interview procedure and in ensuring both the safety of the interpreter and the safety of the foreign speaker:

> staff status within the police organization would undermine the interpreters' neutrality [...] Too close an association with the police organization may stigmatise interpreters as an extension of the police force in a manner that endangers the interpreters' personal safety and inviolability (Hakkala 2004: 176).

In this way, at least in Antwerp, the attempt is made at preventing service providers or legal actors, like police officers, from having to rely on *ad hoc* interpreters (bilinguals who speak two languages but have received no training, are not aware of any code of ethics and have not even undergone any language screening) in order to communicate. With our research, we want to see if this working method is actually applied during real life situations in this rather privileged context of Antwerp (as only town in Belgium with certified LITs), more specifically in the Antwerp Port and surroundings. But first we have to outline the structure of the Waterway Police in Belgium/Flanders.

2. The Waterway Police in Belgium

2.1 Local and Federal police structures

The Belgian police force is structured at two levels, i.e. Federal and Local police, which taken together are known as an integrated police force. The Local Police will not be dealt with here, since it has no bearing on our research area. Both levels work autonomously and independently (from each other). They have their own policies and are responsible for the territories in which they have jurisdiction. Even though both levels are autonomous, there is close cooperation between the two.

The Federal Police operate throughout Belgium which means the whole country, all the inland waterways, all ports and the territorial sea which stretches 12 nautical miles from the coast line. To carry out all these tasks, the Federal Police requires good general leadership. The Federal Police consists of the Criminal Investigation Department and three general directorates which have central offices and services both in Brussels and in the districts.

2.2 The Waterway Police (WWP): territory and issues

The Waterway Police is a specialised department within the administrative Federal Police and comprises five sections namely, Antwerp, Ostend, Ghent, Zeebruges and Liège. Furthermore, they receive support from the Technical Support Team or TST and a maritime information databank. This is worth mentioning because we could maybe expect that a database of sworn interpreters is managed by this TST (among other things). We identified indeed exchanges of each other's so-called "lists of interpreters" (these are not official registers).

As was mentioned before, the WWP has jurisdiction for all Belgium. The black lines on the chart below indicate the borders of each section. The red arrows mark the borders with the Netherlands and the blue arrows mark the borders with France. The waterways have a blue, red, green, or white colour depending on their size. The abbreviation PTW-K stands for "Politie te Water-Kust" (or Police for Water-Coast).

Figure 1. Sections of the WWP in Belgium (source: chief of Police Jochen Willems)

We will not explain down to the last detail how the Waterway Police work in Belgium, but we will give a brief outline of the National Security Plan. Every four years, all the sections of the Waterway Police and the authorities involved, such as the Local Police, Justice and Home Affairs, meet to discuss the main safety problems or issues. The main safety problems that the Waterway Police are charged with are: theft, drugs, immigration, migrant smuggling, human trafficking and terrorism. As we will explain later, our research focused on the sections of the Waterway Police who specifically deal with safety problems involving immigration and those who deal with migrant smuggling and human trafficking. The intervention of interpreters is needed in such cases.

2.3 Training programmes for the police in Belgium

The last point that must be discussed briefly concerns the training programmes for police officers in Belgium. Each person who wants to work at local or federal level needs to have completed a basic training programme at an officially recognised police academy. Logically, the basic training programme for every degree is different.[7] When the police officers want to work for the Waterway Police, they additionally have to attend a specific training procedure that consists of 5 courses (294 hours). In these courses, the main principles of the maritime world are set out in minute detail.

For the purposes of our research, we carefully examined all the different basic and specific training programmes for police officers, inspectors and chief inspectors. We can conclude that the students are mainly instructed about the police world, the maritime world and the port infrastructure. During none of the training sessions were they instructed on communication problems or how to work with foreign speakers. Former Chief of Police Dirk Rombouts, who is also a trainer at the Antwerp police academy, confirmed our conclusion. Some changes slowly came about and some classes on how to work with an interpreter were started thanks to the educational film (ImPLI) mentioned earlier and a manual of which Mr. Rombouts is co-author, entitled: *Legal Interpreters: manual for police and legal experts in a multilingual context* (Salaets *et al.* 2014). In the meantime, the authorities in Brussels are reforming and improving basic training for policemen in Belgium.

3. Field research and data collection

3.1 Research questions and methodology

For our research, we investigated how the police and LIs cooperate in practice. The main objective of this research strives for a better understanding of the collaboration between the Antwerp Waterway Police and the LIs. Thus, the central

7 <http://police.ac.be>.

question is as follows: "How does the collaboration between the Waterway Police and LIs proceed?"

The sub-questions are as follows:

Are the police officers and court interpreters aware of the operation procedures of the other party?

Are there any specific conditions required to be fulfilled by one of the parties for successful collaboration?

And finally, how can the collaboration be improved?

For a better understanding of the collaboration between the Waterway police and the LIs and in order to get acquainted with these procedures, we did some exploratory research (Boeije *et al.* 2009: 254). Before interviewing the respondents, it is important for the researchers to collect sufficient background information. This involves studying not only the literature on language legislation, immigration and court interpreters in Belgium, but also information regarding the police in Belgium. Scholarly literature in that domain was scarce and resulted in advanced research being carried out by the researchers, which consisted of a similar study of the literature, supported by references from the Federal Police. This advanced research also involved a period of observation: we were allowed to participate in patrols with intervention teams on water and land and intervention teams which check ships hiding stowaways. The findings were recorded in an observation report. Based on these findings, we were able to set up our research, i.e. writing out the interview questions.

Moreover, we also included the attitudes, the underlying wishes, expectations and needs of the respondents in our research. Therefore, qualitative research was conducted to delve deeper into certain matters. One disadvantage was the reduction in the number of respondents who could be interviewed, but the interviews enabled the researcher to assess personal experience and feelings. Individual interviews allow interviewees to be free from giving answers under peer pressure which might occur in a focus group (Evers/De Boer 2012: 39). Subsequently, the researchers opted for semi-structured interviews, using a number of themes which were selected in advance as guidelines. The researchers built up queries based on these themes. The way in which the questions were structured also plays an important role (Brinkman 2000: 68-77). In open questions, respondents have absolute freedom in constructing an answer corresponding to their own personality. On the other hand, closed questions only allow respondents to choose from a list of possible answers. An advantage of closed questions is that all final answers can be subjected to facilitated comparison. Thus, this improves reliability and comparability. A disadvantage of closed questions is that they do not always correspond to the specific situation of the interviewee, thereby creating a validity problem (Brinkman 2000: 68-77). The researchers used both open and closed questions for the interview. Additionally, the researchers also made use of a few statements that the respondents could either agree or disagree on followed by a subsequent justification of their choice. The questions and statements will be discussed and accounted for in detail below.

Following an analysis of the interviews, all the respondents' answers were coded and divided in categories. As the researchers drafted the questions and conducted the interviews themselves, this could have led to subjective interpretations of the results. To prevent this, triangulation was opted for: another person, who was not involved in the research, was asked to analyse and categorise the answers to the interview questions in order to establish an objective final result. Both analyses were then compared and merged to obtain an objective judgment (Hertog *et al.* 2006: 128).

3.2 A description of the corpus

To keep the research synoptic, the corpus must be limited, keeping in mind the target of the research and the main research question to be addressed. The boundaries of the research domain must be limited by determining who will belong to the research population (Fisher/Julsing 2009: 30-40). In the next section, we will explain which respondents our research population consists of.

Group 1 – Respondents: the police

For this research project, six chief inspectors and four inspectors of the Antwerp division were interviewed. These police officers were chosen because of their involvement with questionings concerning foreigners and thus, with cooperation with LIs. These inspectors are in charge of the department for theft and carry out intervention operations. They were specifically chosen due to their frequent interactions with foreigners as they are often called to a scene, after which interrogation follows. The chief inspectors who were interviewed are in charge of the immigration department and border control. The immigration department and border control was selected due to their interactions with stowaways and illegal immigrants who are often allophone speakers. Furthermore, these chief inspectors were chosen because of the specific tasks they are responsible for. They are consulted by other staff members to recruit an interpreter and – along with the interpreter – are usually also involved in the questioning. All the inspectors of the Antwerp WWP who were interviewed had previous experience in working with interpreters

To conclude, all the data provided by the respondents were rendered anonymous. On the other hand, the rank and function of the members of the police were made public in the results as these data play an essential role in the analysis of the answers. The corpus of interviews involves ten members of the WWP whose positions are encoded as follows:

Chief Inspector **A** Immigration and border	Inspector **A** Intervention
Chief Inspector **B** Immigration and border	Inspector **B** Intervention
Chief Inspector **C** Specific tasks	Inspector **C** Theft
Chief Inspector **D** Specific Tasks	Inspector **D** Theft
Chief Inspector **E** Specific Tasks	
Chief Inspector **F** Specific Tasks	

Table 1. Respondents: interviewees of the WWP

Group 2 – Respondents: legal interpreters

To investigate collaboration between the Waterway Police and the legal interpreters, it was important to interview interpreters who had previous experience in collaborating with members of the police or the Waterway Police. As a result, the researchers asked police respondents if they keep records of the legal interpreters they previously collaborated with (names, telephone numbers, etc.). After many attempts to reach out to legal interpreters, the researchers only found three court interpreters who were willing to participate in the research. Other interpreters were unavailable, had changed profession or were not able to participate due to an excessive amount of interpretation work. All the interpreters interviewed can be found on the official list of the BVT office (office of sworn translators and interpreters) in Antwerp.

