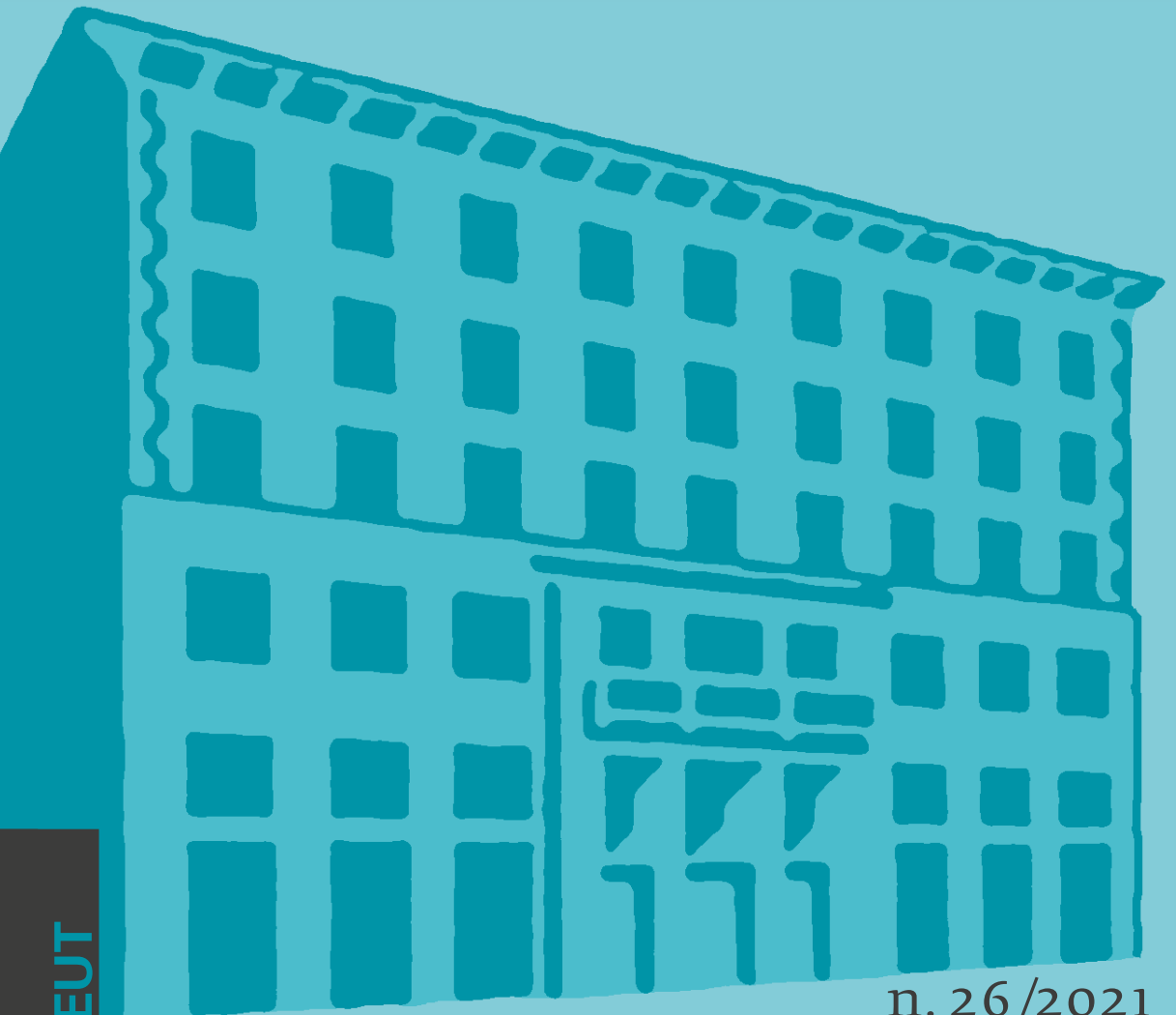


Università degli Studi di Trieste
Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche, del Linguaggio,
dell'Interpretazione e della Traduzione

The Interpreters' Newsletter



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The Interpreters' Newsletter

Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche, del Linguaggio, dell'Interpretazione
e della Traduzione
Sezione di Studi in Lingue Moderne per Interpreti e Traduttori (SSLMIT)
Università degli Studi di Trieste

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The Interpreters' Newsletter

Interprétation de dialogue : perspectives analytiques sur des contextes et phénomènes communicatifs particuliers / Dialogue Interpreting: specific communicative contexts and phenomena through specific analytical lenses

No. 26
2021

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De la richesse thématique et méthodologique en interprétation de dialogue

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1. Dynamisme et innovation

Depuis la fin des années 1990, la recherche en interprétation de dialogue (ID) s'est penchée sur un large éventail d'interactions interprétées et s'est notamment intéressée aux types d'interactions qui ne sont généralement pas catégorisés dans l'interprétation de services publics (ISP), tels que les émissions-débats ou les négociations d'affaires. La recherche a clairement établi que l'ID est un objet complexe qui ne consiste pas à transposer dans une autre langue un texte émis depuis une perspective monologique dont le sens serait prédéterminé (Mason 2006). Sa complexité découle au minimum de la co-construction de la dynamique interactionnelle et relationnelle, ainsi que de la co-négociation dialogique du sens, qui est par sa nature indéterminé (Carston 2002). L'interprète, comme les autres interactants, participe à ces phénomènes de co-construction d'un terrain conversationnel commun (Davidson 2002) et il le fait tant par des restitutions de la parole d'autrui que par des actions de coordination implicite et explicite de l'échange (Wadensjö 1998), concepts que Baraldi/Gavioli (2012 : 3) ont développés en proposant une nouvelle distinction entre « basic and reflexive coordination ». La complexité de l'ID est encore accentuée par les spécificités qui caractérisent chaque secteur d'intervention, auxquelles s'ajoutent celles des paires de langues-cultures impliquées dans les échanges.

- 1 Le masculin générique sera utilisé pour désigner les interprètes, les contributeurs du numéro et les chercheurs, mais il s'agit bien entendu autant d'hommes que de femmes. Précisons également que le contenu des articles relève de la responsabilité de leurs auteurs.

Thematic and methodological richness in dialogue interpreting

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1. Dynamism and innovation

Since the late 1990s, research on dialogue interpreting (DI) has focused on a wide range of interpreter-mediated interactions, including those that are not usually categorised as public service interpreting (PSI), such as talk shows or business negotiations. Research has made it clear that DI is a complex activity, which does not consist of merely transferring into another language a monological text whose meaning would be predetermined (Mason 2006). Its complexity derives at least from the co-construction of interactional and relational dynamics, as well as from the dialogic co-negotiation of meaning, which is by its very nature undetermined (Carston 2002). The interpreter, like the other participants, takes part in this co-construction of a common conversational ground (Davidson 2002) and does so both through renditions of the other's talk and through actions of implicit and explicit coordination of the exchange (Wadensjö 1998), concepts that Baraldi/Gavioli (2012: 3) have developed by proposing a new distinction between "basic and reflexive coordination". The complexity of DI is further accentuated by the specificities of the setting and of the language-culture pairs involved.

Pour témoigner de cette complexité et mieux la comprendre, les thèmes et la méthodologie de recherche se sont très rapidement diversifiés (Pöchhacker 2004). Les scientifiques explorent des aspects extrêmement variés, qui vont des processus cognitifs à l'œuvre (Tiselius/Albl-Mikasa 2019) aux additions et expansions lors de l'interprétation à distance (Braun 2017), en passant par la construction collaborative de la compréhension (Turner/Merrison 2016), le multilinguisme comme vecteur d'inégalité et d'injustice au tribunal (Du 2019), les manifestations non verbales de l'affiliation (Vranjes *et al.* 2019), ou encore la transmission des émotions (Piccoli/Traverso 2020) et la place de l'empathie (Merlini 2015). Ce sont particulièrement les chercheurs en langues des signes qui ont soulevé de manière pionnière les questions fondamentales qui se posent dans tous les secteurs d'intervention et quelle que soit la paire de langues-cultures impliquée. Mentionnons entre autres le rôle de l'interprète, sa visibilité, son agentivité, sa gestion de l'interculturalité, ainsi que la nécessité de sa professionnalisation en lien avec les composantes clés de sa formation et avec une déontologie souple reflétant la réalité du terrain (voir Roy/Napier 2015 pour retracer les premiers questionnements issus de l'interprétation en langues non vocales). Les caractéristiques du contexte sont de plus en plus souvent prises en compte, ce qui permet de cerner leur incidence sur le déploiement de l'interaction et les défis auxquels l'interprète fait face (Balogh *et al.* 2021). C'est l'étude de ces caractéristiques mise en lien avec le comportement (non) discursif de l'interprète qui fait de plus en plus nettement émerger la spécification des actions de l'interprète et leur influence en fonction du secteur d'intervention. Par exemple, son agentivité en santé somatique (Baraldi 2019) et sa gestion du différentiel de pouvoir entre les participants en milieu hospitalier (Angelelli 2011), ses manifestations de convergence et d'affiliation avec le psychothérapeute (Ticca/Traverso 2017) et sa co-construction potentielle de l'alliance thérapeutique en santé mentale (Goukian Ratcliff/Pereira 2019), sa gestion d'un cadre participatif paternaliste devant les tribunaux (Defrancq/Verliefde 2017) et son recours sélectif à l'interprétation intermittente en cas d'incompréhension lors d'auditions où le suspect cherche à communiquer directement avec les officiers de police (Monteoliva-García 2020).

Pour explorer ces problématiques, dont nous ne prétendons certes pas dresser une liste exhaustive, les études sont de plus en plus fréquemment empiriques et basées sur des interactions interprétées en face à face ou à distance, en langues des signes ou en langues vocales, audio- ou vidéo-enregistrées dans un environnement naturel ou expérimental. L'intérêt se porte sur des collections d'interactions bilingues interprétées dans différents secteurs d'intervention et dans différentes combinaisons linguistiques (e.g. Baraldi/Gavioli 2021 pour le secteur médical dans différentes paires de langues-cultures), et la transcription représente une étape cruciale en ce qu'elle transforme les données à l'état brut en données opérationnelles et analysables (e.g. Niemants 2018). Les observations de terrain, les interviews, les groupes de discussion et les questionnaires sont autant de méthodes pour récolter des données, de plus en plus souvent combinées pour enrichir la perception de la problématique étudiée (e.g. Angelelli 2004a et b ; Bot 2005 ; Napier 2011). L'approche peut être qualitative, comme dans la plupart des études citées précédemment, quantitative (e.g. Vranjes/Oben in press), ou mixte (e.g. Cox *et al.* 2019). Pour faire parler leurs données, les chercheurs puisent des outils conceptuels dans

To show and better understand this complexity, research topics and methodologies have rapidly diversified (Pöchhacker 2004). Scholars are exploring a wide variety of aspects, including cognitive processes at work (Tiselius/Albl-Mikasa 2019), additions and expansions in remote interpreting (Braun 2017), the collaborative construction of understanding (Turner/Merrison 2016), multilingualism as a vector of inequality and injustice in court (Du 2019), the non-verbal manifestations of affiliation (Vranjes *et al.* 2019), the transmission of emotions (Piccoli/Traverso 2020) and the construct of empathy (Merlini 2015). Sign language researchers have pioneeringly addressed some fundamental questions that arise in all settings, regardless of the language-culture pair involved. These include the interpreters' role, their visibility and agency, the management of intercultural elements, as well as the need for professionalisation, which goes along with carefully designed training and a flexible code of ethics that reflects the reality of the professional practice (see Roy/Napier 2015 for an account of early issues raised in non-spoken language interpreting). Contextual features are increasingly taken into account, making it possible to identify their impact on the unfolding of interactions, as well as the challenges faced by the interpreter in specific contexts (Balogh *et al.* 2021). It is the study of these features in relation to the interpreter's (non) discursive behaviour that increasingly points to the specification and the influence of interpreters' actions according to the setting. For example, their agentivity in somatic health (Baraldi 2019) and their management of the power differentials between interlocutors in hospital settings (Angelelli 2011), their manifestations of alignment and affiliation with the psychotherapist (Ticca/Traverso 2017) and their potential co-construction of the therapeutic alliance in mental health (Gogukian Ratcliff/Pereira 2019), their management of a paternalistic participation framework in court (Defrancq/Verliefde 2017) and their selective use of stand-by interpreting in case of misunderstandings during police interviews, when the suspect tries to communicate directly with police officers (Monteoliva-García 2020).

To explore these issues, which we certainly do not claim to cover exhaustively, studies are becoming increasingly empirical and based on face-to-face or remote interpreter-mediated interactions, in signed or in spoken languages, audio- or video-recorded in a natural or experimental environment. Interest is focused on collections of bilingual interactions interpreted in different settings and language-culture pairs (e.g. Baraldi/Gavioli 2021 for the medical setting in different languages and cultures), and transcription represents a crucial step in that it transforms raw data into operational and analysable data (e.g. Niemants 2018). Field observations, interviews, focus groups and surveys are all methods for collecting data, increasingly combined to enrich the perception of the issue under scrutiny (e.g. Angelelli 2004a and b; Bot 2005; Napier 2011). The approach can be qualitative, as in most of the studies cited above, quantitative (e.g. Vranjes/Oben *in press*), or mixed (e.g. Cox *et al.* 2019). To study their data, researchers draw on conceptual tools borrowed from a variety of disciplines, such as conversation analysis (e.g. Bolden 2018),

des champs disciplinaires aussi variés que l'analyse de la conversation (e.g. Bolden 2018), l'analyse critique du discours (e.g. Nartowska 2019), l'ethnographie de la communication (e.g. Angelelli 2004a), l'ethnométhodologie (e.g. Traverso 2019), la psychologie sociale (e.g. Merlini 2009), la pragmatique interactionnelle (e.g. Vargas-Urpi 2019), la pragmatique cognitive (e.g. Delizée/Michaux 2019), ou encore les théories de l'argumentation (e.g. Gallez *et al.* 2017). Pour élargir et densifier la vision du phénomène étudié, ils privilégient de plus en plus souvent l'analyse multimodale (e.g. Davitti/Pasquandrea 2017), ainsi que la triangulation des données, des théories et des outils analytiques (e.g. Aguilar-Solano 2020) et la combinaison de cadres conceptuels pour en décupler la puissance analytique (e.g. Delizée/Michaux 2020). Les études sur l'ID peuvent également prendre la forme de recherches bibliométriques (e.g. Grbić/Pöllabauer 2008), de recherches-actions (e.g. Crezee/Burn 2019), de cas d'étude (e.g. Pöchhacker/Kadrić 1999), ou d'analyses narratives (e.g. Baker 2010), et la disponibilité grandissante d'outils technologiques permettant la création, le partage et l'interrogation de plus grandes collections de données a ouvert la voie à l'étude de larges corpus (e.g. Meyer 2019).

Par ailleurs, les études sur l'ID viennent de plus en plus souvent enrichir la formation des interprètes et/ou des utilisateurs de leurs services (e.g. Kainz *et al.* 2011 ; Baraldi/Gavioli 2019), en problématisant le passage des résultats de recherche aux activités didactiques (e.g. Cirillo/Niemants 2017 ; Weber 2020) et en témoignant d'une fertilisation constante entre pratique, recherche et enseignement (Hale 2007 : 198).

Preuve supplémentaire de l'effervescence du domaine, la parution récente et quasi concomitante d'autres travaux consacrés à la méthodologie en ID (Biel *et al.* 2019 ; Monzó-Nebot/Wallace 2020 ; Balogh *et al.* 2021). Ils suivent les importants jalons que sont le numéro spécial de *Linguistica Antverpiensia* (Hertog/van der Veer 2006) qui faisait le point sur la recherche en ID, et les ouvrages sur la recherche en traductologie/interprétologie de Hale/Napier (2013) et de Angelelli/Baer (2016), qui font la part belle à l'ID. Dans leur numéro spécial de *Translation and Interpreting*, De Pedro Ricoy/Napier (2017) ont tout particulièrement attiré l'attention sur l'inventivité des chercheurs, qui recourent de plus en plus souvent à des méthodes empruntées à d'autres disciplines. Citons également le guide sur les méthodes de recherche quantitative en traduction et en interprétation de Mellinger/Hanson (2017) qui, s'il ne concerne pas spécifiquement l'ID, offre une réflexion utile pour toute personne investiguant ce type d'interprétation. Quelques articles consacrés à l'ID ont en outre été publiés dans le numéro spécial de *mediAzioni* dirigé par Ferraresi *et al.* (2020), qui porte sur la méthodologie de la recherche dans le domaine de la traduction, de l'interprétation et des études interculturelles.

C'est dans ce cadre dynamique et innovant – que nous ne pouvons que survoler en citant quelques repères seulement – que le numéro 26 de *The Interpreters' Newsletter* se fixe pour objectif principal de continuer à étoffer la boîte à outils thématique et méthodologique à disposition des chercheurs en ID. Il tire son origine d'un panel que nous avons coordonné lors de la conférence InDialog 3, tenue à Anvers en 2019, où nous avons ressenti le besoin de mettre en question nos propres méthodes et de regarder nos données à travers d'autres lentilles analytiques, dont certaines ont trouvé leur place dans ce numéro. Il propose ainsi onze contributions qui, dans une perspective interdisciplinaire et sur la base de données authentiques,

critical discourse analysis (e.g. Nartowska 2019), ethnography of communication (e.g. Angelelli 2004a), ethnomethodology (e.g. Traverso 2019), social psychology (e.g. Merlini 2009), interactional pragmatics (e.g. Vargas-Urpi 2019), cognitive pragmatics (e.g. Delizée/Michaux 2019), or theories of argumentation (e.g. Gallez *et al.* 2017). To get a broader and richer picture of the phenomenon under investigation, they increasingly rely on multimodal analysis (e.g. Davitti/Pasquandrea 2017), as well as on the triangulation of data, theories and analytical tools (e.g. Aguilar-Solano 2020) and on the combination of conceptual frameworks to increase their analytical power (e.g. Delizée/Michaux 2020). DI studies can also take the form of bibliometric research (e.g. Grbić/Pöllabauer 2008), action research (e.g. Crezee/Burn 2019), case studies (e.g. Pöchhacker/Kadrić 1999) or narrative analyses (e.g. Baker 2010). The increasing availability of technological tools to create, share and query broader collections of data has opened the way to the study of large corpora (e.g. Meyer 2019).

Furthermore, DI studies are increasingly enriching the training of interpreters and/or interpreting services users (e.g. Kainz *et al.* 2011; Baraldi/Gavioli 2019), problematising the transition from research findings to didactic activities (e.g. Cirillo/Niemants 2017; Weber 2020), and showing a constant cross-fertilisation between practice, research and teaching (Hale 2007: 198).

Further evidence of DI vitality is the recent and almost simultaneous publication of other works devoted to methodology (Biel *et al.* 2019; Monzó-Nebot/Wallace 2020; Balogh *et al.* 2021). They follow the important milestones marked by the special issue of *Linguistica Antverpiensia* (Hertog/van der Veer 2006), which took stock of DI research, and the volumes on translation/interpreting research by Hale/Napier (2013) and Angelelli/Baer (2016), which placed particular emphasis on DI. In their special issue of *Translation and Interpreting*, De Pedro Ricoy/Napier (2017) draw particular attention to the inventiveness of DI researchers, who are increasingly drawing on methods borrowed from other disciplines. Also worth mentioning is the guide to quantitative research methods in translation and interpreting by Mellinger/Hanson (2017), which is not specific to DI but offers useful food for thought for anyone investigating this type of interpreting. In addition, a few papers on DI have been published in the special issue of *mediAzioni* edited by Ferraresi *et al.* (2020), which focuses on research methodology in the field of translation, interpreting and intercultural studies.

Against this dynamic and innovative backdrop, which we can only overview by citing a few key references, Issue 26 of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* sets out to further enrich the thematic and methodological toolbox available to DI researchers. It originates from a panel we coordinated at the InDialog 3 conference in Antwerp in 2019, where we felt the need to question our own methods and look at our data through other analytical lenses, some of which have found their place in this issue. It thus offers eleven contributions¹ which, from an interdisciplinary perspective and on the basis of authentic data, explore par-

1 The content of the papers is the sole responsibility of their authors.

explorent des phénomènes communicatifs particuliers et/ou mettent au point pour l'ID des lentilles spécifiques, seules ou combinées, ou éclairent des pratiques qui n'ont encore trouvé que peu d'écho dans la littérature et les salles de cours.

2. Un tour d'horizon

Le numéro s'ouvre sur une question récurrente : dans quelle mesure l'interprète influence-t-il la communication ? Sofie Van de Geuchte et Leona Van Vaerenbergh y apportent des éléments de réponse en comparant deux types de médiation langagière : une consultation entre un psychiatre néerlandophone et une patiente hongroise avec le néerlandais comme *lingua franca*, et une consultation entre ces mêmes intervenants assistés d'un interprète. Elles triangulent données (deux consultations vidéo-enregistrées et interview rétrospective du psychiatre) et méthodes (analyse de la conversation depuis une perspective qualitative et quantitative, et analyse thématique). Cette approche multiple donne une image nuancée : si l'interprète facilite la profondeur de l'entretien et son développement thématique, sa présence entraîne également des glissements de sens et la perte de pauses porteuses de sens. Pour remédier à ces aspects négatifs, les auteures concluent sur la nécessité d'un accordage interprofessionnel entre le thérapeute et l'interprète.

On le sait, l'analyse d'interactions interprétées permet de mieux cerner les effets de la présence de l'interprète dans le dispositif communicatif. La toute première étape consiste alors à s'interroger sur la méthode de transcription, une opération analytique en soi qui conditionne les résultats de la recherche. C'est à cette réflexion que nous invite Emmanuelle Gallez, qui applique trois méthodes de spatialisation des données (horizontale, verticale et en partition) à la même interaction néerlandais-français enregistrée dans une cour d'assises. Elle montre ainsi que la spatialisation de la transcription influence la perception de l'information. Le format horizontal adapté à l'ID proposé par l'auteure présente plusieurs avantages méthodologiques pour une analyse depuis les perspectives pragmatique et interactionniste. Il permet notamment de mettre en lumière les ajustements mutuels des interactants pour établir la réciprocité de compréhension, ainsi que de modéliser les récurrences interactionnelles, ce qui rend possible une analyse tant qualitative que quantitative. Cette étude souligne la nécessité d'inscrire le choix de la méthode de transcription dans une démarche réflexive guidée par les objectifs de la recherche.

Ce type de réflexion est *a fortiori* indispensable lors du partage de données entre chercheurs, qui permet des études comparatives comme celle proposée par Anne Delizée. Dans le but d'évaluer la complémentarité méthodologique de la théorie du positionnement et de l'appareil analytique Goffman-Wadensjö pour l'étude de la dynamique interactionnelle, l'auteure applique les concepts de « position subjective » et d'« alignement » aux données français-néerlandais collectées par Bart Defrancq et Sofie Verliefde dans une cour d'assises, ainsi qu'aux données français-russe qu'elle a elle-même enregistrées en santé mentale. La double focale analytique proposée approfondit la perception du déploiement de la co-construction des projections discursives, et met particulièrement en lumière les spécificités interpersonnelles du secteur d'intervention étudié. La

ticular communicative phenomena and/or develop specific analytical lenses for DI, to be used alone or in combination, or shed light on practices that have so far received scant attention in the literature and in the classroom.

2. An overview

The issue opens with a recurring question: to what extent does the interpreter influence communication? Sofie Van de Geuchte and Leona Van Vaerenbergh provide some insights into this question by comparing two types of language mediation: a consultation between a Dutch-speaking psychiatrist and a Hungarian patient with Dutch as the *lingua franca*, and a consultation between the same two people assisted by an interpreter. They triangulate data (two video-recorded consultations and a retrospective interview with the psychiatrist) and methods (conversation analysis from a qualitative and quantitative perspective, and thematic analysis). This multiple approach gives a nuanced picture: while the interpreter makes the conversation more in-depth and thematically developed, his presence also leads to shifts in meaning and to the loss of meaningful pauses. To address these negative aspects, the authors conclude on the need for having briefing sessions between psychiatrist and interpreter to agree on how to work together.

As we know, the analysis of interpreted interactions makes it possible to better identify the effects of the interpreter's presence on communication. The very first step then consists of questioning the transcription method, an analytical operation in itself which conditions research results. Emmanuelle Gallez invites us to do so by applying three transcription formats (horizontal, vertical and partiture) to the same Dutch-French interaction recorded in a Flemish criminal court. She shows that the spatialisation of the transcription influences the perception of the information. The horizontal format adapted to DI that is proposed by the author presents several methodological assets for pragmatic and interactionist analyses. In particular, it highlights the mutual adjustments of the participants to establish reciprocity of understanding, and it can be used to model the interactional patterns, which makes both qualitative and quantitative research possible. This study underlines that the choice of the transcription has to be part of a reflective process guided by the research objectives.