The interpreters were also ensured the utmost anonymity. When the abbreviation WWP follows the word 'interpreter', this means that the interpreter has already had previous experience in collaborating with the Waterway police. The sample thus consists of 5 interpreters of whom 3 have already collaborated with the Waterway Police. Apart from being a legal interpreter, interpreter C WWP is also a police officer in Antwerp:

Interpreter A WWP	Interpreter D
Interpreter B WWP	Interpreter E
Interpreter C WWP	

Table 2. Respondents: LIs interviewees

3.3 Clarification regarding the interviews and the statements

Interviews: Waterway Police

The semi-structured format that was used to interview the Waterway Police officers was first tested in three pilot interviews. The individuals who participated in these test interviews were two women who work at a local police department and an inspector who works at a department of the WWP, who in fact was ultimately not interviewed for the final research. After carrying out the pilot interviews, some questions were eliminated or adjusted and new questions were added in order to improve clarity of the questions for the police officers. The interview contained 5 sections: questions asking for personal information, questions designed to gain information on the education of the person, questions about procedures to follow and finally queries about communication during an initial conversation/questioning and about the interpreter in this communication. Since this was our main focus, only the last part will be illustrated in detail: first of all, questions were asked about recruitment (how, when, who), about briefing beforehand, about the introduction of the interpreter to the third party and about the general development of the communication (about problems that can arise and about the smoothness of the intervention).

After the interview, we submitted some statements to the respondents from the WWP, which will be outlined in the next paragraph.

Statements: Waterway Police

The statements form the second part of the qualitative research. This method is often used to allow a respondent to create an opinion in a (often exaggerated) description of a situation. The respondent must indicate to what degree he agrees or disagrees with a statement applied to him (Brinkman 2000: 70). The researchers made arbitrary statements and tested them just as they tested the interviews in the pilot group. Based on the statements, the researchers then investigated to what degree the respondents were aware of the interpreter's code of ethics and operation procedures. Since each interview had already taken a considerable amount of time, the researchers presented only four statements. These statements are set out below:

Theme	Statements
Operation procedure interpreter	(1) When I conduct questionings with an interpreter, I find it difficult to understand the non-verbal information of the other party since the interpretation always follows later (consecutive mode).
Operation procedure interpreter	(2) When I work with an interpreter during questioning I always address myself as 'I' and make eye-contact with the other party.

Impartiality interpreter	(3) When the interpreter and the other party are of the same nationality, I sometimes have my doubts about the faithfulness of the interpretation.
Impartiality interpreter	(4) Sometimes, I ask the interpreter his opinion on the other party. After all, the interpreter speaks the same language as the interviewee and is aware of his culture.

Table 3. Statements presented to the police officers

Interviews: Interpreters

The questions in the semi-structured interview for the interpreters had also been subjected to multiple test interviews beforehand. Two students from the Master in Interpreting and Legal Interpreting who already have a few years of working experience in the Antwerp district provided feedback. After the pilot interviews, some questions were eliminated or adjusted and new questions were added to allow legal interpreters to understand the questions better and provide a corresponding answer (Taylor *et al.* 2006: 84). The questions were then put in a final draft after all interviews with the police inspectors and head inspectors were completed. The interview contained 4 sections: questions asking for personal information, questions designed to gain information on the education of the person, questions about interpreting procedures to follow and finally queries about the interpreters in their communication with the police. These final sections also contained questions about recruitment, briefing beforehand, about introduction of the interpreter, seating arrangements, about problems that arise during communication and how they are subsequently solved by the interpreter.

Statements: Interpreters

For the reasons cited above, the second part of the qualitative research with the interpreters also consists of statements and followed the same research trajectory (piloting, etc.). The researchers used the same statements which were used for the police in order to assess the interpreters' opinions on these themes. The four statements are outlined below:

Theme	Statement
Operation procedure Interpreter	(1) When I interpret a questioning, I allow the other party to describe his story in a few sentences while taking notes. Subsequently, I interpret. If the other party talks too much, I interrupt in order to be able to interpret.

Operation procedure Interpreter	(2) When I interpret a questioning, the police officer always addresses himself/herself as 'I' and makes eye-contact with the third party. Subsequently, I also interpret by using 'I'.
Impartiality Interpreter	(3) When I feel that the other party is lying or only discloses a part of the information, I inform the police officers.
Impartiality Interpreter	(4) Sometimes, the police officer asks for my opinion on the other party as I speak the same language and share the same culture. I thus provide the police officer with more explanations.

Table 4. Statements presented to the legal interpreters

4. Discussion of the results

In this section we will summarise the results of this research in precise terms, provide answers to the research questions and formulate recommendations for the police force and court interpreters. Finally, we will also provide recommendations for further research.

Firstly, concerning the demographic compilation of the police corps, we note that the age of the respondents and the years of experience they accumulated at different departments is striking: all respondents were older than 35, and had at least 10 and maximum 30 years of experience. We can thus conclude that the corps of the Antwerp Waterway Police is fairly heterogeneous but shares a considerable amount of experience as a common factor. The group of respondents among the legal interpreters was also rather diverse: four of the five respondents were between the age of 30 and 45; but again an average of 12 years of experience was noted, which is a not negligible factor. The fifth respondent was older than 60 and had more than 30 years of experience as an interpreter.

When analysing the answers concerning education, we noticed that the education received at the Gendarmerie, Navy School or the police school by inspectors and chief inspectors was extremely diverse. On the other hand, the interpreters had all taken the same LI course at KU Leuven, Antwerp campus (then Lessius UC).

The third and fourth sections were related to interacting with foreigners, the procedures to be followed with an interpreter and collaboration between interpreters and police officers during an interrogation. The analysis provided an array of different answers which we will discuss in the next paragraph.

As was mentioned before, we formulated three research questions which we will now try to answer.

4.1 Q1: Are the police officers and court interpreters aware of the operation procedures of the other party?

A simple "yes" or "no" cannot be given as an answer. The police officers are definitely aware of a few of the interpreters' operation procedures; however, some remain completely elusive. Firstly, all respondents were convinced that interpreters must remain impartial and that only the actual dialogue can be interpreted (see statement three and four for the police). These principles were also upheld by the interpreters. All interpreters disagreed with statement three and found that only the actual dialogue can be interpreted. They also indicated that the police expect them to remain impartial and not pass judgement on the interviewee during a questioning. The neutrality and impartiality principle are also set out in the legal interpreters' code of ethics. Both the interpreters and the police officers are undoubtedly aware of these principles. Even so, our research revealed that police officers still often call on *ad hoc* interpreters. All police officer respondents replied that during an initial contact with foreign language speakers (FL), they all look for a common language such as French, German or English in order to communicate. In case a common language is not found, 80% of the police officers make an appeal to an *ad hoc* interpreter. This *ad hoc* interpreter is often a colleague of the police officers, a family member or a friend of the interviewee. As shown in literature (Hale 2007: 161), we can confirm that family members or volunteers still are used as *ad hoc* interpreters instead of professional interpreters.

The interview results also showed that police officers are well aware of the administrative aspect of recruiting an interpreter. All police officers stated that they always have to follow the "Salduz Act" (the suspect has the right to have a lawyer present during questioning by the police) and mentioned the need to contact the public prosecutor's office. They also declared that they have to consult the official register at the public prosecutor's office to recruit an interpreter. Yet, when we asked about the actual practice, 50% of the respondents revealed that they consult a self-made "list" or one from a colleague to recruit an interpreter. Furthermore, even the interpreters stated that the police contacted them by telephone first; incidentally, they were consulted when they happened to be present at the police office. Despite the fact that both parties consider the neutrality principle highly important, it was remarkable how they did not put it into practice themselves and preferred their "own" interpreters. In relation to this, we have already mentioned Hakkala's research (2004), in which it was established that whenever the same interpreters are frequently recruited to interpret at the police office, the neutrality principle might be endangered. This is an idea or a conviction that must be challenged though, like for example Salaets, Balogh and Rombouts explain in their manual for the users of court interpreters (meaning legal actors and police officers) when they ask the question if the same interpreter should be used throughout the whole procedure (pre-trial and trial). They consequently compare "with" or "without foreknowledge of the case" and subsequently indicate the advantages and the disadvantages of hiring the same interpreter (Salaets *et al.* 2014: 97-99). It can be summarised as follows: the advantages of having the same interpreter throughout the procedure is that he does not need much additional briefing, he is prepared to use particular terminology (legal, technical, medical and other) and is not easily shocked by content because he knows the case. Knowing the discourse styles of the speakers can also aid his performance. The disadvantages are precisely what Hakkala points out: it is possible that the interpreter is too familiar with the case or *thinks* he knows the last detail of the case already. Impartiality could be endangered, even with a professional interpreter:

> professional interpreters will be able to work perfectly at different stages of the case. Yet there can be involuntary non-verbal conduct that is difficult to control and that can "betray" the feelings of the interpreter. An interpreter is not a machine. It is possible that he blushes because of anger or shame or that he starts to sweat because of fear or tension. This doesn't mean that the impartiality is violated on purpose, but the fact is that the interpreter has given unintentionally some additional information. (Salaets *et al*. 2014: 98) (*our translation*).