This kind of reflection is all the more necessary when data are shared between researchers, which allows for comparative studies such as the one proposed by Anne Delizée. With the purpose of evaluating the methodological complementarity of positioning theory with the Goffman-Wadensjö analytical apparatus for investigating interactional dynamics, the author applies the concepts of "subjective position" and "footing" to two data sets: French-Dutch data collected by Bart Defrancq and Sofie Verliefde in a criminal court, and French-Russian data recorded by herself in mental health. This double analytical lens deepens the perception of how the co-construction of discursive projections unfolds, and particularly highlights the interpersonal specificities of the setting under scrutiny. The com-

démarche comparative montre en effet les variations de la relation interpersonnelle, coopérative en santé mentale et instrumentalisante au tribunal.

Les contributions suivantes se penchent sur des contextes spécifiques encore sous-explorés. C'est le cas de l'étude de Gabrielle Torpiano, Heidi Salaets et Peter Flynn, qui offre une description détaillée du fonctionnement des cours pénales à Malte dans le cadre de la législation européenne et nationale, et illustre le statut tout à fait particulier de l'interprète comme témoin. Les chercheurs misent sur l'ethnographie pour rendre compte du contexte communicatif et des contraintes que celui-ci exerce sur le rôle de l'interprète, et discutent certaines actions de l'interprète des points de vue du droit, de la linguistique juridique, de la sociolinguistique interactionnelle et de l'analyse critique du discours. Cinq extraits impliquant le maltais, l'anglais et l'italien montrent que ces actions ne répondent pas toujours aux attentes contextuelles spécifiques, et leur mise en lien avec les rôles établis dans la littérature est délicate. En éclairant la situation maltaise, les auteurs comblent un vide dans la littérature, pourtant fertile, en matière d'ID dans le secteur de la justice, et ce, malgré la difficulté d'y collecter des données.

Le domaine des affaires souffre lui aussi de cette difficulté, ce qui explique le peu d'études sur l'ID dans les entreprises commerciales ou les salons internationaux, pourtant très riches en interactions bi- et plurilingues. Emanuele Brambilla explore les interactions interprétées lors de salons de dégustation de vins grâce à la théorie de la pragma-dialectique. Les données sont des jeux de rôle anglais-italiens élaborés grâce à des documents authentiques et à l'expérience de praticien de l'auteur. Elles sont examinées avec les concepts de schéma et de structure argumentatifs, ainsi que de profil dialectique. L'étude révèle que ces interactions sont caractérisées par de sévères contraintes temporelles et par une conversation informelle structurée par des récurrences argumentatives, ce qui place ces événements communicatifs à l'intersection de l'interprétation d'affaires et de tourisme. L'interprète y est amené à contribuer à l'interaction par des restitutions mais aussi par des actions conversationnelles, et son rôle et sa position épistémique sont constamment soumis à négociation.

Quel que soit le secteur d'intervention, l'une des difficultés majeures de l'interprète est la gestion des tours de parole. Esther De Boe cerne au plus près le phénomène encore sous-étudié de la multimodalité de cette gestion en appliquant une analyse multimodale à trois interactions néerlandais-français vidéo-enregistrées en santé somatique (en face à face, par téléphone et par vidéo) et en se focalisant sur les chevauchements de parole. L'auteure identifie entre autres le regard, la gestuelle, l'expression faciale, l'intonation, les caractéristiques paraverbales, les pauses et les silences comme ressources sémiotiques déployées par l'interprète pour gérer l'alternance des tours de parole en fonction de la situation. Elle fait appel au concept d'« écologie de l'action » de Mondada, c'est-à-dire l'environnement immédiat des interactants, pour mettre en lumière que la gestion des chevauchements de parole dépend des écologies de l'action spécifiques, fracturées, engendrées par les conditions d'interprétation à distance.

Enrico Caniglia et Federico Zanettin se penchent également sur la gestion de l'alternance des tours, mais dans le contexte très spécifique des émissions-débats à visée conflictuelle, lorsque l'interprète travaille en simultanée hors caméra. Les tensions y sont délibérément entretenues, notamment par la pratique qui veut

parative approach shows variations in the interpersonal relationship, which is cooperative in mental health and manipulating in court.

The following contributions focus on specific contexts that are still under-explored. This is the case of the study by Gabrielle Torpiano, Heidi Salaets and Peter Flynn, which offers a detailed description of how the criminal courts in Malta function within the framework of European and national legislation, and illustrates the very particular status of the interpreter as witness. The researchers use ethnography to account for the communicative context and its constraints on the interpreter's role, and discuss some of the interpreter's actions from the perspectives of law, forensic linguistics, interactional sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis. Five excerpts involving Maltese, English and Italian show that these actions do not always meet specific contextual expectations, and that matching them with established roles in the literature is challenging. By shedding light on the Maltese situation, the authors fill a gap in the already fertile literature on DI in legal settings, having overcome the difficulty of collecting data.

The business setting also suffers from this difficulty, which explains the paucity of studies on DI in commercial companies or international trade fairs, which are, however, very rich in bi- and multilingual interactions. Emanuele Brambilla investigates interpreted interactions at wine tasting fairs using pragma-dialectic theory. The data are English-Italian role-plays developed by making use of authentic documents and of the author's experience as a practitioner. They are examined with the concepts of argumentative pattern and structure, as well as dialectical profile. The study reveals that these interactions are characterised by severe time constraints and by informal conversation with clear argumentative patterns, which places these communicative events at the intersection of business and tourism settings. The interpreter is required to contribute to the interaction through translational but also conversational contributions, and his/her role and epistemic position are continuously negotiated.

Whatever the setting, one of the major difficulties for interpreters is the management of turns-at-talk. Esther De Boe takes a close look at the understudied phenomenon of multimodality in turn-taking by applying a multimodal analysis to three video-recorded Dutch-French interactions in somatic health (face-to-face, telephone and video) and focusing on overlapping speech. The author identifies gaze, gesture, facial expressions, intonation, paraverbal features, pauses and silences as semiotic resources used by the interpreter to manage turn-taking according to the situation. She draws on Mondada's concept of "ecology of action", i.e. the immediate environment of the participants, to highlight that the management of overlaps depends on the specific, fractured, ecologies of action created by the remote conditions.

Enrico Caniglia and Federico Zanettin also look at the management of turn-taking, but in the very specific context of confrontational talk shows, where interpreting takes place off-camera in the simultaneous mode. Tensions are deliberately staged, particularly by the practice of guests addressing each other directly without the mediation of the host. A fierce competition for the

que les invités s'adressent directement l'un à l'autre sans attendre la médiation du présentateur. Une féroce compétition pour prendre la parole caractérise ces rencontres, l'interprète devant dès lors faire face à une succession très rapide des tours et à de nombreux chevauchements. Les auteurs ont recours à l'analyse de la conversation pour observer ces phénomènes dans cinq extraits impliquant l'italien, le français et l'anglais. L'étude indique que l'interprète devient un instrument des pratiques de confrontation : ses choix (in)conscients soit co-construisent un tour avec l'intervenant primaire en imposant sa voix, soit le réduisent au silence. Elle montre que même en simultanée hors du plateau, l'interprète exerce une influence sur le déroulement de l'interaction et participe à son caractère conflictuel.

Laura Gavioli et Claudio Baraldi nous invitent eux aussi à conceptualiser les contraintes qui s'exercent sur le tiers traduisant, en quittant la séquentialité interactionnelle pour plonger au cœur des contenus sémantiques. Dans des données en italien-anglais, audio-enregistrées dans le secteur médical et analysées grâce aux outils de l'analyse de la conversation, les auteurs observent les effets des commentaires à propos de la différence culturelle exprimés par le clinicien. Soit l'interprète réagit dans une interaction dyadique avec le clinicien, soit il ignore le commentaire, mais dans tous les cas de figure observés, ce dernier n'est jamais restitué au patient, ce qui l'exclut de l'interaction. L'étude montre que par ses (in)actions, le médiateur participe à la construction interactionnelle de stéréotypes culturels, et que l'expression de l'essentialisme culturel par le clinicien fragilise sa fonction de médiation et bloque la communication triadique. Les auteurs concluent sur la nécessité d'une formation ciblée, à destination des cliniciens pour éviter ce genre de commentaires, et des médiateurs afin qu'ils développent des stratégies préventives.

C'est la dé/construction de la relation personnelle qui est au centre de l'attention de Raquel Lázaro Gutiérrez, dont l'objectif est d'évaluer la prévalence et les caractéristiques des actes de menace de face (*FTAs*) envers les interprètes lors d'interactions téléphoniques. L'auteure analyse de manière comparative un corpus d'interactions en face à face et un corpus d'interactions téléphoniques avec les outils de la théorie de la politesse linguistique, et elle applique une analyse de contenu aux données issues de trois groupes de discussion ; ses données sont de nature multilingue et concernent essentiellement le secteur de la santé. Cette triangulation des données et des méthodes indique que si quelques *FTAs* formulés essentiellement par les prestataires de service envers la face négative de l'interprète sont observables en face à face, ils sont plus nombreux lors des interactions téléphoniques et sont formulés essentiellement par les bénéficiaires envers la face positive de l'interprète. Cet article souligne l'importance de prendre en compte les variables relevant de la pragmatique interactionnelle pour alimenter la formation ciblée des interprètes.

Le besoin de réflexion sur des dispositifs pédagogiques spécifiques relevé par plusieurs contributions à ce volume est développé dans les deux derniers articles. Irene Zanot témoigne de l'ajustement de ses activités didactiques au paradoxe généré par la pandémie COVID-19 : l'ID en face à face a dû être enseignée à distance, dans des conditions d'urgence ne laissant pas le temps de revoir la conception du cursus. L'auteure exemplifie les défis qui ont dû être relevés *in fieri* lors de ses cours d'ID en italien-français dans les secteurs de la santé et des affaires, donnés en ligne au plus fort de la crise sanitaire. Sur la base des questionnaires remplis par ses étudiants, des fiches d'observer

floor characterises these encounters, with the interpreter having to deal with a very rapid succession of turns and numerous overlaps. The authors use conversation analysis to observe these phenomena in five extracts involving Italian, French and English. The study indicates that interpreters become an instrument of confrontational practices: their (un)conscious choices either co-construct a turn with the primary speakers by imposing their own voice, or silence them. It also shows that even in remote simultaneous mode, the interpreter influences the unfolding of the interaction and contributes to its conflictual character.

Laura Gavioli and Claudio Baraldi also invite us to conceptualise the constraints on the intercultural mediator, leaving the interactional sequentiality to dive into the very heart of the semantic contents. From their Italian-English data, audio-recorded in the medical sector and observed with the tools of conversation analysis, the authors show the effects of comments about cultural difference expressed by the clinician. The mediator either reacts in a dyadic interaction with the clinician or ignores the comment, but in all cases observed, the comment is never rendered to the patients, thus excluding them from the interaction. The study shows that through her (in)actions, the mediator participates in the interactional construction of cultural stereotypes, and that the expression of cultural essentialism by the clinician weakens her mediation function and hinders the triadic communication. The authors conclude that specific training is needed, both for clinicians to avoid such comments and for mediators to develop preventive strategies.

The de/construction of the personal relationship is the focus of Raquel Lázaro Gutiérrez, whose objective is to evaluate the prevalence and characteristics of face-threatening acts (FTAs) against telephone interpreters. The author compares a corpus of face-to-face interactions with a corpus of telephone interactions using the tools of linguistic politeness theory, and applies content analysis to data from three focus groups; her data is multilingual and mainly concerns the health setting. This triangulation of data and methods shows that while a few FTAs formulated mainly by service providers against interpreters' negative face are observed in face-to-face interactions, they are more numerous in telephone interactions and are formulated mainly by service users against interpreters' positive face. This paper underlines the importance of taking into account interactional pragmatics variables in order to provide interpreter training.