The second practical point that gave rise to difficulties was the interpreter's introduction in which he explains his role. 40% of the police officers stated that they introduce the interpreter who then immediately interprets. But not every police respondent confirmed that he introduces the interpreter. The interpreters confirmed these conclusions made by the researchers following the analysis of the police interviews. However, a proper introduction is considered very important by all the interpreters. Yet, they do not always get the chance to explain their role, tasks and principles as mentioned in the code of ethics.

The third practical point that was mainly mentioned by the interpreters was the seating arrangement. In order to guarantee neutrality, all interpreters attempt to sit between the police officers and the interviewee, according to the triad setup. They also indicated that it is not always easy to keep to these seating arrangements during questioning. In a few interviews with the police officers, the topic regarding seating arrangements did arise, but not in all interviews. Depending on the situation, the interpreter was seated in three different positions: next to the interviewee, next to the police officers or somewhere in between the parties.

4.2 Q2 Are there any specific conditions required to be fulfilled by one of the parties for successful collaboration?

Here multiple problems arose in relation to these conditions. The first problem was mentioned by the police officers. Question16 in particular, i.e. "Do problems sometimes arise when looking for an interpreter?" was answered positively by all respondents. To begin with, 90% of the police officers indicated that they contacted interpreters who appeared not to be available. Subsequently, 50% of the respondents also mentioned that the interpreter could not be reached by telephone when contacted. A huge responsibility lies within the register of interpreters. According to 50% of the police officers, the list is often not up to date. Cases in which interpreters were contacted resulted in either reaching people who had changed profession or at non-existent telephone numbers. To conclude, some languages proved to be more problematic than others. The respondents listed

Chinese as one of these languages of lesser diffusion (LLD, also known as "exotic languages"). One of the interpreters who was in charge of one of the LLDs also mentioned that he is often recruited for different assignments at the same time and thus had to refuse some of them.

A problem which is often associated with this was mentioned by the interpreters and concerns the recruitment of the interpreter who speaks the required language. Three of the five respondents indicated that they have been recruited on multiple occasions for situations in which the FL is not the one they speak (or a variant). Some interpreters then refuse to interpret on the spot as confusion arises regarding whether Berber or Standard Arabic is required, for example. Other interpreters interpret French whilst French was only used as a contact language by the FL speaker. When the knowledge of French appeared to be sufficient to interpret, the interpreter accomplished his task. Interpreters indicated that they would inform the police officers in cases of insufficient knowledge of the contact language (French or English).

Another problem pointed out by the interpreters was that they had learned to introduce themselves before interpreting a conversation. Important principles and operation procedures they mention in their introduction were often neglected in practice. According to the interpreters, police officers are not familiar with situations in which the interpreter gives an elaborate introduction and they attribute this problem to a lack of education or awareness at police academies about how to collaborate with interpreters.

To conclude, another difficulty was mentioned by both interpreters and police officers. Except for one interpreter, all respondents have experienced communication problems during questioning. The communication then becomes less smooth – a fact that was also noticed by the police officers. 50% of the police inspectors and chief inspectors stated that an interrogation in collaboration with an interpreter was often less smooth compared to a questioning in Dutch because of the slow interpreting process and the difficulties that arose from that interpreting process. In addition, they mentioned that such factors as the kind of questioning and the behaviour of the interviewee also play a role.

4.3 Q3 How can collaboration between the WWP and LI be improved?

The results gleaned for this third research question will be outlined in a set of recommendations for the police and for legal interpreters.

Given the answers to the previous research questions, we can state that there is room for improvement regarding collaboration between police officers and legal interpreters.

First and foremost, it was useful for the researchers to inquire into the education and training of legal interpreters and inspectors and chief inspectors in the Antwerp Police Academy. Our research has shown that 90% of the police officers never had any training in collaborating with interpreters. Approximately 80% of the police officers did agree that they would have liked to have had some training. They therefore suggest that it would be extremely useful that practice sessions be held with interpreters and that an interpreter organisation be invited to further explain their operation procedures. This is commonly defined as *joint training*. For example, one could invite student inspectors and chief inspectors to presentations by legal interpreters: this would allow both parties to practise under supervision of professional interpreters and police officers who have already participated in the training. In a joint training module, police officers could observe the procedure in which an interpreter introduces himself at the beginning of questioning and become aware of seating arrangements. On the other hand, one could turn this into an interaction module by inviting interpreters to the lectures on "questioning techniques and communication" which are taught at the Antwerp Police Academy. In such a manner, the interpreters would be able to learn about the interview techniques used by police officers. The police officers indicated that interpreter mediated questioning is often not as fluent because interpreters use different techniques. This awareness raising for interpreters of the nature of police interview discourse is repeatedly stated by Nakane (2014) throughout the whole publication on interpreter-mediated police interviews, but we quote one of the conclusive ideas:

> the present study suggests that the mediation process is likely to improve if interpreters approach police interviews as a genre that may contain competing versions of events over which the primary speakers engage in a negotiation of power. Such awareness, which experienced and trained police interpreters would have, facilitates accurate interpreting that maintains both semantic and pragmatic equivalence. […] It is recommended that police interpreter training include developing awareness of the police interview as a process of story construction. (Nakane 2014: 220).

If this were part of a joint training module, during these practice sessions the police officers and the interpreters could then seek the cause of the communication problems together and decide how they could be avoided in the future. A concrete example of such a joint training is one of the ImPLI instruction movies of the ImPLI project that can be consulted freely through Youtube. The German video of the Fachhochshule Köln shows exactly how this collaboration between interpreter students and police officer students can be achieved. Also the results of the Co-Minor-IN/QUEST – project on interpreter mediated questioning of minors show that joint training with legal actors (be they police officers, youth lawyers and youth judges), child support workers, psychologists and interpreters all together can be very beneficial. All information can be downloaded at the project website and consulted in the final publication (Balogh/Salaets 2015).

5. Conclusion

By way of conclusion we would like to formulate some final remarks and thoughts.

First of all, the outcomes of the current research cannot be held representative for the collaboration between the Waterway Police and legal interpreters in Antwerp, and therefore it is obvious that even more general conclusions cannot be taken on the grounds of this small scale research.

Secondly, because of the limited space for this current contribution that would ideally need additional information to connect with the Belgian/Flemish and even Antwerp situation that is unknown to readers, we could not refer extensively to other international research we are aware of specifically on police interpreting like Perez and Wilson (2007, 2011) or Nakane (2014), to name just a few more recent publications. Neither could we go more into detail regarding pedagogy of interpreting in the community in a more general way like in Rudvin and Tomassini (2011), or regarding pedagogy in legal interpreting where a lot of best practices can be found in several projects like TRAFUT (Training for the Future) and BMT (Building Mutual Trust) 1 & 2 where KU Leuven, Antwerp campus was involved. An overview of all these research projects and outcomes can be found on the EULITA website.

The third conclusive thought is linked to the previous one: it may result contradictory to the reader that, although in Antwerp training for legal interpreters is provided and a local Antwerp register with certified and sworn interpreters is available, collaboration between the police and legal interpreters is not obvious. Although other previous international research indicates that these are regular problems, we were surprised to encounter them still in Antwerp: what can we expect then from the rest of Flanders and /or Belgium? For example, despite the fact that Waterway police officers and interpreters think that impartiality is very important in interpreter mediated encounters and despite the fact that the ethical code is part of the LIT training in Antwerp (KU Leuven, Antwerp campus), Water Way police officers still prefer *ad hoc* interpreters they call from *self made* lists. They do not seem to be aware of the risks they incur concerning impartiality and the gap there is between what one strongly desires or even claims (impartiality) and reality (*ad hoc* interpreters like personal preferred interpreters, family members and friends of the interviewee that act as an interpreter etc.). Other frequently encountered problems are the availability of interpreters – due to obsolete registers or personal lists that are not updated – the recognition of the right language (or regional/local variant) in which police officers need translation and the lack of knowledge of questioning techniques from the interpreter's side.

A lot of these issues could be solved if the authorities took to heart two fundamental recommendations.

The first one is linked to the European guideline 2010/64/EU. Both police officers and interpreters have sounded the alarm in calling for improvement to the current recruitment system for interpreters. The interpreters do not find the system versatile and indicated that having to be constantly available puts them under a lot of pressure. Of course, most of these problems could be solved with the creation of a *national register for sworn interpreters and translators.* As said before, a law was published in 2014, but it still needs improvement. A register must be linked to quality and training and that is where the problem still lies in Belgium.

The next recommendation is the logical consequence of the first one: *the title of legal interpreter must be protected and his function must be regulated.* As long as there is no national/federal policy on the matter, Belgium will bring up the rear concerning these matters as indicated by the latest CEPEJ-report (European Commission for the Efficiency of Justice) of 2014. There we can see that amongst the

45 member states of the European Council that are asked for information (p. 6), Belgium is one of the few countries (together with e.g. Turkey, Bulgaria and Estonia) where the title of court interpreter is not protected and the function is not regulated (p. 456).