The need for reflection on specific training identified by several contributors to this volume is elaborated in the last two papers. Irene Zanot reports on the adjustment of her pedagogical activities to the paradox generated by the COVID-19 pandemic: face-to-face DI had to be taught in emergency remote conditions leaving no time to redesign the course. The author exemplifies the challenges she had to meet during her Italian-French DI classes devoted to health and business settings and delivered online at the height of the health crisis. On the basis of questionnaires filled in by her students, observation sheets of their performances and transcripts of role-plays carried out in class, she problematises the difficulty of her online students in having access to the

vation de leurs performances et des transcriptions des jeux de rôle effectués en classe, elle problématise la difficulté d'avoir accès, lorsqu'on est en ligne, aux éléments non verbaux cruciaux pour faire sens de ce qui est dit. La démarche réflexive d'Irene Zanot fait ainsi émerger des repères indispensables à l'enseignement de l'ID à distance, et les leçons qu'elle tire peuvent servir de tremplin pour l'avenir, l'enseignement et la pratique de l'ID à distance étant sans doute appelés à se généraliser.

La dernière contribution fait écho à la première, qui concluait sur le besoin d'accordage entre l'interprète et le représentant institutionnel. Dans un cadre théorique centré sur les organisations, Jonathan Downie et Graham Turner exposent le projet PEAS déployé en Écosse avec des interprètes travaillant en anglais-langue des signes britannique. Le premier objectif en était de réduire l'écart entre formation et travail pour les interprètes en leur offrant un stage de six mois à la police et dans le service national de santé, étoffé par des séances de tutorat, de supervision et d'exercices ciblés. Le second objectif était de promouvoir l'ID dans les deux institutions impliquées. Les auteurs examinent les effets du projet dans les deux institutions, et discutent de la pertinence des résultats obtenus pour la mise en œuvre de projets similaires et pour la théorisation de l'interprétation. Cette étude souligne la nécessité de la collaboration entre les institutions qui forment les interprètes et celles qui les emploient, élément crucial pour faciliter la transition au travail et créer des milieux institutionnels propices à une interprétation efficace et de qualité.

3. Ouvertures

Les auteurs de ces onze contributions ouvrent plus largement certaines voies thématiques, théoriques et méthodologiques, en mettant notamment en évidence la pertinence des théories de l'argumentation et de la perspective interculturelle, la profondeur perceptuelle apportée par les outils de la pragmatique, la productivité de l'analyse multimodale et de la triangulation des données et des méthodes, ainsi que la puissance analytique issue de l'arrimage de deux cadres théoriques en un seul appareil conceptuel. La plupart d'entre eux mettent également en évidence la co-construction de l'ID par les intervenants primaires et leur contribution à son (in)efficacité, et nous invitent à nous interroger davantage « sur ce qu'œuvrer ensemble peut bien vouloir signifier » (Falbo/Niemants 2020 : 63 [emphasis dans l'original]), selon les différents contextes d'interaction.

Cela dit, bien d'autres thématiques et méthodes productives en ID ne figurent pas dans ce numéro, bien d'autres voies sont à emprunter. Rappelons tout d'abord les différentes formes que peut prendre la recherche basée sur des observations : observation participante, non participante, ou auto-observation de ses propres pratiques professionnelles et didactiques dans l'objectif de les améliorer par une recherche-action. Comme le font remarquer Baraldi/Mellinger (2016 : 259), les recherches observationnelles sont fréquentes dans le domaine de la traduction, où le processus se déroule devant un écran d'ordinateur et l'on peut donc miser sur l'enregistrement de l'écran, des frappes sur le clavier ou des mouvements des yeux pour récolter des données ; l'on peut ainsi mener des études expérimentales permettant d'observer le processus plutôt que le produit de la traduction. Dans le domaine de

non-verbal features of communication, which are crucial for making sense of what is being said. Irene Zanot's reflexive approach thus brings to the fore essential benchmarks for teaching DI by remote, and the lessons she draws can serve as a springboard for the future, as the remote teaching and practice of DI will undoubtedly become more widespread.

The last contribution echoes the first one, which concluded on the need for briefings between the interpreter and the institutional representative. Within an organisationally-centred theoretical framework, Jonathan Downie and Graham Turner describe the PEAS project implemented in Scotland, which involved English-British sign language interpreters. The first objective was to reduce the gap between training and work by providing interpreters a six-month internship, including placements in the Police and the National Health Service, alongside mentoring, supervision and coaching. The second objective was to promote DI in the two institutions involved. The authors examine the effects of the project in both institutions and discuss the relevance of the results for the implementation of similar projects and for the theorisation of interpreting. This study highlights the need for collaboration between the institutions that train interpreters and those that employ them; it appears to be a crucial element in facilitating the transition to work and creating institutional environments conducive to effective and quality interpreting.

3. Openings

The authors of these eleven contributions open more widely some thematic, theoretical and/or methodological directions of research, highlighting in particular the fruitfulness of theories of argumentation and of the intercultural perspective, the perceptual deepening provided by the tools of pragmatics, the productivity of multimodal analysis and of data and method triangulation, as well as the analytical power of combining two theoretical frameworks into a single conceptual apparatus. Most of them also point to the co-construction of DI by primary speakers and their contribution to its (in)effectiveness, thereby inviting us to further question "what working *together* might mean" (Falbo/Niemants 2020: 63 [our translation, emphasis in original]), depending on the different contexts of interaction.

That said, there are many other productive themes and methods in DI that are not included in this issue, and there are many other paths to follow. First of all, let us recall the different forms that research based on observations can take: participatory or non-participatory observation, or self-observation of one's own professional and teaching practices with the aim of improving them through action research. As Baraldi/Mellinger (2016: 259) point out, observational research is common in the field of translation, where the process takes place in front of a computer screen and one can therefore rely on screen recording, keystroke logging or desktop eye tracking to collect data; experimental studies can therefore be conducted to observe the translation process rather than its product. In the field of DI, however, cognitive research into the

l'ID, en revanche, les recherches cognitives sur le processus d'interprétation – entre autres basées sur des dispositifs d'enregistrement des mouvements des yeux de type lunettes ou sur des bracelets permettant de mesurer des paramètres physiologiques tels que l'activité électrodermale, l'activité cardiovasculaire et la température – n'en sont qu'à leurs balbutiements (e.g. Tiselius/Sneed 2020). Il s'agit donc d'une voie qu'il vaut sans aucun doute la peine de poursuivre en profitant d'avancées technologiques qui permettent aujourd'hui de constituer de larges corpus et de les analyser avec les outils de la linguistique de corpus, ainsi que de croiser différentes perspectives et méthodes de collecte (e.g. enregistreurs audio, caméras, bracelets, etc.). Cette ligne de recherche cognitive, très prometteuse, est également alimentée par des moments de rencontre tels que la conférence internationale sur la traduction, l'interprétation et la cognition (ICTIC), dont la troisième édition s'est déroulée à l'Université de Bologne, à Forlì, et où l'ID faisait l'objet d'un panel coordonné par Jelena Vranjes et Esther De Boe. Les présentations sur l'ID étaient certes beaucoup moins nombreuses que celles sur l'interprétation de conférence, où les études sur la simultanée et les différentes plateformes d'interprétation simultanée à distance se multiplient, alors qu'on ne peut pas en dire autant pour les systèmes permettant l'ID à distance. Toutefois, l'organisation de ce panel témoigne de la faisabilité de cette ligne de recherche observationnelle. Celle-ci nécessite par ailleurs une réflexion sur l'élaboration et la mise en place des protocoles d'observation et des formulaires de consentement permettant d'assurer la confidentialité et le traitement des données collectées et transcrites. Baraldi/Mellinger (2016 : 260) font utilement le point sur les avantages et les désavantages des enregistrements audio ou vidéo, et Parry *et al.* (2016) fournissent des recommandations pour tout chercheur utilisant la vidéo dans des contextes sensibles et souhaitant utiliser ses données à des fins didactiques. Il reste toutefois encore à approfondir la question cruciale des formulaires sur le traitement des enregistrements, pour éviter de ne pas tirer pleinement bénéfice des données – généralement collectées au prix de nombreux efforts – ou pire, de ne pas pouvoir les utiliser parce que les participants retirent leur consentement.

Sur le plan des phénomènes discursifs, épinglons entre autres l'intérêt d'explorer davantage les traces de polyphonie et d'hétérogénéité énonciative, la dimension prosodique de la production et de la compréhension du discours, et donc de la négociation du sens, la manière dont le locuteur utilise les moyens linguistiques pour renvoyer à l'implicite ou orienter vers une conclusion, la co-construction des émotions en interaction et l'agentivité relationnelle de l'interprète. Il serait également fructueux d'approfondir notre compréhension de la façon dont la manipulation d'objets, et principalement d'ordinateurs désormais omniprésents dans tout secteur d'intervention, influence les activités verbales et non verbales de tous les interactants, y compris de l'interprète. Par exemple, les soignants manipulent les outils de leur profession et remplissent de plus en plus souvent des dossiers numériques pendant les consultations, ce qui pourrait se prêter à l'enregistrement des frappes sur le clavier ou à celui des mouvements des yeux depuis un appareil à fixer sur l'écran. Ces méthodes soulèvent néanmoins des questions de faisabilité et de validité écologique lorsqu'on les utilise dans un environnement naturel, et il convient d'y apporter des réponses attentives.

Enfin, l'actualité nous rappelle tristement qu'il est nécessaire d'encore mieux cerner les complexités de la pratique de l'ID à distance, ainsi que les implica-

interpreting process – based, for example, on wearable eye trackers or on wristbands for measuring physiological parameters such as electrodermal activity, cardiovascular activity and temperature – is still in its infancy (Tiselius/Sneed 2020). It is therefore an avenue that is undoubtedly worth pursuing by taking advantage of technological innovations that now make it possible to create large corpora and analyse them with the tools of corpus linguistics, as well as to cross different perspectives and data collection methods (e.g. audio recorders, cameras, wristbands, etc.). This promising line of cognitive research is also fuelled by meetings such as the International Conference on Translation, Interpreting and Cognition (ICTIC), whose third edition took place at the University of Bologna, in Forlì, and where DI was the focus of a panel coordinated by Jelena Vranjes and Esther De Boe. The presentations on DI were much less numerous than those on conference interpreting, where studies on simultaneous and different remote simultaneous interpreting platforms are mushrooming, while the same cannot be said about systems allowing remote DI. Nevertheless, the presence of this panel demonstrates the feasibility of this line of observational research, which requires some reflection on the design and implementation of observation protocols and consent forms to ensure the confidentiality and processing of the data collected and transcribed. Baraldi/Mellinger (2016: 260) usefully sum up the advantages and disadvantages of audio vs video recordings, and Parry *et al.* (2016) provide recommendations for any researcher using videos in sensitive contexts and wishing to use their data for training purposes. However, the crucial issue of consent forms on recorded data processing still needs to be examined more closely, to avoid not getting the full benefit of the data – usually collected with great effort – or worse, not being able to use it at all because participants withdraw their consent.

In terms of discursive phenomena, it would be interesting to investigate more deeply the traces of polyphony and enunciative heterogeneity, the prosodic dimension of discourse production and understanding, and thus of the negotiation of meaning, the way in which the speaker uses linguistic means to refer to the implicit or orient towards a conclusion, the co-construction of emotions in interaction and the interpreter's relational agency. It would also be fruitful to deepen our understanding of how the manipulation of devices, mainly computers now ever-present in any professional setting, influences the verbal and non-verbal activities of all participants, including the interpreter. For example, clinicians manipulate their professional tools and increasingly fill in digital forms during consultations, which may be conducive to keystroke logging or screen eye tracking. These methods nevertheless raise issues of feasibility and ecological validity when used in a natural environment, which needs to be carefully addressed.

Lastly, current events are a sad reminder of the need to better understand the complexities of remote DI practice, as well as the implications of interpreting in health and migration crises, conflict and war. They also invite us to question DI educational practices and to make a thoughtful distinction between skills and knowledge that can be developed in remote conditions, and (mainly non-verbal) actions that necessarily need the face-to-face mode so that students

tions de l'interprétation en situation de crise sanitaire et migratoire, de conflit et de guerre. Elle nous invite également à nous interroger sur l'enseignement de l'ID, en opérant une distinction réfléchie entre d'une part des compétences et des connaissances qui peuvent être développées à distance, et d'autre part des actions (principalement non verbales) qui ont en revanche nécessairement besoin du mode présentiel pour que les étudiants puissent d'abord les observer et ensuite les (re)produire. Nous soulignons à ce propos la pertinence pédagogique de faire appel aux techniques théâtrales dans l'enseignement de l'ID.

Malgré les limites de ce numéro, nous espérons que les lecteurs y trouveront quelques sources d'inspiration pour investiguer l'ID dans un esprit créatif, interdisciplinaire et appliqué à la réalité de la profession et de la formation. Nous le concevons comme une invitation à s'accorder un temps de réflexion, à conscientiser une nouvelle fois la riche palette des possibles, pour commencer ou continuer – selon son parcours de recherche – à contribuer à la vitalité créatrice qui caractérise la recherche dans ce domaine.

can first observe and then (re)produce them. In this regard, we emphasise the pedagogical relevance of using theatre techniques in the teaching of DI.

Despite the limitations of this issue, we hope that readers will find some sources of inspiration for investigating DI in a creative and interdisciplinary spirit, in line with the reality of the profession and of training. We see it as an invitation to take some time for reflection, to raise awareness of the wide range of possibilities, to start or continue – depending on one’s research path – to contribute to the vitality that characterises research in this field.

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A non-native-speaking patient with and without an interpreter: what is the difference? A case study in mental health

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Abstract

Communication is vital in psychiatry, but it can be impaired when speakers do not share a language or lack language proficiency. The aim of this study is twofold: firstly, we examine how the interpreter's presence has an impact on communication between psychiatrist and patient in a psychiatric consult; secondly, we explore the possibility to compare two different types of language mediation (in this case, a professional interpreter and Dutch as a foreign language to the patient) through the triangulation of data and analytic methods. In this respect, two psychiatric consultations were video-recorded. Additionally, a retrospective interview was conducted with the psychiatrist. The discursive data were analysed using conversation analysis focusing on turn design, question-answer sequences, and topic development, combined with quantitative elements (e.g. turn count) and the results from a thematic analysis of the interview transcription. The analysis revealed advantages and disadvantages in working with an interpreter and showed some discrepancies between the psychiatrist's perceptions or expectations and what we found in the discursive data. We conclude that the combination of research methods provides valuable insights into psychiatric consultations with and without an interpreter.

Keywords

Interpreted-mental health consultations, language barrier, language mediation, interpreting studies, case study, conversation analysis, retrospective interview, triangulation of data and methods.

Introduction

Communication is of vital importance in psychiatry: it is used during anamnesis, diagnosis, treatment, and building of a therapeutic relationship. Smooth communication is not self-evident and can be impaired by many elements, particularly when doctor and patient do not share the same language or lack language proficiency (e.g. Bauer/Allegría 2010). In this respect, research has mentioned that doctors adapt their interviewing style and pose more closed-ended questions (Drennan/Swartz 2002) and that patients provide shorter replies, speak slower, make more pauses, utter incomplete sentences, stutter more (Marcos *et al.* 1973), and report fewer symptoms (Price/Cuellar 1981).

Interpreters can bridge the language gap. Research on interpreters in mental health care already covers various topics, such as interpreter accuracy (e.g. Vasquez/Javier 1991; Farooq *et al.* 1997), interpreter role (e.g. Bot 2005; Delizée/De Ridder 2016), interpreters' effect on treatment outcome (e.g. Dekker *et al.* 2009), interpreting training (e.g. Cerci/Neale 2018), and patient satisfaction (e.g. Villalobos *et al.* 2016). Research has shown that interpreters have gained attention from various disciplines, such as psychology and sociology. We noticed, however, that studies performed on interpreters in mental health care are less frequently carried out from the angle of linguistics or Interpreting Studies (with some exceptions, e.g. Delizée/Michaux 2019, 2020). The interdisciplinarity is also reflected in the many research methods and ways of collecting data: interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires, studies based on audio/video recordings using discourse analysis (e.g. Sleptsova *et al.* 2017; Bot 2005), as well as studies that combine multiple research methods, e.g. observations and interviews (Mirza *et al.* 2017), questionnaires and interviews (Hsieh *et al.* 2013), and discourse analysis and interviews (Bot 2005).

Most studies only discuss professional interpreters as the pre-eminent way to bridge language gaps. In contrast, other solutions, such as a *lingua franca* or the use of the doctor's native language, are not mentioned. This paper reports on a unique study in which two types of language mediation are compared (professional interpreter and the use of Dutch as a foreign language to the patient) using conversation analysis, combined with the results of a thematic analysis of an interview with the attending psychiatrist. The aim of the present study is, firstly, to examine how the interpreter's presence impacts communication between psychiatrist and patient in a psychiatric consultation; secondly, to explore the possibility of comparing two different types of language mediation through triangulation of data and analytic methods.

This paper starts with an outline of the data and methodology (section 1), continues with the results and discussion (section 2), and ends with a conclusion (section 3).

1. Data and methodology

This study uses a triangulation of data and analytic methods. We analyse two sets of data: firstly, two video-recorded psychiatric consultations; secondly, a retro-

spective interview was conducted with the attending resident-psychiatrist. Next, different analytic methods were selected: we look at the video-recorded consultations through the lens of (qualitative) conversation analysis, but we combine this method with quantitative elements by, for example, counting the number of turns-at-talk and measuring the pauses; the interview, on the other hand, is analysed using thematic analysis. This triangulation of data and analytic methods is chosen to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the psychiatric consultation with and without an interpreter. Moreover, this kind of triangulation attempts to improve the validity of the results (e.g. Aguilar-Solano 2020). After briefly introducing the participants and data (1.1), the methodology will be elaborated on (1.2).

1.1. Participants and data

1.1.1. Participants

There are three participants: the resident-psychiatrist, the patient, and the interpreter. The psychiatrist is a male resident-psychiatrist (25-35 years old). The patient is a Hungarian woman (20-30 years old) who has been living in Belgium for several years and has an intermediate understanding and knowledge of the Dutch language. She comes to the psychiatric hospital for a regular follow-up after a psychotic episode about a year ago. This disorder is in remission.

The interpreter is a male, professional public service interpreter (40-50 years old) who comes under the *Agentschap Integratie en Inburgering* (Agency for Integration), a Flemish government service. These interpreters are bound by a code of ethics for public service interpreting. One of the implications is that the interpreter has to give a complete and faithful rendition of everything said, without additions, omissions, or alterations (Agentschap Integratie en Inburgering 2017: 2).

1.1.2. Data

The first data set contains two psychiatric consultations: one that is held in Dutch (foreign language to the patient but not to the doctor) (= C1), and one in which an interpreter is present (Dutch-Hungarian) (= C2). These are two subsequent consultations with an interval of approximately five weeks that were both video-recorded using a Sony HDR-AS200V device with a remote control the doctor handled. The recordings last respectively 28 minutes (C1) and 45 minutes (C2).

The second data set contains a retrospective semi-structured interview with the resident-psychiatrist. The interview took place approximately two months after C2, and the psychiatrist was asked how he experienced the difference between the consultation with and without an interpreter. The interview was audio-recorded using a Sony ICD-PX820 digital voice recorder.

1.2. Conversation analysis

Since we are interested in how the doctor and patient communicate and how this changes when an interpreter is present, we adopt a conversation analytic approach to analyse how the interaction unfolds and is co-constructed.

Conversation analysis (CA) is a frequently used research method in public service interpreting (Zanettin 2019: 108), with the pioneering work of Wadensjö (1998), who studies interpreting as interaction. Since that study, CA has been successfully applied to various settings, such as police interviews (e.g. Nakana 2011), healthcare encounters (e.g. Raymond 2014), and mental health care encounters (e.g. Bot 2005; Vranjes/Bot 2021). However, mental health remains a challenging setting to gather video-recorded data necessary for a detailed turn-by-turn analysis of the interaction (Zanettin 2019: 109).

This study relies on some basic principles found in CA: firstly, turn-at-talk and turn-design or how the participants construct their turn to carry out actions (Drew 2013: 131); secondly, sequence organisation or the way turns are ordered and combined (Schegloff 2007), more specifically question-answer sequences; thirdly, social actions or what the participants do with their turns (Levinson 2013); finally, we analyse topic development which is less typical for CA (except e.g. Levinson 1983; Drew/Holt 1998). This section provides an overview of these foci, but we will first introduce the transcription method.

1.2.1. Transcription

The consultations were transcribed using the Jefferson transcription system, which is a system that is often used in CA studies because it allows a detailed analysis of not only what is said but also how it is said by including paralinguistic features, such as pauses, gestures, and intonation (see Jefferson 2004: 24-31). A list of the transcription conventions used in this study is presented at the end of the paper. We anonymised the following data: all personal names, all geographic references, names of employers, schools, institutions, and medication.

The Hungarian segments were transcribed and translated by a professional translator with mother tongue Hungarian, and excellent knowledge of English and Dutch. The transcriber/translator made a transcription of the Hungarian segments and translated them into English and Dutch. After receiving the translation, we went through the entire document with the transcriber/translator and asked questions.

1.2.2. Turns and turn-design

Doctor and patient take turns in speaking in a psychiatric consultation. These turns are a fundamental element in CA (e.g. Drew 2013): in a turn-at-talk, we have to keep the previous turn in mind, decide what we want to achieve with our turn, and anticipate what will come next. This makes turns-at-talk and the turn-design

crucial interactional building blocks that contain ample information, such as how turns are constructed and how the consultations are structured. It becomes more complicated to manage the turns-at-talk when an interpreter is present because the consultation no longer is dyadic but changes to a triad.

We qualitatively analysed the interaction and added a quantitative element by counting the number of turns and measuring the turn duration and pauses¹ (with the audio editor Audacity). Since we compare a consultation with and without an interpreter, this quantitative information gives more insight into the differences in the communicative behaviour of the speakers.

1.2.3. Question-answer sequences

Turns are combined into clusters or sequences. In psychiatric consultations, question-answer sequences are omnipresent, which is why this is a significant focus in this research. Questions are the primary mechanism by which doctors control the conversation, achieve their aims (e.g. history taking, making a diagnosis), and form a therapeutic alliance (Thompson *et al.* 2016). We analyse question-answer sequences to find out if the doctor poses different or fewer/more questions in a consultation with or without an interpreter, if the questions indicate interactional problems, and if the interpreter's rendition has an impact on the communication flow (e.g. does the rendition alter the meaning of what was said?).

We investigated the question types, the questions' social action in the psychiatric consultation, the patient's answers, and the possible impact of translation shifts in the question-answer sequences. The question types were classified into two categories: closed-ended questions and open-ended questions. A further sub-classification of those two categories is based on Thompson *et al.* (2016). The category of closed-ended questions includes yes/no questions, declarative questions, tag questions, lexical tag questions², alternative questions that give the patient alternatives to choose from, and check questions. The category of open-ended questions includes 'wh'-questions (i.e. content questions), incomplete questions, and repair questions (for more detailed information on the different types, see Thompson *et al.* 2016: 41-42).

Since questions are asked to obtain answers, we also analysed the response to the questions. Following Englert (2010: 2680-2681), we coded all the reactions with the following categories: answer, no response, and non-answer. A reaction was coded as 'answer' if it fitted the form and topic of the question. It was coded as 'no response' if there was no reaction, as if the question was being ignored. Finally, a 'non-answer' means that an answer is provided but does not fit the question. As far as the category 'answers' was concerned, we also counted

- 1 Pauses between turns were counted from 0.5 seconds onwards because a short pause between two turns is common.
- 2 In the case of a tag question, a verb and pronoun are added to a declarative question (e.g. you are sleeping well, aren't you?). The tags of lexical tag questions are shorter: a question tag is added (e.g. you are sleeping well, right?).

the number of one-word answers because it showed that not all answers were equally workable for the doctor, such as concise answers, in particular ‘yes’, ‘no’, ‘hm’, ‘okay’. The fact that non-answers did not meet the doctor’s expectations can have several explanations that we coded as well³: the answer can be vague, unclear, off-topic, non-type-conforming (e.g. a content question answered with yes or no), or the patient can answer with a remark about the question or a supplementary question.

1.2.4. Social actions

Turns-at-talk are ordered to perform (social) actions: we are ‘doing’ things when we speak, such as greeting, apologising, asking questions (Levinson 2013). Asking questions in a consultation serves different actions. Englert (2010: 2676-2679) identifies five different actions: “information request” (to gather more information on a topic); “repair initiation” (to repair communication by asking for clarification or by reformulating the question to make the patient understand; to make sure doctor and patient are on the same level of understanding to continue the consultation); “request for confirmation” (to have a statement confirmed by the patient); “assessment” (to make an assessment or to paraphrase what the patient said); and “suggesting, offering and requesting” (to make a suggestion, an offer or request to do something, e.g. may I take your ID?).