If we want to avoid going in circles and bumping into the same problems over and over again, Belgium policy makers have to move from words to deeds.[8]

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Two modes of practice in dialogue-interpreter training: adding live practice in the interpreting booth alongside traditional face-to-face training

Anu Viljanmaa
University of Tampere (Finland)

Abstract

The article explores students' views and thoughts on two distinct ways of training students in dialogue interpreting (DI) by looking at a combination of the more traditional method of face-to-face training (which utilises simulated real-life DI situations in a classroom environment) with a 'semiremote' method involving simultaneous-interpreting booths used for consecutive DI. At the University of Tampere, DI is a mandatory course for all students of translation and interpreting at BA level. On the basis of two semi-structured interviews with senior DI teachers and the author's experience in teaching DI, a questionnaire was created and a survey conducted among DI students focusing on students' views of practising DI in the booth alongside traditional in-classroom practice. The survey focused on learning (sub)skills involved in DI and on comparing the two training methods used in the course. The findings indicate that using in-booth practice as an additional training method can actually serve students even better than DI teachers had initially expected.

Introduction

In this article, dialogue interpreting (DI) is understood in broad terms as the opposite of monologue interpreting. More specifically, the term is used to refer to dialogic consecutive interpreting situations that take place in interaction with at least two parties in communication (see also Kutz 2010: 218 on "*bilaterales Dolmetschen*", *bilateral interpreting*). With such a broad definition, the concept is not limited to use as a synonym for public service interpreting (PSI); instead, it can be used to cover a rather large landscape of different interpreting situations in dialogue settings encompassing business negotiations, interpreting in court, broadcast interviews, etc. These "seemingly disparate event types" share several common features that are related to dialogic interaction, as characterised by Mason (2001: ii-iii). They are all three-way interactions (a dyadic communication situation turning into triadic communication, with the interpreter playing a more or less active and visible role in the shaping of communication, turn-taking etc.), often taking place "at the intersection of competing discourses" and with questions relating to distribution of power exerting "a determining influence on who says what, when and how" (*ibid.*). These aspects pose unique requirements on the interpreter.

In addition, DI is typically performed face to face, with all parties – including the interpreter – physically present on site.[1] In face-to-face human communication, interpersonal communication skills (Hargie 2011) play a crucial role in getting the message across. There is no doubt that also dialogue interpreters have to possess good interpersonal communication skills to "manage the interactive aspects of dialogue settings" (Russell/Takeda 2015: 108) and to achieve true mastery of their task of enabling communication across language and culture boundaries in these situations, where dialogue evolves on the spot only and the unexpected is always to be expected (Bahadir 2009: 30; Kutz 2010: 219).

From the point of view of the interpreter, in addition to the previous features, yet another characteristic of DI situations – as opposed to (consecutive and simultaneous) monologue interpreting – is that at least consecutive DI almost always includes working in both directions between the two languages (Russell/Takeda 2015: 104), i.e. the interpreter has to switch quickly and repeatedly between languages (A→B, B→A),[2] whereas in most monologue interpreting the interpreter usually only works unidirectionally (B/C→A or A→B). Therefore, honing skills in reacting quickly (Kutz 2010: 219) and in language-direction change should be part of the training provided for DI students, in addition to improving the students' interpersonal communication skills.

Training students in DI often employs such techniques as creating and/or simulating authentic dialogue and face-to-face communication situations in the classroom; it "is taught on the basis of how it is practised in the real world" (Russell/Takeda 2015: 107) (cf. the use of mock conferences in conference-interpreter training). However, often in these situations, only one student at a time can act as the interpreter, i.e., practise actual interpreting in the classroom. The amount of practice per student and feedback from teachers per student often remains small. At the same time, it is recognised that a great deal of practice and repetition is needed if one is to gain genuine *interpreting competence* (Kalina 2000:

1 A different situation occurs when the interpreter is absent and available to the communicating parties by telephone only, for example. In these cases, the constraints and demands on the dialogue interpreter's competence are of another sort, since the interpreter can rely only on what is heard over the telephone and is, accordingly, deprived of all nonverbal clues and visible context of the communication situation.

2 Wittily described by Hietanen (2001: 288) as a "mental tennis match".

3-5; Kutz 2010, 2012), whether it is for conference interpreting or PSI. Today, however, university teachers of interpreting in many European countries face pressure to scale back on resources and contact hours even further (e.g. Gorm Hansen/Shlesinger 2007; Gorjanc/Pokorn 2013; Viljanmaa 2014; Viljanmaa in press). Since there seems to be a constant demand for greater efficacy in training, alternative options for interpreter training are regularly considered. Of course, there is always the possibility of increasing the number of practice hours each student spends in self-training sessions that include tapes or other recorded material outside actual interpreting classes. However, quite often these self-practice materials are not met with great enthusiasm by the students (see for example Gorm Hansen/Shlesinger 2007: 101), so new approaches are still being sought.

The present article addresses a practical issue related to the training of students in DI. An attempt is made to answer the question of which skills and subskills (cf. Kalina 2000) generally needed in DI could be practised in a semi-remote practice mode utilising the booth in the manner currently employed in DI courses at the University of Tampere in Finland. Drawing from two semi-structured interviews with DI teachers and electronic-questionnaire-based surveys of Finnish DI students at this university, the article attempts to explore how student interpreters themselves feel about practising DI in the booth with the interpreting situation in the classroom that they can observe, as compared to engaging in DI practice in the classroom while in the midst of that simulated live situation themselves. The paper also examines which (sub)skills the students felt that they could actually practise in the booth versus on the spot in the classroom.

For data triangulation reasons, DI teachers were interviewed first, providing information on their initial thoughts when they, several years back, started using in-booth training in the DI course obligatory for all translation and interpreting students at Tampere University (usually done in the second or third year of the students' BA studies; see §1). The DI student survey e-questionnaire for the first survey was created on the basis of the results of the DI-teacher interviews and the author's own experience in training students in this DI course. The e-questionnaire for a second follow-up survey was a slightly modified version which was based on the results of the first survey. This second and final survey was designed to confirm findings from the earlier survey work and was addressed to a new group of students.

Students' views on (sub)skills learned in the booth versus in the classroom may have pedagogical implications and, for example, enable teachers to focus more effectively on certain other (sub)skills in the classroom training (turn-taking management and different interpersonal communication skills, for example). Examining the students' perceptions can be useful also in efforts to make better use of the additional in-booth practice method. Finally, the joint use of the two practice methods might show improved results if future students became aware (at the metacognitive level) of actual skills that can be practised in the booth versus in the classroom (cf. role of *deliberate practice* in (conference) interpreter training; see Tiselius 2013).

1. Teaching an obligatory DI course at the University of Tampere

At the University of Tampere, DI is taught in a mandatory five-ECTS-credit[3] course in undergraduate studies for students focusing on translation and interpreting at the *School of Language, Translation and Literary Studies* (*LTL*). The course is part of the students' intermediate studies (second or third year of studies at BA level), and it allows students specialising in translation and interpreting to become acquainted with various commonplace DI situations (negotiations, interviews, information retrieval discussions, etc.). They train in DI with two teachers (native speakers of the students' A and B languages) using simulated DI cases in the classroom. After their undergraduate-level studies, students have the option of specialising in either translation or interpreting at the graduate level. A prerequisite for taking interpreting at the MA level is having obtained a certain minimum mark in the BA-level DI course. In addition to serving as a qualifier course in this regard, the obligatory undergraduate DI course is designed to give all students the opportunity to try interpreting and, at the same time, help them determine whether continuing with interpreting studies is a suitable path for their MA studies. Given the fact that the course is obligatory, the students taking it are a highly heterogeneous group with different backgrounds and attitudes to interpreting that range from fear and anxiety to great interest and zeal.

The intermediate-level DI course described above is currently organised for three language pairs at LTL: English–Finnish–English, German–Finnish–German, and Russian–Finnish–Russian. The course lasts 14 weeks for English and German or 28 weeks for Russian and comprises a total of 28 contact hours of teaching for English and German or 56 for Russian.[4] Class sessions are held weekly and last 90 minutes each (two academic teaching hours). The course is taught in the LTL interpreting studio, which is equipped with three booths. Simulated real-life cases that change from week to week are used as the basis for each training session in the classroom. Towards the end of the course, the authenticity of the interpreting exercises can be increased by leaving the classroom and organising 'interpreting field trips' to authentic settings. At field trips the location, speakers and/or audience are 'real' depending on the context and situation at hand (a guided tour in a museum or a church with own (teacher) or local guide, visit to the local market hall, a guided city tour offered to exchange students).

Classroom sessions, however, comprise the major part of the DI course. They are structured as follows: while one student at a time interprets the given case on the spot with the two teachers and/or two peer students acting as speakers, the remaining students practise interpreting the same dialogue in the booths. The size of the student group determines whether the students practise in the booths alone

3 Until spring 2012, the course was worth four ECTS credits.

4 The difference in contact hours between Russian and English/German stems partly from the slightly different course/class structure (there is more preparatory and reflexive work for DI students in the English and German classes) and partly from the higher number of students per course for Russian (up to 13 versus a maximum of eight per group for English/German) and therefore, an even smaller amount of practice with teacher feedback per student per session.

or with a peer. The students in the booths listen to the utterances of the parties in the classroom via the interpreting equipment (the classroom microphone is switched on whenever one of the primary parties speak) and interpret consecutively what they hear while the student in the classroom is interpreting (and the classroom microphone is switched off). After a set time, roles are switched: the student in the classroom goes into one of the booths and another student joins the speakers in the classroom.[5] The trainers always give feedback to the student in the classroom immediately after his or her performance, before the same dialogue is set forth with the next student.