1.2.5. Topic development

The analysis of topic development is not a typical focus in CA, except for a few studies, such as Levinson (1983) and Drew and Holt (1998). The main reason for the lack of conversation analytic studies is the problematic concept of ‘topic’ (Yang 2019). Therefore, CA does not focus on a definition of topics but instead sees topical coherence as an action to be performed in the conversation:

Topical coherence is something constructed across turns by the collaboration of participants. What needs then to be studied is how potential topics are introduced and collaboratively ratified, how they are marked as ‘new’, ‘touched off’, how they are avoided or competed over and how they are collaboratively closed down (Levinson 1983: 315).

This study includes the analysis of topic development since it gives information on the consultations’ structure and how speakers shift from one topic to another with and without an interpreter.

To categorise the topics, we needed categories to code the sequences. Therefore, we used the *Roter Interaction Analysis System* (RIAS) (Roter 2013), a coding system widely used to code doctor-patient communication. However, we did not use the RIAS software but only took over their categories to label the topics in our

3 Englert (2010) only coded remarks like “I don’t know” as non-answers.

discursive data⁴. From now on, we call them RIAS-topics (see Table 1). The RIAS manual explains what these topics mean by giving examples of what they entail (Roter 2013); we use those examples as subtopics.

RIAS-topics	Subtopics
1. Medical condition	condition, symptoms, diagnosis, prognosis, past tests, test results, medical background, personal and medical histories, practices and allergies
2. Therapeutic regimen	treatment plan*: medication*, therapy*, new appointment*, recommendation*
3. Lifestyle information	smoking, diet, alcohol, exercise habits, family situation*, home situation*, work or employment, health habits, self-care issues and activities*
4. Psychosocial information	stress, feelings, emotions, general state of mind, philosophical outlook, values, beliefs, *behaviour
5. Other information	clinic paperwork, exam or study procedures
* Opening	
* Closing	

**These (sub)topics were adapted or added according to what appeared in the data; the other ones are taken from the RIAS-manual*

Table 1: RIAS-topics and subtopics

We added two topics that cannot be found in RIAS: opening and closing. The opening topic contains all turns that precede the doctor's opening question (e.g. how are you doing?). The closing topic contains turns in which doctors indicate that they are closing the consultation. This can be saying goodbye, but if the doctor asks if there are any questions and the patient answers no, this was also coded as closing. If, on the other hand, the patient answers with a specific question or statement, the turns were coded according to the content of that question/statement.

It is insufficient to merely analyse the topics to understand how a consultation is structured and how it unfolds; it is also essential to examine the shifts from one topic to another. Every time we encountered a topic shift, we analysed how long the topic lasted (pauses in and between turns included), how many turns that topic took, who initiated the new topic and how the shift took place (with a question or a statement). CA literature teaches us that there is a preference for continuity in talk (Sacks 1987). That is why we looked at who initiated the transition and if the introduced topic was linked to the previous one. Many CA studies focus on topic management, and various terms are used for the different kinds of shifts. We decided to adopt the following three terms: "fitted" (e.g. Yang 2019) means that there is a continuum with the prior turn; "disjunctive with a transition marker" (e.g. Yang 2019) means that the topic is closed down

4 RIAS support for the software ended at the beginning of 2019.

by a marker, such as ‘okay’ followed by a pause, after which the new topic is introduced; and “disjunctive abrupt” (Garcia/Joanette 1997) means that there is no transition marker and the shift is abrupt. Finally, we added one category ourselves: ‘semi-fitted’ topic shifts which are shifts that do not fit the last turn but refer, for instance, to a topic earlier in the consultation, often because the doctor wants to elaborate on something that was said before.

1.3. Thematic analysis

The resident-psychiatrist was interviewed asking for his thoughts about the different consultations, and he was asked to comment on some video fragments from the consultation. The interview took the form of a semi-structured retrospective interview that was qualitatively analysed using thematic analysis (e.g. Paillé/Mucchielli 2012; Vaismoradi/Turunen 2013). The interview was transcribed, and the most important themes that emerged in the interview were coded: mainly disadvantages that the doctor encountered when holding the consultation with an interpreter, a *lingua franca*, or in a language that is not the patient’s native language (e.g. feeling restricted by the interpreter’s presence, feeling uncomfortable in a French consultation, feeling frustrated when he was unable to elaborate on topics because of language problems).

Table 2 gives an overview of the psychiatrist’s main statements in the interview about the consultations without and with an interpreter.

	Consultation in Dutch (C1)	Consultation with interpreter (C2)
1.	It is shorter, lasts hardly half an hour.	Lasts longer, 45 minutes.
2.	The patient speaks in a fragmentary way. She is not sufficiently able to express her thoughts and feelings.	The patient continues talking for a longer time, is talking more freely, more about her feelings.
3.	He (=psychiatrist) is not sure the patient understands him. Therefore: more repetitions, checks.	He (=psychiatrist) is more sure that the patient understands him.
4.	The conversation is more like going through a list, is more directed by yes-no questions.	The conversation is in-depth, explores, can deepen. More detailed questions can be asked.
5.	It does not go beyond facts. Therapy is purely medicinal.	More therapeutic, more empathic, better for rapport building.
6.	He (=psychiatrist) inserts silences to allow the patient to add more.	The interpreter fills up silences.
7.	There is direct contact.	There is no direct contact. The conversation is mediated by the interpreter.

Table 2: Summary of the interview

In the following section, the doctor's perceptions, listed in the above Table, are compared to the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the discursive data.

2. Results and discussion

2.1. Turns and turn design

As expected, the consultation with the interpreter (C2) lasts longer than the consultation without the interpreter (C1) (C1: 28', C2: 45') since the doctor's turns have to be translated into Hungarian, and the patient's turns have to be translated from Hungarian into Dutch. This also applies to the total turn duration, i.e. the duration of the consultation minus the pauses between the turns (see Table 3). However, Table 3 also shows that when we deduct the interpreter's turn duration from the total turn duration (38'34.0" – 18'41.4"), the consultation without an interpreter lasts longer than the consultation with an interpreter. In particular, the doctor's turns last longer in C1 (C1: 14'23.9", C2: 12'52.5").

	C1 WITHOUT interpreter	C2 WITH interpreter
Doctor	14' 23.9"	12' 52.5"
Patient	7' 19.2"	7' 0.2"
Interpreter (Hungarian)	-	11' 7.6"
Interpreter (Dutch)	-	7' 33.8"
Interpreter (total)	-	18' 41.4"
TOTAL	21' 43.1"	38' 34.0"

Table 3: Overview of total turn duration

The interview showed that the doctor believes there is a significant difference between the duration of a consultation with and without an interpreter: he cannot elaborate on topics, because of language problems in the consultation without interpreter. The fact that C2's total turn duration is shorter than C1, when we deduct the interpreter's turn duration, does not mean that less information is given in the consultation with an interpreter. Therefore, we have to consider the content of the turns, since in C1 much time is spent on repetition and making sure everything is understood.

However, Table 4 shows that the patient in C2 makes fewer pauses (C1: 1'34.2", C2: 0'32.2"), which indicates that she has fewer difficulties expressing herself in the consultation with the interpreter. Additionally, the patient's turn duration without pauses (DwP) is longer in C2 (C1: 5'45.0", C2: 6'28.0"), which corresponds to the doctor's perception that the patient in C1 speaks in a fragmentary way and is not able to express her thoughts and feelings correctly.

In contrast, in C2, the doctor felt that the patient had longer turns because she could speak more freely in her native language and gave more information about

her feelings. However, the doctor also stated that he likes leaving pauses to allow the patient to add something, but he feels that this was difficult with the interpreter present since the interpreter urged him to fill the pauses. The analysis of pauses does not confirm this: the doctor's pauses in C1 and C2 are approximately the same (C1: 3'36.5", C2: 3'38.9").

	C1		C2	
	WITHOUT interpreter		WITH interpreter	
	PT	DwP	PT	DwP
Doctor	3' 36.5"	10' 47.4"	3' 38.9"	9' 13.6"
Patient	1' 34.2"	5' 45.0"	0' 32.2"	6' 28.0"
Interpreter (Hungarian)	-	-	0' 7.6"	11' 0.0"
Interpreter (Dutch)	-	-	0' 17.5"	7' 16.3"
Interpreter (total)	-	-	0' 25.1"	18' 16.3"

Table 4: Pauses within turns (PT) and duration without pauses (DwP)

The above findings are confirmed in Table 5, showing the average turn duration, which in C2 is longer, both for the doctor and the patient.

	C1		C2	
	WITHOUT interpreter		WITH interpreter	
	PI	PE	PI	PE
Doctor	4.8"	3.6"	6.6"	4.7"
Patient	2.4"	1.9"	3.4"	3.2"
Interpreter (Hungarian)	-	-	6.0"	5.9"
Interpreter (Dutch)	-	-	4.1"	3.9"

Table 5: Average turn duration with the pauses included (PI) and pauses excluded (PE)

Table 5 also confirms that the patient makes fewer pauses in C2 since there is hardly any difference between PI (3.4") and PE (3.2"). This indicates that the patient speaks more in the consultation with the interpreter, with fewer obstacles or problems (pauses), confirming the doctor's perception.

2.2. Question-answer sequences

2.2.1. Questions

Questions constitute a significant part of the psychiatrist's speech: 74,6% in C1 and 74.4% in C2. This is self-evident since an essential task of the psychiatrist is to gather information and explore the patient's problems.

The question types, as well as the intended social action in both consultations, will be compared. Table 6 shows that the ratio between closed-ended and open-ended questions is approximately the same in C1 and C2. However, the doctor stated that he believes the consultation without the interpreter is more like going through a list and more directed by yes-no questions because of language problems, which would be in line with the findings of Drennan/Swartz (2002).

	C1		C2	
	WITHOUT interpreter		WITH interpreter	
	#	%	#	%
Closed-ended questions				
Total	99	73,3	64	73,6
Open-ended questions				
Content	12	8,9	15	17,2
Incomplete	13	9,6	2	2,3
Repair	4	3,0	0	0
Total	29	21,5	17	19,5
Other – double	7	5,2	6	6,9
TOTAL	135	100	87	100

Table 6: Doctor's questions

At the same time, Table 6 shows a significant shift within the category of the open-ended questions. The number of content questions is nearly double in C2 (C1: 8,9%, C2: 17,2%), whereas the number of incomplete questions the doctor uses to engage the patient in the consultation is strongly reduced (C1: 9,6%, C2: 2,3%). Finally, there are zero repair questions in C2. These elements indicate that there are remarkably fewer language problems in the consultation with the interpreter. In this respect, the psychiatrist mentioned in the interview that he could elaborate on specific topics more when the interpreter was present, which is confirmed by the higher number of content questions and the fewer repair and incomplete questions.

Table 7 also shows a significant shift of the questions' intended action from C1 to C2: the doctor poses more questions with the action 'information request' (C1: 40,7%, C2: 63,6%), makes more assessments (C1: 11%, C2: 17%) and fewer questions with the action 'repair' (C1: 17,8%, C2: 4,6%) and 'request for confirmation' (C1: 23,7%, C2: 10,2%).

	C1	C2
	WITHOUT interpreter	WITH interpreter
	%	%
Information request	40.7	63.6
Repair	17.8	4.6
Request for confirmation	23.7	10.2
Assessments	11.1	17.0
Suggesting, offering, requesting	6.7	4.6
TOTAL	100	100

Table 7: Questions' intended action

This again confirms that there are fewer language problems in the consultation with the interpreter: the doctor has more time to ask questions aimed at obtaining information, and making assessments, because he has to ask fewer questions to repair communication (repair questions, requests for confirmation). This confirms the doctor's perception that, in C1, he constantly has to check whether the patient understood what was said (and therefore uses more repetitions and checks).

2.2.2. Answers

It is impossible to assess the interaction by analysing the questions without taking the answers into account. The percentages of the different response types (answer, no response, non-answer) are very similar in C1 and C2 (see Table 8).

	C1		C2	
	WITHOUT interpreter		WITH interpreter	
	#	%	#	%
Answer	113	83.7	71	82.6
No response	0	0.0	0	0.0
Non-answer	22	16.3	15	17.4
TOTAL	135	100	86	100

Table 8: Answer types

However, within the category of 'answers' we notice that in C2, the number of 1-word answers considerably decreases: in C1, 35,7% of the 'answers' are 1-word answers, whereas in C2, it is only 11,3%. This confirms the doctor's perception that the patient's Dutch turns are rather fragmentary.

Within the category of 'non-answers' (Table 9), we notice in C1 that there are more vague/unclear answers, and questions as response, indicating communication problems.

	C1 WITHOUT interpreter	C2 WITH interpreter
	#	#
a. Off-topic	-	1
b. Vague, unclear	8	4
c. Non-type conforming	-	-
d. Question	10	4
e. Remark	2	4
f. Incomplete answer	2	-
g. Interpreter initiates	-	2
TOTAL	22	15

Table 9: Non-answer types

In the consultation with the interpreter, both the doctor and patient need fewer clarifications, and the patient expresses herself more clearly.

2.2.3. Translation shifts

Many elements discussed above indicate that the interpreter facilitates communication in C2. It is however essential to look at the interpreter's renditions because they can have a significant impact on communication. It is evident that interpreting gives rise to shifts such as additions, omissions, and substitutions and that these translation shifts may have an impact on the communication flow. Two examples were selected to illustrate this: Excerpt 1 concerns the rendition of a doctor's question; Excerpt 2 concerns the rendition of a patient's answer.

In this first excerpt, the patient just mentioned that she suffers from concentration and learning problems, but that this was already the case before her psychosis.

533	D	En je vindt nie dat het verergerd is in vergelijking met vroeger <i>and you don't think that it deteriorated compared to before</i>
534		das wat hetzelfde gebleven? <i>that kind of remained the same?</i>
535	I	De euh úgy látja, hogy ez tulajdonképpen nem <u>súlyosbodott</u> ? Az előzőekkel összehasonlítva? <i>But euh you haven't noticed that this actually would have aggravated? When compared to the before?</i>
536	P	Nem No

Excerpt 1: Omission of the doctor's second question

The doctor asks two declarative questions in lines 533-534: the first question is negatively formulated (“you don’t think”), the second is positively formulated (“remained the same”). Consequently, the doctor expects a positive answer (‘yes’) to his second question. However, the interpreter only translates the first question that the patient answers with “No” (line 536). Because the interpreter has omitted the second question, the patient’s answer is ambiguous, and the doctor is not sure how to understand the answer. Therefore, he repeats the second question: “Hetzelfde dan?” (“The same then?”). Finally, the communication was restored, but it took several turns and some interactional effort.

In the lines preceding Excerpt 2, the psychiatrist assessed by explaining what he believes the patient wanted to say: that she is happy at the moment and is relieved that she found a steady job as a house cleaner. He concludes by assuming that the patient’s father is also happy with this situation (the father is an important topic in the consultation). Excerpt 2 shows the patient’s reaction and the interpreter’s rendition:

144	P	Hát én >elégedett< vagyok, >de az< édesapám kevésbé, mert hogy takarítok és >ennek olyannyira nem örül< <i>Well, I'm >happy<, >but my< father is less, because I am cleaning and > he's not so happy with that<</i>
145	I	#Mmmmm hij# is minder gelukkig minder tevreden over want het is maar kuisen en euh (.) euh en hij (.) hij wil iets meer <i>#mmmmm he# is less happy less pleased about it because it is only cleaning and euh (.) euh and he (.) wants something more</i>

Excerpt 2: Rendition of patient’s answer with addition and omission

In Excerpt 2, the patient answers that she is happy, but her father is less happy. The interpreter omits the first part of the answer, although the fact that the patient confirms that she is happy contains essential information for the psychiatrist. Additionally, the interpreter adds the word “only” and the sentence “he wants something more”. This indicates that the interpreter assumes that the father thinks of her cleaning job as inferior, which the patient did not say. Finally, the interpreter’s rendition brings the conversation to the subtopic ‘father’.

Even though we already found several elements that indicate that there are fewer communicative problems in the consultation with the interpreter (turns and turn-design, actions, question-answer sequences), the analysis of the interpreter’s renditions of the question-answer sequences shows that translation shifts can have a significant impact on the type and function of the questions, but also upon the topic development (see section 2.3) and, therefore, the consultation itself. This demonstrates the importance of proper interpreter training in the specific setting of psychiatry.

2.3. Topic development

Topic development encompasses the topics discussed as well as the shifts from one topic to another. In both areas, we notice differences between C1 and C2.

2.3.1. Topics

Table 10 shows that the topics ‘psychosocial information’ (C1: 1x, C2: 6x) and ‘lifestyle information’ (C1: 5x, C2: 9x) occur more frequently in C2 than in C1. These are two crucial topics in a psychiatric consultation.

(RIAS) topics	Number of occurrences		Number of Turns		Topic duration	
	C1 without I	C2 with I	C1 without I	C2 with I	C1 without I	C2 with I
Medical information	4	3	23	18	1'41.0"	1'6.1"
Therapeutic regimen	3	4	99	46	7'31.3"	3'11.9"
Lifestyle information	5	9	217	151	10'49.0"	10'21.4"
Psychosocial information	1	6	21	41	1'13.9"	3'40.8"
Other information	0	0	0	0	0'0.0"	0'0"
Opening	2	1	9	4	0'19.5"	0'6.9"
Closing	1	2	9	9	0'11.1"	0'18.0"
Total			378	269	21'45.8"	37'22.7"

Table 10: Summary of topics in C1 and C2

Additionally, in C2, a higher number of turns is devoted to the topic ‘psycho-social information’ (C1: 21 turns, C2: 41 turns), and the total duration increases from 1'13.9" in C1 to 3'40.8" in C2. The topic ‘lifestyle information’ has fewer turns in C2 than in C1 (C1: 217 turns, C2: 151 turns), but the total duration is approximately the same (C1: 10'49.0", C2: 10'21.4"). This means that, in the consultation with the interpreter, they speak longer about lifestyle without shifting the topic. This confirms that the patient speaks longer when she can speak her native language (Table 5).

The subtopics of ‘lifestyle information’ in C2 differ from those in C1 (see Table 11 and 12).

(RIAS) subtopics	Number of topic units	Number of turns	Duration
Activities – travel	2	50	2'12.7"
Activities – general	1	15	0'30.8"
Diet	1	8	0'10.1"
Employment – study	1	12	0'32.5"
Family situation – relation	1	45	2'49.2"
Health habits – sleep	1	15	0'34.0"
Self-care issues – cannabis	1	13	0'37.2"
Work	2	59	3'22.5"
Total	10	217	10'49.0"

Table 11: Subtopics 'lifestyle information' in C1

(RIAS) subtopics	Number of topic units	Number of turns	Duration
Activities	1	1	0'12.9"
Activities – travel	2	19	0'55.6"
Family situation – mother	1	5	0'25.5"
Family situation – relation	2	12	0'42.4"
Health habits	1	5	0'13.5"
Health habits – sleep	1	30	1'31.9"
Home situation – father	3	42	4'9.3"
Work/employment	2	37	2'10.3"
Total	13	151	10'21.4"

Table 12: Subtopics 'lifestyle information' in C2

In addition to the patient's relationship with her boyfriend, both her mother's character and the relationship with her father are discussed in C2. It is, in particular, the topic about the father that has an essential position in the conversation with 3 topic units, 42 turns, and a total duration of 4'9.3". This is why the doctor mentioned in the interview that he believes the consultation with an interpreter is more therapeutic and more empathic, since he and the patient understand each other and because feelings about essential topics in the patient's life can be discussed.

Next, Table 13 shows that only one subtopic of 'psychosocial information' occurs in C1, i.e. feelings of anxiety, whereas in C2, feelings of insecurity, feelings in general, and mood are also discussed.

(RIAS) subtopics	Number of topic units		Number of turns		Duration	
	C1	C2	C1	C2	C1	C2
Mood	0	3	0	12	0'0.0"	1'12.3"
Feelings – insecurity	0	2	0	16	0'0.0"	1'47.8"
Feelings – anxiety	1	1	21	9	1'13.9"	0'35.4"
Feelings – general	0	1	0	4	0'0.0"	0'5.3"
Total	1	7	21	41	1'13.9"	3'40.8"

Table 13: Subtopics 'psychosocial information' in C1 and C2

We can conclude that more time is spent on discussing the patient's feelings when the interpreter is present, which is essential information in a psychiatric consultation. This confirms the doctor's perception that they could elaborate on the topic of feelings more than in the consultation without the interpreter because language problems no longer hinder them.

Even though the patient can speak in her native language and talk about feelings more, we noticed a striking difference in the patient's non-verbal behaviour: in C2, she nearly constantly looks down while speaking, there is almost no eye contact, and no gesturing. This is entirely different in the consultation without the interpreter (C1). This was a striking element in the analysis of the video recordings, but the psychiatrist mentions in the interview that he overlooked this aspect of the non-verbal behaviour during the consultation. This highlights the importance of a multimodal analysis in which non-verbal elements, such as facial expression, and gaze and gesture are taken into account. They contain crucial information on for example, turn management, interactional problems and emotions (e.g. Miletich 2015; Davitti 2018).

2.3.2. Topic shifts

Neither C1 nor C2 shows a fixed structure or a returning topic order. In both consultations, it is common that one topic recurs several times. Nevertheless, there are differences here between the two consultations.

Firstly, in C1, almost all of the topic shifts are initiated by the doctor (23 of 26), whereas in C2, 8 of 30 topic shifts are initiated by the patient and 1 topic shift by the interpreter (see Table 14).

Topic shifts	C1 without interpreter	C2 with interpreter
initiated by doctor	23	21
initiated by patient	3	8
initiated by interpreter	0	1
Total	26	30

Table 14: Initiation of topic shifts in C1 and C2

This indicates that the patient takes more initiative to participate in the consultation when the interpreter is present.

Secondly, Table 15 shows differences concerning the transition types.

	C1 without interpreter		C2 with interpreter	
	#	%	#	%
Fitted shifts	4	15,38	12	40
Semi-fitted shifts	4	15,38	5	16,66
Disjunctive shifts	18	69,23	13	43,33
Transition marker	13	72,22	4	30,76
Abrupt	5	27,77	9	69,23

Table 15: Transition types in C1 and C2

C2 has a higher percentage of fitted shifts (C1: 15,38%, C2: 40%) and a lower percentage of disjunctive shifts (C1: 69,23%, C2: 43,33%). Nevertheless, within the category of disjunctive shifts, the percentage of abrupt shifts is higher in C2 (C1: 27,77%, C2: 69,23%). The high number of fitted shifts in the consultation with the interpreter indicates smoother communication (one topic goes over into another). On the other hand, the high number of disjunctive shifts in the consultation without the interpreter indicates communicative problems and can be seen as a reflection of the doctor's frustration: he was unable to elaborate on topics because of language problems.

3. Conclusion

The aim of this study was twofold: firstly, we wanted to examine how the interpreter's presence has an impact on communication between psychiatrist and patient in a psychiatric consultation; secondly, we aimed to explore the possibility of comparing two different types of language mediation (professional interpreter and Dutch as a foreign language to the patient) through the triangulation of data and analytic methods. Two data sets were used: two video-recorded psychiatric consultations and a retrospective interview with the psychiatrist. These

data were analysed through the analytic lens of CA, combined with quantitative elements, while the interview was analysed using thematic analysis.

The analysis showed that the interpreter impacts communication in a psychiatric consultation, both positively and negatively, which is in line with previous research (e.g. Bauer/Allegría 2010)⁵. The significant positive impact became apparent in the turns-at-talk and topic development analysis: the interpreter enables the mental health patient to talk about problems and feelings. This is in line with previous findings in the literature that it is difficult to talk about these topics in a foreign language (e.g. Marcos *et al.* 1973). Moreover, the results of the analysis of turn-design, question-answer sequences, and topic developments indicate a more fluent and in-depth conversation with fewer communicative problems, which was also the doctor's perception.

In the interview, the doctor also mentions that the presence of an interpreter involves specific problems, such as pauses between turns and how the interpreter deals with them, which can – as described in the literature – at least partly be solved through clear agreements and good cooperation between doctor and interpreter (Goguikian Ratcliff 2010; Mirza *et al.* 2017: 61; Delizée *et al.* 2021). Therefore, targeted training of interpreters and doctors/therapists is necessary (e.g. Bot 2020: 223). In our case, the doctor can brief the interpreter before the consultation about his practice of inserting pauses and explain why. A second difficulty in having an interpreter present is the interpreter's many translation shifts, of which several had a clear impact on communication. Translation shifts are typical of interpreter-mediated consultations (Napier 2004; Major/Napier 2012) since the interpreter translates into two languages and takes only a few notes. However, interpreters must be made aware of, for example, how psychiatry works and how important the wording of utterances is, but also psychiatrists must learn how to work with interpreters effectively. This confirms the importance of having a briefing session between psychiatrist and interpreter to agree on how to work together.