Students in the booths act as if they were interpreting consecutively in the actual interactive dialogue setting between the two parties to the interpreted scenario, which they can see from the booth. However, they are not physically present and have only limited access to an interpreter's communication tools: for instance, they cannot ask the speaker for clarification or to repeat, affect the actual turn-taking (cf. Wadensjö 1998: 110, 127-133), or themselves use gestures, mimicking, or other non-verbal elements (see Kutz's "*parasprachliche Elemente der Dolmetschkompetenz*", 2012: 324–359) or check the listeners' non-verbal signals in order to know whether the interpreting has been understood. Furthermore, the students in the booths are unable to manage or control the time given for interpreting, as this is controlled by the interpreter outside: as soon as he or she is ready or has finished his or her turn, the microphone in the classroom is switched on, and one of the speakers continues. In this 'semi-remote' practice mode, the actual communication situation develops in real time before the DI students' eyes, and they can almost feel as though they are part of it. Their performances in the booth can be recorded for self-evaluation, and they are encouraged to give and ask each other for feedback to maximise what they get out of the exercise. They can also ask the teachers about vocabulary, phrases and idiomatic expressions during the breaks.

2. About the skills needed in DI and the teachers' views on in-booth practice

2.1 DI competence: Reflections on skills needed in DI

Speaking in general terms, the objective of all interpreter training (for conference or community settings) is helping students develop at least a minimum level of *interpreting competence* (e.g. Kutz 2010) which can then subsequently be developed into actual *interpreting expertise* while practising the profession (Albl-Mikasa 2013: 33; cf. also Tiselius 2013). Interpreting competence can be understood to consist of knowledge of how to act (*Handlungswissen*), innate personal abilities and characteristics (*Fähigkeiten*), and skills and subskills that can be practised and learnt (*Fertigkeiten*) (Kalina 1998: 222–223; Kutz 2010: 206). Interpreting involves

5 The described procedure applies as such for the German and English courses; the Russian course follows a slightly different procedure but still applies both in-booth and in-classroom practice as well.

complex processes that must be practised. In interpreter training, skills (e.g. note-taking) and subskills (e.g. analytical listening, public speaking, mnemonic skills) related to the interpreting competence can be practised separately at first (especially near the beginning of one's studies) and subsequently combined in a process proceeding from easier tasks to more demanding and complex ones (cf. Moser-Mercer 2008: 14 on examples of *scaffolding in interpreter training*).

Interpreting competence may take diverse forms, depending on the actual interpreting situation (Kutz 2012: 188). These forms involve different combinations of certain (sub)skills, knowledge and personal characteristics. Therefore, in a specific setting of DI – health care interpreting, for example – the required interpreting competence could be seen as consisting of, among other components, knowing how an interpreter should act and perform in line with professional standards in this field, knowing the preferable place to sit in this kind of triad communication situation (Felgner 2009: 59-65), owning personal characteristics that are suitable for interpreting in face-to-face situations in general (good innate interpersonal skills, emotional stability, etc.), and having achieved mastery of the relevant interpreting techniques (such as consecutive and/or possibly sight translation or chuchotage) with all the related skills and subskills (note-taking, listening and analysis skills, memory techniques, delivery, effective use of voice, prosody, etc.).

Mastering appropriate interpreting techniques is not merely about learning how to handle and coordinate all the relevant *interpreting efforts* (Gile 1995/2009: 160) – i.e. in consecutive interpreting the effort of listening and analysis, mnemonic operations, note-taking and note-reading, speech production, and the coordination of all these efforts (*ibid*.: 175-179) – it also entails a gradual development of *adaptive expertise* (as described in Moser-Mercer 2008), through which one's knowledge, skills, and subskills can be flexibly and quickly adapted to new and changing situations. Undoubtedly, adaptive expertise is something that is required even more from dialogue interpreters, who often find themselves in demanding dynamic face-to-face situations calling for *reflexive coordination* (cf. Baraldi/Gavioli 2012: 4-6) and "high flexibility in communicating and turn-taking strategies, integrating rationally learned communication principles with a readiness to meet the challenge of unexpected, contradictory, conflicting actions and adapt the strategies learned to every new case" (Bahadir 2009: 30). It is impossible to cover all these areas in a first DI course; however, what is possible, is to give the students a first idea of what DI interpreting could be and what it can require from the interpreter. Starting with training basic skills for "short consec" (Russell/Takeda 2015: 96) – i.e. attention and listening skills, memory techniques and note-taking – language and quick reaction skills, use of prosody and nonverbalics, vocabulary training with more common topics and then gradually proceeding to more complex ones (also ethically speaking) is a good base on which to build subsequent interpreting courses.

2.2 Trainers' views on in-booth practice of DI

The first part of the research object of this paper consisted of interviewing two senior teachers of DI at the University of Tampere: one who still teaches the Russian DI course and the other having taught the German DI course for many years (both with and without the semi-remote practice method). The interviews, which took a semi-structured form and lasted 55:36 and 27:48 minutes respectively, dealt with, among other matters, the skills the teachers considered necessary for most common types of DI (interviews, business negotiations etc.) and those, if any, that they expected the students could or actually would employ in the booth. They were also asked what the original reasons were for the use of the in-booth practice method at Tampere. The interviews were recorded and transcribed when necessary.

The German DI teacher replied that the in-booth training method was initially employed in the DI course with the objective of engaging the students who were not interpreting on the spot, instead of just leaving them to just wait for their turn. The Russian teacher, on the other hand, cited as one reason that students should receive as much practice as possible and that this came from also making use of the booths. In a post-presentation discussion at the KäTu Symposium 2013 (KäTu 2013), it became clear that the in-booth practice method had been used in (dialogue) interpreting classes in other translation and interpreting study programmes in Finland, too, exactly for both of these reasons.

When asked about the actual skills that could be learnt and are supposed to be practised in the booth, both teachers cited vocabulary training as one such skill. Quick switching between languages and language direction was pinpointed as another skill to be honed in the booth. In addition, the German teacher saw the in-booth practice as a good warm-up exercise for the actual on-the-spot training: it is better to speak and train your brain while waiting for your turn rather than simply listening to others and letting the anxiety and nervousness about your approaching turn grow. The relevance of the latter becomes clear if one considers the heterogeneity of the DI student groups in the course presented in this paper: being a course mandatory for everyone, it meant that the students would differ greatly in their attitudes towards interpreting: some expressing fear and trepidation, and others showing interest and even a passion for interpreting. Those not feeling comfortable with interpreting were thought to prefer the inbooth training method over in-classroom interpreting and to profit more from the in-booth practice (on account of nerves etc.). Nevertheless, it was deemed important to give all students a chance to practise as much as possible with both forms of training.

3. Survey 1

3.1 Research questions and hypotheses

On the basis of the interviews with DI teachers and the author's experience in teaching the same DI course for German and English students since 2009, the following research questions (marked with 'RQ') and hypotheses (marked with 'H') were formulated for the student-survey research.

> RQ1: What kind of skills or subskills (needed in DI) does the in-booth training method help to develop from the learner's point of view? What do students themselves think they practise in the booth versus in the classroom?
>
> H1: The in-booth training method is seen mainly as language training for listening comprehension and speech production, for improving vocabulary and/or learning how to switch or practise switching between the two languages quickly.
>
> RQ2: What do students themselves feel the differences are between practising DI in the booth and in the classroom? Which method is preferred and/or considered more useful, the inclassroom training or the in-booth training method (both obligatory), and why?
>
> H2: The in-classroom method is more authentic and therefore favoured by students who indicated that they liked interpreting (asked on the e-questionnaire). The in-booth method is less stressful and thus preferred by students who do not like interpreting in general or fear it.

3.2 Structure of the e-questionnaire, respondent data and response rate

The student-survey questionnaire was prepared in Finnish in the form of an electronic questionnaire for online completion (*e-lomake*). It featured six background questions, one tick-box item and seven open-ended questions on the two training methods used in the DI course. Finally, there were eight statements on the two training methods under investigation, with responses to be given on a five-level Likert scale.[6] In an effort to ensure data validity and at least partial triangulation of data, the questionnaire was designed in such a way that students were asked the open-ended questions about the training methods first and then, only after they had replied to these questions, shown the statements (based on the teachers' views) about the same topics. This option was selected to prevent the ready-made statements from influencing student responses to the open-ended questions. Although it was not technically possible to prevent respondents from returning to the previous page and altering their responses to the open-ended questions after having seen the statements, it was considered rather unlikely that students would take the time to go back and alter their initial answers based on the ideas presented later in the questionnaire.

6 The e-questionnaire (in Finnish) can be obtained from the author upon request.

The e-questionnaire was sent to DI students divided into two sets (referred to as sub-surveys 'a' and 'b') in the spring of 2013. The first set of students had completed the English DI course in the 2012–2013 academic year or the German DI course between 2010 and 2013 and were still at the university (Sub-survey 1a: English and German DI courses). Of 63 e-mail addresses, 62 proved to be working addresses. The response rate with set 'a' turned out to be 37%, with 23 students submitting a filled-in questionnaire before the submission deadline (13 students from the German and 10 from the English DI course).

The second set of students was contacted a few weeks later: all students who had completed the Russian DI course in 2010-2013 who were still available for contact. All 30 e-mail addresses were working addresses. The response rate for this sub-survey (1b: Russian DI course) was 43% (from 13 completed questionnaires). The overall response rate for Sub-surveys 1a and 1b combined was thus 39% (there were 36 completed questionnaires in all), which can be considered satisfactory for the purposes of representativeness of data.

4. Results of Survey 1

The following is a presentation of some of the data obtained from Sub-surveys 1a and 1b taken together with respect to RQ1 and RQ2 and Hypotheses 1 and 2.

4.1 RQ1: Students' view on statements about skills practised in-booth versus in-classroom

The teacher interviews and the author's experience in teaching DI at the University of Tampere provided the basis for the seven ready-made statements about in-booth versus in-classroom DI practice that were presented in the latter part of the e-questionnaire, after the students had answered the open-ended questions on the topic. The students were asked to indicate whether they *completely agreed, partially agreed, neither agreed nor disagreed, disagreed partially*, or *disagreed completely* with each statement.

The following two statements (Statements 3d and 3e) were linked to H1, according to which the in-booth training method would be seen mainly as language training, improving vocabulary and/or for learning how to switch quickly between two languages. S3d was 'The in-booth practice aids in developing and practising your reaction skills and quick language switch (A→B, B→A) skills', and S3e was 'The in-booth practice gives the opportunity to practise the use of B-language vocabulary and grammatical structures'.

DI students' responses to S3d did not contradict H1: rather, they clearly supported it. Of 36 students, 12 (33.3%) completely agreed and 14 (38.9%) partially agreed with the idea that in-booth practice helps in developing and practising reaction skills and quick language switch skills. Only seven students partially disagreed, and three offered a neutral opinion. As to S3e, also here the students' answers seem more to confirm than contradict the hypothesis based on the DI teachers' views. In all, 26 students (72.2%) either completely (11 students) or partially (15 students) agreed with the idea that the in-booth practice aids in training in the use of B-language vocabulary and language structures; four students neither agreed nor disagreed; five partially disagreed, and one disagreed completely.

4.2 RQ1: Students' free-form answers on skills practised in the booth

RQ1 addressed the question of what kind of skills or subskills needed in DI that the inbooth practice method helped develop and what skills the students themselves felt they had practised or learnt in the booth. This research question was addressed in the open-ended questions in the first part of the e-questionnaire. Since answering all of the open-ended questions was not obligatory, only 32 of the 36 students supplied an answer to the open-ended question about what they had actually learnt during practice in the booth, and the content of only 32 answers could be analysed.

H1 suggested that students see the in-booth training mainly as language training: that is, useful for practising skills such as listening comprehension, speech production, improving vocabulary and learning how to switch quickly between languages. The students' answers indeed covered most of the skills and subskills presented by H1 (which had been formulated on the basis of the teachers' views), but not all of them or them alone. In their free-form answers, students indicated that they practised memory skills and note-taking in the booth (seven answers), vocabulary, fluency of speech production, and listening and concentration (six answers each). In contrast, the ability to switch quickly between two languages, also listed in H1 as a skill practised in the booth, is not mentioned in the students' free-form answers, although 26 students (72.2%) expressed partial or complete agreement with the respective statement in the second part of the questionnaire. This may indicate that the students had not really become aware of that skill yet. It might be useful to raise their awareness of the possibility of honing it in the booth in future DI courses as well, for even better results from inbooth practice.

Somewhat surprisingly, the skill referred to in the largest number of open answers was one not covered by H1 at all in this particular context. In total, 11 students (34%) wrote that they actually practised and learned quick-reaction skills with reference to prioritising and/or summarising source-text content when practising in the booth. This was closely linked to the feeling of heavy time pressure due to the uncertainty regarding the actual time available for the interpreting, coupled with the general sense of not being able to control the time at all: i.e. of being totally dependent on the interpreter in the classroom and his or her time management. While S3d did refer to quick reactions, it did so in the context of rapid language-switching.

4.3 RQ2: Preferred practice method

RQ2 enquired about the training method preferred and/or considered more useful by the students – the in-classroom or the in-booth training method (both obligatory forms of practice in the DI course) – and the reasons for their preference. In total, 33 students replied to the question about whether they preferred one of the training methods or liked both (Open-ended Question 2b1), so 33 answers have been analysed. Of the 33 students, 20 (60.6%) preferred the in-classroom method, 11 (33.3%) the in-booth method, and two students (6%) expressed no preference.

In their replies to Open-ended Question (OQ) 2b2, students who had stated that they preferred the in-classroom method to the in-booth practice mentioned as reasons the authenticity and/or intensity of the situation and/or the possibility of using the interaction tools of an interpreter.

> When practising in the classroom, the situation forces you to participate and listen, and you have to concentrate on interpreting, whether you like it or not. When you are yourself part of the situation without any other people in between, the speaker's gestures and mimicking also aid in transferring the communication better (Respondent S1bR5).[7]

> When interpreting in the classroom, you can interact with the people you are interpreting for and, if needed, ask them to repeat something if you don't understand, hear, or remember it. (Respondent S1aR18)

The experiences of both respondents cited here (S1bR5 and S1aR18) are confirmed by the free-form answers to OQ2e, which asked, 'What exactly did you learn when practising in the classroom?' In their answers,[8] 19 of 32 students (59.4%) wrote they learned communication and interaction skills in the classroom situation; ten (31.2%) mentioned stress management; and eight said that they learned to co-ordinate and control the situation as interpreters.

The in-booth setting, on the other hand, was preferred by students for reasons such as it "not [being] a public performance and thus [being] less stressful. I thought too that I performed better in the booth when I was able to concentrate on the essentials" (Respondent S1aR8). One of the students indicating equal preference summarised the pros and cons of both training methods in her answer:

> In the classroom, it was somehow easier to be present in the actual situation and interpret directly between human beings. In the booth, on the other hand, you don't have that much anxiety, and can detach yourself from the outside world and concentrate on the utterances only (Respondent S1aR20).

H2 suggested that the authentic and interactive in-classroom method would be appreciated by the students expressing a liking for interpreting, whereas the probably less stressful in-booth practice method would be preferred by students who do not like interpreting in general or who struggle with a fear of interpreting. All 36 students replied to the question on whether they liked interpreting and the interpreting exercises in general (the tick-box item 1e). Their answers are distributed in the following way: 13 students (36.1%) expressed a liking for it; only three expressed an absolute dislike; and the majority, 20 students (55.5%),

7 The original answers in Finnish have been translated into English by the author.
8 Most students mentioned more than one skill in their answer.

wrote that they sometimes liked it and sometimes didn't, with their feelings depending on the context. H2 was not confirmed, since two of the three students who indicated that they did not like interpreting actually preferred the in-classroom training method. Since the number of answers is limited (with only three respondents in this category), no generalisations can be made, but the findings seem rather interesting nevertheless. It is of course possible that most students who disliked interpreting did not participate in the survey at all.

All in all, no significant correlation can be observed in preference for the in-booth or the in-classroom practice method among students who expressed a liking for interpreting in general (13) and the ones who stated that they liked interpreting sometimes depending on the context (20). One way to interpret these data might be to conclude that students who like interpreting want to get more practice (a need met by the in-booth method) but, at the same time, also desire instant feedback from the teachers (given in the in-classroom practice) and enjoy the more authentic on-the-spot context of the in-classroom practice method.

4.4 Summary of the results from Survey 1

Students of DI experienced the two distinct DI practice methods (in-booth and in-classroom practice) in varied ways. The hypothesis linking a student's attitude toward interpreting to one of the two practice methods used in the DI course was not supported – or rather, could not be explored, as there were only three respondents who 'disliked' interpreting. Of these three students who reported not liking interpreting and interpreting practice in general, two actually expressed the opposite preference, i.e. for the in-classroom interpreting method.

At the same time, however, students' answers revealed some new information about the actual skills that, in their view, are and can be practised in the booth versus in the classroom. Considering the in-booth practice, students reported having learnt how to cope with time-related stress and having practised attentive listening, vocabulary and fluent speech production. In contrast, classroom training helped the students focus on interaction and interpreting skills, as well as the skills regarding co-ordination and control of the communication situation (which simply cannot be honed in the booth, whilst the skills practised in the booth could easily be practised in the classroom as well). All in all, the teachers' views were mostly supported, but also new skills were revealed.

5. Survey 2

5.1 Content of e-questionnaire, respondent data and response rate

In October 2014, a slightly redesigned e-questionnaire was sent to persons who were active DI students in the 2013–2014 academic year. The objective of the new survey (Survey 2) was to validate data obtained in Survey 1 (Sub-surveys a and b). The e-questionnaire was slightly modified to confirm and further elaborate on the existing questions with the goal of obtaining more precise responses. The changes involved updating one skill-related question (adding two skills/sub-skills identified on the basis of the results from the first survey, namely the ability to stay focused and to concentrate, and the ability to condense or summarise information, i.e. 'wrap it up') and adding two tick-box questions regarding the three most- and least-perfected skills honed while practising in the booth. The core intent of Survey 2 was to see whether the replies would be consistent with – and thereby validate the results of – Survey 1 or not. Therefore, most questions from Survey 1 in the e-questionnaire were left intact.[9]

Of the 34 students to whom the Survey 2 questionnaire was sent, only 33 were at the university at the time of the survey, so only 33 invitation e-mail messages were sent out. All e-mail addresses were working addresses. By the time of the response deadline, 19 students had filled in the equestionnaire, making the response rate to the survey 57.6%.

5.2 Results of Survey 2

The results of Survey 2 were mostly consistent with those of Sub-surveys 1a and 1b. S3d stated that '[t]he in-booth practice aids in developing and practising your reaction skills and quick language switch (A→B, B→A) skills' and S3e that '[t]he in-booth practice gives the opportunity to practise the use of B-language vocabulary and grammatical structures'. Of the 19 respondents, 11 fully agreed and seven partly agreed with the idea in S3e about the value of in-booth practice in terms of reaction and quick language switch skills. Only one student disagreed, and only partly. Also in the case of S3e on B-language vocabulary and language structures, the students' answers were in line with the results of the previous two sets of students. Virtually all students (94.7%) either completely (14 students) or partly (four students) agreed that in-booth practice helped them practise B-language vocabulary and language structures. Again, only one student expressed (partial) disagreement.

As for the preferred practice method, the students' responses were distributed as follows: ten students (52.6%) preferred in-classroom practice and eight (42.1%) in-booth practice, while one was undecided. As for their views of interpreting in general, two students indicated a dislike; 11 reported liking interpreting in general; five said they liked it sometimes, depending on the context; and one student remained undecided. Whilst both students expressing a dislike of interpreting in general reported a preference for in-booth practice, which would support H1, again the sample is too limited to confirm any relationship from which to draw general conclusions. Neither was any clear link found between practice method and preferences in the other groups (liking interpreting in general versus liking it sometimes depending on the context).

9 In addition, a completely new section focusing on anxiety and nervousness in interpreting was included in Survey 2 as a separate portion at the end. Results from this survey will be reported on in a separate paper.

Of the 19 respondents, 18 answered the open-ended questions about the skills learned most during practice in the booth. The most-learnt and most-practised skills cited most in the answers to open questions were the following: note-taking techniques (six of the 18 replies), concentration skills (six replies), listening and related comprehension (three), and summarising when interpreting (three). Working with a peer in the booth was mentioned twice, as was using the interpreting equipment. Skills mentioned only once included vocabulary use, understanding content, speed, and understanding the role of preparation in interpreting. Here a clear difference emerges between the results of Survey 2 and those of Survey 1, in which working under time pressure was cited most.

Lastly, let us explore the answers to the two new questions added to the e-questionnaire sheet for Survey 2. The objective of introducing these new questions was to find out which of the many skills mentioned by the students were regarded as the ones most practised and best acquired in the booth. In Q3h, students were asked which three skills they had learnt or practised most with the booth-based technique. The ten options presented were 1) listening analysis and comprehension in general, 2) memory techniques, 3) note-taking, 4) listening comprehension in the A or B language, 5) speech production in the A or B language, 6) mastering vocabulary, 7) quick language switch, 8) prosody, 9) interpersonal skills of the interpreter, and 10) interpreting under time constraint. Q3i asked for the three least-practised and least-learnt skills in the booth, students being asked to choose from the same ten options. All 19 students replied to these questions and picked the three most practised and best acquired (Q3h) and the three least-practised and least-learnt skills (Q3i) according to their own experience. The result was thus a total of 57 answers (skills) for Q3h and 57 for Q3i.

The three skills that students cited as best acquired and most practised in the booth were interpreting under time pressure (mentioned in 12 of the 57 answers), listening analysis and understanding in general (9 of the 57), and speech production in the A or B language (9 of the 57). The least-practised ones were interpersonal skills of the interpreter (mentioned by 19 out of 57 participants), prosody (by 13 out of 57), and memory techniques (by 8 out of 57). As in the previous survey, coping under time constraint emerged as one of the most important skills honed in the booth, even though it was not mentioned very often in the students' free-form answers in Survey 2.

Accordingly, the findings from Survey 2 are very much along the lines of those from Survey 1.

6. Conclusion and implications

The two student surveys partly confirmed the teachers' ideas as to which skills can be honed with in-booth practice: use of vocabulary and rapid change of language and interpreting direction. However, the student surveys also point to other skills that students feel they can and do exercise while practising DI in the booth. The most important of these skills is coping with time constraint (summarising the source text under pressure), but note-taking and memory skills are prominent as well. Introducing these skills to the students as learning objectives or skills that can or should be practised in the booth, and thereby increasing the students' metacognition of them, could possibly improve the results obtained from in-booth practice. That said, however, one of the roads to take in future research could be actually verifying whether the skills cited by the students truly improve with booth-based practice and, if so, to what extent, especially when compared to independent training with audiotapes or video material, for example.

All in all, however, it seems that combining this 'semi-remote' in-booth practice of DI with the more traditional way of DI training in the classroom, i.e. interactive face-to-face dialogues using simulated cases from the real world, as is currently done at the University of Tampere, is a good option to allow for additional practice of several of the basic (sub)skills needed in DI. These skills include quick reaction skills and the ability to quickly change language, but also skills like performing under time constraint, coping while being dependent on others (always expecting the unexpected to happen), and the analytical skills needed in condensing and summarising source text content. That being said, in-booth practice must not be seen as a mode of practice that would be sufficient on its own, but instead only as an accompanying mode of practice for face-to-face DI practice, which should be still considered the main avenue to obtaining DI competence. After all, training how to interpret in dialogic human interaction is hardly possible without having practised it in actual human interaction.

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Contributors

Claudio Baraldi is professor of Sociology of cultural and communicative processes at the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia (Italy). His research includes works on cultural presuppositions and interaction in educational systems, intercultural communication, interlinguistic and intercultural mediation, conflict management, and the development of techniques of dialogue. He has published several papers on dialogue interpreting, in books (John Benjamins, Peter Lang, Routledge) and international journals, many with Laura Gavioli. With Laura Gavioli he has also edited the book *Coordinating Participation in Dialogue Interpreting* (John Benjamins 2012).

Eugenia Dal Fovo is Adjunct Professor at the Department of Legal, Language, Interpreting and Translation Studies (DIUSLIT) - University of Trieste, where she teaches dialogue and consecutive interpreting. She previously taught consecutive interpreting at the Department of Humanities of the University of Macerata. She also works as conference and healthcare interpreter. She holds a Ph.D. in Interpreting and Translation Studies. Her Ph.D. thesis was awarded the 2015 CIUTI Ph.D. Award. Her investigations initially focused on corpus-based analyses of television interpreters' performances in simultaneous mode. Her current research interests also include the observation of interpreter-mediated face-to-face interaction on TV, and in healthcare and other community settings, as well as interpretation training for TV and healthcare settings. She is the author of the entries on "Media Interpreting" and "Talkshow Interpreting" in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies*.

An-Katrien De Pooter obtained a Master degree in Interpreting (Dutch – French – Spanish) at the University of Leuven, Antwerp Campus. For her Masters' dissertation on the Cooperation between legal interpreters and the Waterway Police in Antwerp, she received the KU Leuven Maria Barones Award for the best dissertation within the field of interpreting studies. During her Master, she followed the LIT (Legal Interpreting and Translation) programme and obtained a Certificate in Legal Interpreting. She was part of the organizing committee of the first interpreted Mock Trial in Belgium that took place in the Court of Antwerp. During her studies she completed several internships including interpreting and translating for the Belgian Embassy and Senate. Now she follows a specific teachers' training course.

Federico Farini received his PhD in Sociology of Intercultural Relations from the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, where he worked as a researcher in Sociology of Education, Youth Studies and Intercultural Communication (2005-2013). From 2013 to 2015 Federico worked as Research Fellow and Lecturer in Education at Middlesex University in London, where he was a founding member of the Centre for Educational Research and Scholarship. In 2015 he joined University Campus Suffolk as Lecturer in Sociology of Early Childhood. In the same year he was nominated Fellow of the British Higher Education Academy and founded the London Educational Research for Social Justice Network. Federico has published books, chapters, articles and edited books in Italian, English and Slovene. In 2014 he was elected as vice-president of the International Sociological Association Research Committee 25, Language in Society.

Emmanuelle Gallez graduated as a translator and a conference interpreter (Institut Supérieur de Traducteurs et Interprètes, Brussels). In her doctoral dissertation in Translation Studies (2014, KU Leuven) she analyzed the impact of the court interpreter on the defendant's identity in an authentic Assize court trial by means of a relevance-theoretical approach. Her main research interests include the training of court interpreters, pragmatics, identity construction, rhetoric and power constellation in interpreted courtroom interactions. She is a member of the Steering Committee of the CETRA (Centre for Translation Studies, KU Leuven). She currently works at the Faculty of Economics and Business and at the Faculty of Arts of the KU Leuven, where she teaches French and interpreting respectively.

Mariadele Gatti specialized in healthcare interpreting after she attended a course on community interpreting held at the School for Interpreters and Translators "S. Pellegrino" in Misano Adriatico, followed by an internship at the hospital of Rimini. She then carried out a MA research thesis titled "The role of cultural-linguistic mediator. Analysis of authentic interactions" at the University of Macerata. The data collected in the thesis were then used to write a paper co-authored with Professor Merlini titled "Empathy in healthcare interpreting: going beyond the notion of role" that was presented at the 7th Critical Link Conference held in Toronto, June 17-21 2013. She is currently a freelance translator and consecutive interpreter in Italian, English and French.

Laura Gavioli is Professor of English language and translation studies and teaches English language and oral translation at the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, Italy. Her research work includes the study of spoken language, mainly in institutional settings, studies of bilingual corpora for language learning and translation, and the pragmatics of English-Italian interaction in intercultural or multicultural settings. For the last fifteen years, she has been engaged in research exploring authentic data of interpreter-mediated conversations involving speakers (not necessarily native-speakers) of English and Italian, mainly in healthcare settings. In collaboration with Claudio Baraldi, she has edited the volume *Coordinating Participation in Dialogue Interpreting* (John Benjamins 2012).

Aida Martínez-Gómez holds a PhD in Translation and Interpreting from the University of Alicante (Spain). Her research focuses on interpreting in prison settings, non-professional interpreting and interpreting quality. Her work has been published in *Interpreting* and *Perspectives*, among other journals, as well as in collective volumes such as *The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting* and *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies*. She is currently Assistant Professor of Translation and Interpreting at John Jay College of Criminal Justice (City University of New York), where she directs the programmes in legal translation and interpretation.

Raffaela Merlini is Senior Lecturer of English language and translation in the Department of Humanities at the University of Macerata, Italy, where she teaches dialogue and consecutive interpreting. She previously held posts as Lecturer in the Department of Modern Languages at the University of Salford, England, and in the Advanced School of Modern Languages for Interpreters and Translators at the University of Trieste, Italy. Raffaela Merlini has published in the field of interpreting studies, particularly on consecutive and dialogue interpreting topics. Her investigations were initially concerned with the teaching of note-taking in consecutive interpreting. Her current research interests focus on the interactional dynamics of face-to-face interpreter-mediated talk in healthcare and other community settings. Her contributions have appeared in international journals and in Benjamins' volumes of the Critical Link series. She is the author of the entry on "Dialogue Interpreting" in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies*.

Karolina Nartowska (PhD) is an interpreting researcher, trainer and practitioner. She obtained her master's degrees in German studies and Management from Jagiellonian University in Cracow. She completed her postgraduate translation studies (German, Polish) at the UNESCO-Chair, Jagiellonian University. She holds a PhD in Interpreting Studies from the University of Vienna. Her research explored the role behaviour of court interpreters in criminal proceedings in both Austria and Poland. Her academic interests focus primarily on community and court interpreting, role(s) of interpreters in institutional settings, the power and the ethics of community interpreters. She has written several publications on court interpreting. She has been working as a professional interpreter and translator in German and Polish and as a certified court interpreter for more than 10 years. In addition, she teaches German as a foreign language in Vienna and she is an international trainer providing presentations and seminars on court interpreting in cooperation with TEPIS.

Natacha Niemants graduated in translation and interpreting at the University of Bologna and received her PhD from the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, where she works as research assistant for a project on interpreter-mediated communication in healthcare. She previously taught French-Italian translation and interpreting at the University of Macerata, and is currently teaching interpreting at the University of Bologna. Her research interests include interpreting in healthcare, interpreter training, and conversation analysis. She has published papers in French and English and is author of *L'interprétation de dialogue en milieu medical. Du jeu de rôle à l'exercice d'une responsabilité* (2015) as well as of the entry on "Transcription" in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies*. She also has considerable experience as a free-lance interpreter and translator.

Heidi Salaets is currently the head of the Interpreting Studies Research Group at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Leuven (Antwerp, Brussels and Leuven campus). At the Antwerp Campus, Heidi Salaets trains interpreters in the Master and also conference interpreters (Italian-Dutch) in the postgraduate interpreting programme. Regarding research, Heidi Salaets completed with dr. Katalin Balogh the ImPLI-project (Improving Police and Legal Interpreting) in September 2012 and the CO-Minor-IN/QUEST project (Cooperation in Interpreter mediated Questioning of Minors) in December 2014, both for DG Justice. Currently, they are coordinating TraiLLD (Training in Languages of Lesser Diffusion) that runs from March 2014 until March 2016.

Annalisa Sandrelli, after graduating in Conference Interpreting at the University of Trieste, taught at the universities of Hull, Trieste and Bologna at Forlì before being appointed Lecturer in English Language and Translation at Università degli Studi Internazionali (UNINT) in Rome. She teaches Consecutive Interpreting (English – Italian), Respeaking, and Film Language and Audiovisual Translation. Her research interests include audiovisual translation (dubbing, subtitling, respeaking, and audio description), corpus-based interpreting studies, CAIT (Computer Assisted Interpreter Training), and legal interpreting and translation. She has been involved in several EU projects on legal interpreting and is currently participating in the DubTalk project, in the Eurolect Observatory and in the EU-funded Understanding Justice project on interpreters in civil justice.

Anna Claudia Ticca is a researcher at the Laboratory of Excellence *Advanced Studies on LANguage complexity* (LabEx ASLAN) and works at the ICAR lab in Lyon. She is interested in the study of social interactions occurring in different settings (medical consultations, service encounters, ordinary conversations, etc.) and in different languages (Italian, French, Spanish, Yucatec Maya). On the bases of ethnographic work, which includes the collection of video-recorded naturally occurring interactions, she closely analyses multimodal (talk, gaze, gestures, body posture, etc.) phenomena as well as more (inter)cultural issues.

Véronique Traverso is a director of research at the CNRS (National Center for Scientific Research), and works in the ICAR Lab, Lyon. She has been working on naturally occurring data (audio/video-recorded in social situations), in different settings (conversation in friendly visits, medical consultation, meetings, services, etc.), mainly on French, but also Arabic, and multilingual contexts.

Mireia Vargas-Urpi is a visiting professor at the Departament of Translation and Language Sciences of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF, Barcelona). She holds a PhD in Translation and Intercultural Studies by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB), where she also obtained a Master Degree in Contemporary Research in East Asia, a Master in Chinese-Spanish Professional Translation and Interpreting, and a BA in Translation and Interpreting. Her research focuses on public service interpreting and intercultural mediation for the Chinese in Catalonia. She is also interested in nonverbal communication in intercultural interactions. She has published several articles and book chapters and has participated in national and international conferences. She is a member of MIRAS and TXICC research groups (UAB) and of the TIPp project, "Translation and interpreting in criminal proceedings", granted by the Spanish Ministry for Economy and Competivity.

Anu Viljanmaa has been teaching German and English interpreting at the University of Tampere (Finland) since autumn 2009 and has been a full-time staff member of the study programme German Language, Culture and Translation since 2013. She is an active, certified interpreter (EMCI). Anu's research interests focus on interpreter training, interpreting competence, and students' internalisation of skills needed in interpreting. Her PhD project focuses on computer assisted dialogue interpreter training and the interpersonal communication skills of dialogue interpreters, especially the skill of active listening.

THE INTERPRETERS' NEWSLETTER
NEXT ISSUE 21 (2016) ON INTERPRETING AND INTERPRETERS THROUGHOUT HISTORY
Guest Editors: *Caterina Falbo* and *Alessandra Riccardi*

Research in interpreting has always paid attention to the historical dimension with the aim of finding traces of interpreters and interpreting in the past going back to the first record of interpreting which dates back to around 3,000 BC. Interpreting was to become a profession with the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and simultaneous interpreting was used for the very first time at the International Labour Conference in Geneva in 1927. Authors such as Kurz, Delisle and Woodsworth and Baigorri have contributed to the historical understanding of situations and people leaving their mark by helping political, religious and military personalities communicate with those who did not speak their language. A number of interpreters have provided detailed descriptions of their work and the conditions under which it was performed in their memoires. At present, there is a renaissance of studies on the history of interpreting, especially on the role interpreters have played in conflict zones and contentious situations. Issue 21 of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* is dedicated to deepening and enlarging knowledge about the history of interpreting and interpreters worldwide throughout history.

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CALL FOR PAPERS
THE INTERPRETERS' NEWSLETTER
ISSUE 22 (2017) ON CORPUS-BASED *DIALOGUE* INTERPRETING STUDIES
Guest Editor: *Claudio Bendazzoli*

Scope
The corpus-based approach to the study of interpreter-mediated communicative situations has been applied by a growing number of scholars to different types of interpreting. Since Miriam Shlesinger's call for corpus-based interpreting studies (CIS) in 1998 and following the experience gained in Corpus-based Translation Studies, interpreting corpora have become instrumental not only in enhancing more rigorous research methodology but also in creating language resources in the widest sense. Over the last 20 years considerable progress has been made in this "off-shoot" of Interpreting Research, ranging from small scale corpora only suitable for 'manual' analysis to larger, machine-readable corpora. However, these developments have largely depended on the degree of data accessibility, thus favouring sources such as the European Parliament and public conferences. On the other hand, more confidential settings (e.g. hospitals, courts, police stations) where dialogue interpreting (DI) is generally adopted have lent themselves to CIS research with greater difficulty. Despite this, DI scholars now can count on increasingly larger data sets and the time has come to supplement qualitative, micro-analyses with a more quantitative approach and systematic queries. Issue 22 of the Interpreters' Newsletter aims to redress the balance in CIS and open the way to more DI research benefiting from the use of the corpus-based approach.

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

- Quantitative and qualitative analysis
- Parallel, comparable, intermodal analysis
- Corpus annotation
- Representativeness
- Query tools
- Data access, interoperability and sharing
- Research applications
- Teaching applications

Papers must be submitted in English or French and describe original research which is neither published nor currently under review by other journals or conferences. Submitted manuscripts will be subject to a process of double-blind peer review. Guidelines are available at: http://www.openstarts.units.it/eut/Instructions2AuthorsInterpreters.pdf

Manuscripts should be around 6,000 words long, including references and should be sent as Word attachments to the e-mail address: claudio.bendazzoli@unito.it (Subject: NL 22 PAPER; File Name: author's name _ IN2017)

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