As far as the methodology is concerned, we can conclude that the triangulation of data and analytic methods provide complementary insights and a more fine-grained picture of what is going on in the psychiatric consultation. Moreover, some discrepancies between the psychiatrist's perception and the results of the qualitative/quantitative analysis of the recorded consultations were revealed. This may give rise to future discussion on how to work with interpreters and it provides incentives for further research. Additionally, the combination of qualitative conversation analysis, quantitative elements, and the retrospective interview was shown to be adequate to compare different types of language mediation.

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5 We will not generalise our findings since our analysis is based on a limited data set.

practical realisation of our research. Finally, we wish to thank Imola Antal for her excellent cooperation concerning the transcription and translation of the Hungarian segments in C2.

Transcription conventions based on Jefferson (2004: 24-31)

=	Equal sign is used to indicate that there is no pause or gap between two utterances.
(.)	A dot in parentheses indicates a really short pause (tenth of a second)
(0.0)	A number in parentheses indicates pauses (seconds and tenths of seconds)
<u>word</u>	Underscoring indicates some kind of stress
WORD	Capitals indicate a raise of voice
::	Colons indicate the prolongation of the prior sound. The longer the colon, the longer the sound was prolonged.
↑↓	Arrows indicate a rising intonation or falling intonation
°WORD°	Degree signs indicate that the words are pronounced softer than the other words
-	A dash indicates a cut-off
[words]	Square brackets are used to indicate overlapping speech.
>words<	Right/left carats indicate that the words are pronounced faster
<words>	Left/Right carats indicate that the words are pronounced slower
.hhh	A dot with 'h's indicates a deep breath
£words£	The pound-sterling indicates that the words are pronounced smiling
#words#	The hashtags indicate that the words are pronounced with a creaky voice
(words)	Parenthesised words are used when information was anonymised, or the transcript is unclear
((words))	Doubled parenthesised words indicate supplementary information (e.g. laughter) or to indicate that something was unintelligible
? ⁶	A question mark indicates that the utterance was coded as a question

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6 Own addition. In Jefferson (2004) the question mark is used to indicate rising intonation.

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Un format horizontal pour transcrire et analyser les interactions triadiques interprétées

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Abstract

The transient character of oral language obliges interpreting researchers to proceed to a transcription of recorded data for purposes of analysis. While transcription is essential to achieve a fine-grained linguistic analysis, its complexity has received scant attention so far in Interpreting Studies. In Public Service Interpreting for example, researchers mainly and usually opt for a vertical transcription format inherited from Conversation Analysis, regardless of their research objectives. Based on a reflexive transcription practice (Bucholtz 2000), this paper explores the use of a horizontal transcription format for qualitative empirical research in dialogue interpreting. It argues that horizontality, i.e. a format in which parallel columns are assigned to the speakers, first enhances the readability of the transcript. Moreover, it highlights both the dynamics inherent to the triadic interaction in the institutional setting and its interactional patterns through the modelisation of the sequences of turns-at-talk. Hence, it facilitates micro and macro linguistic analysis in an interactionist approach. The scientific assets of this method are demonstrated through the analysis of sequences from an authentic interpreted courtroom interaction.

Keywords

Dialogue interpreting, horizontal transcription, column format, reflexive transcription practice, modelisation, qualitative empirical research, interactional patterns.

La transcription consiste à reconstruire le discours oral en discours écrit (Mondada 2008 : 79). Elle constitue un outil méthodologique indispensable si l'on souhaite figer à des fins d'analyse cette performance unique et évanescence qu'est le discours oral. La locution latine « *verba volant, scripta manent* » fait référence à ce décalage sémiotique qui existe entre l'oral et l'écrit et incite à la prudence lors de la formulation d'un texte écrit.

Face aux productions de l'oralité, les chercheurs en interprétation désireux de procéder à une analyse linguistique fine du discours sont préalablement contraints de transcrire les données enregistrées sur support informatique audio ou vidéo. Pourtant, la pratique de la transcription n'a pas bénéficié de beaucoup d'attention dans ce domaine de recherche comme le reconnaissent entre autres Niemants (2012 : 165) et Valero-Garcés (2015 : 154). Présentée comme un outil d'analyse mais également comme un outil didactique (Jacobsen 2002 : 85 ; Wadensjö 1998 : 100-101), la transcription est qualifiée de chronophage, ce qui implique une sélection sans pour autant sacrifier la précision (Niemants 2018 : 669). Le manque de formation spécifique et de directives uniformes est parfois également évoqué (Valero-Garcés 2015 : 165-166). Cependant, au-delà de ces considérations, les chercheurs présentent rarement une réflexion sur les pré-supposés théoriques et les implications méthodologiques de leurs choix alors que ceux-ci configurent les possibilités d'analyse et conditionnent les résultats de leur recherche. Comme le souligne Niemants (2012 : 166), le format majoritairement adopté par les chercheurs en interprétation est le format vertical jefersonien (Sacks *et al.* 1974 ; Jefferson 1984) hérité de l'ethnométhodologie et de l'analyse conversationnelle américaine, et ceci indépendamment de l'objectif de recherche posé :

Work in Interpreting Studies (IS) has rarely questioned but simply re-employed the methods used in other disciplines, and transcription seems to have been mainly discussed in relation to practical issues pertaining to specific projects.

Le présent article ouvre des pistes de réflexion en montrant les avantages de la « spatialisation en colonnes » (Mondada 2008 : 86) pour explorer la dynamique interactionnelle triadique. Comme son nom l'indique, ce format consiste à représenter spatialement le discours en colonnes adjacentes en attribuant à chaque locuteur une colonne fixe, de sorte que les locuteurs sont disposés horizontalement. Par commodité, nous l'appellerons ici « format horizontal ».

1. Les enjeux multiples de la transcription

A partir de la fin des années 1970, les chercheurs en sciences humaines et sociales ont développé des conventions de transcription, des principes généraux et différents systèmes de notation (parmi lesquels Ehlich/Rehbein 1976 ; Jefferson 1984 ; Du Bois 1991 ; Gumperz/Berenz 1993). Dans le sillage de l'article pionnier de Elinor Ochs (1979) « *Transcription as Theory* », ils ont commencé à intégrer

une réflexion critique sur le rôle du transcripteur, sur la validité scientifique et la lisibilité des « transcripts »¹, ainsi que sur les implications méthodologiques et pratiques liées aux choix de transcription.

Cette réflexion critique s'inscrit dans une démarche épistémologique encourageant le transcripteur à prendre conscience que le processus de transcription est une opération complexe de représentation et constitue une pratique avant tout interprétative et sélective dans laquelle il est pleinement impliqué (Bucholtz 2000). En effet, le processus de transcription demanderait au transcripteur de prendre à la fois des décisions de nature interprétative quant au contenu à transcrire et des décisions de nature représentationnelle quant à la forme de la transcription (*Ibid.* : 1439).

En rendant les données orales opérationnelles pour sa propre recherche, le chercheur extrait le discours de son contexte unique de production orale pour le reconfigurer dans un nouveau contexte, cette fois, écrit. La transcription devient de la sorte instrument de pouvoir² car les décisions qu'elle implique peuvent revêtir une dimension éthique et idéologique (Bucholtz 2000 : 1440 ; Gadet 2008 : 45 ; Mondada 2008 : 88).

La transcription est en effet biaisée par une série de facteurs intervenant à la fois durant le processus de transcription et en amont de celui-ci. Parmi ces facteurs, il y a les intentions et convictions du transcripteur, ses présupposés théoriques et culturels, ses objectifs de recherche et compétences, sa représentation mentale du public récepteur, ainsi que ses moyens d'enregistrement.

Comme l'exprime Edwards, la transcription constitue une représentation textuelle empreinte de subjectivité : « No transcript is completely theory-neutral or without bias » (1993 : 3). Cela veut dire que les choix du transcripteur affecteront inévitablement les résultats de la recherche et la façon dont le lecteur se représente le texte (« le transcript ») et les locuteurs (Ochs 1979 : 51). Face à ces enjeux, il est essentiel que le chercheur adopte une « perspective réflexive » (Bucholtz 2000 : 1462 ; Mondada 2008 : 89), consistant à rendre compte de la partialité de ses décisions herméneutiques, et qu'il expose les limites de ses choix, comme le précise Bucholtz : « Our goal should not be neutrality but responsibility » (2000 : 1461). C'est cette réflexive qui a guidé la transcription du corpus présenté dans la section 3. Dans cet article nous nous bornerons à discuter les choix de nature représentationnelle relatifs à la disposition spatiale des données.

1 Comme le souligne Gadet (2008 : 38), le français ne distingue pas, contrairement à l'anglais, l'action de transcrire (« transcription ») du résultat de cette action (« transcript »). Le terme anglais « transcript » sera dès lors utilisé dans cet article lorsque l'emphase est placée sur le produit de la transcription.

2 Dans le domaine de la linguistique juridique anglo-saxonne, des études ont par exemple illustré que les décisions du transcripteur ont une incidence plus que simplement pratique ou éditoriale lorsque les « transcripts » sont utilisés comme preuve en justice (entre autres Coulthard 1996).

2. Comparaison des formats de transcription existants

Il existe plusieurs systèmes de représentation spatiale des données orales. Rappelons que le format le plus communément utilisé pour la transcription de corpus oraux est le format « liste » (1), appelé « format vertical » en anglais. Il consiste à disposer les propos des différents locuteurs verticalement les uns en dessous des autres dans une seule colonne occupant toute la largeur de la page. On trouve ensuite la « spatialisation en colonnes » (2), qui dispose les propos des différents locuteurs dans des colonnes placées côte à côte. Nous avons choisi de l'appeler format « horizontal » car l'alternance des locuteurs est marquée sur l'axe horizontal. Dans l'exemple ci-dessous, la simultanéité de parole est marquée sur l'axe horizontal par des crochets tandis que la chronologie de prise de parole est ordonnée sur l'axe vertical. On trouve enfin le format « partition » (3), qui tire son nom de l'analogie avec le système de portées d'une partition musicale. Ce format dispose également les propos des locuteurs côte à côte, mais contrairement au format en colonnes, il les ordonne verticalement sur une portée respective. La simultanéité de parole est également notée sur l'axe vertical, tandis que la chronologie de prise de parole est indiquée sur l'axe horizontal.

(1) VERTICAL :

A : Did you just get [back]?

B: [Yes], or rather 2 hours ago. It was a great film.

A: Really?

(2) COLUMN:

Speaker A
Did you just get [back]

Speaker B
[Yes], or rather 2 hours ago.
It was a great film.

Really?

(3) PARTITURE :

A: Did you just get [back]?

Really?

B: [Yes], or rather 2 hours ago. It was a great film.

Tableau 1 : Comparaison des trois formats de transcription les plus fréquents (Edwards 1993 : 11)

Ces systèmes ont chacun une conception spécifique de la dimension temporelle du discours et de son organisation en unités de construction du discours (Moncada 2008 : 86). Selon Ochs (1979 : 47) et Edwards (1993 : 3), ils reflètent également une conception différente des relations qu'entretiennent les interactants entre eux. Dans la section 4, nous illustrerons les avantages et inconvénients respectifs des deux premiers formats à partir du même extrait du corpus et nous intégrerons également quelques points de comparaison avec le troisième format.

3. Description des données

Le corpus utilisé est une interaction authentique (néerlandais/français) de 92 minutes enregistrée en 2006 dans une cour d'assises flamande. Il s'agit plus précisément de l'ouverture du procès, soit de l'interrogatoire par un juge néerlandophone d'un accusé francophone par le biais d'un interprète. Le tribunal est un contexte institutionnel marqué par une distribution asymétrique de la parole (Ådelsward et al. 1987 : 314) obéissant à la « préallocation » (Atkinson/Drew 1979 : 62) des tours de parole. Celle-ci consiste en l'attribution prédéterminée par le protocole institutionnel de tours de parole entre le représentant institutionnel, en l'occurrence le juge, et le profane, en l'occurrence, l'accusé, en paires respectives de questions-réponses.

Dans cette interaction triadique, les propos de l'accusé étaient inaudibles pour la Cour et les jurés car ils étaient chuchotés à l'interprète. Cela signifie que seule la version interprétée en néerlandais était perceptible. L'interprète n'avait jamais suivi de formation en interprétation mais avait plus de 10 ans d'expérience en interprétation judiciaire. Hormis le serment de « traduire fidèlement les discours à transmettre »³, il n'existait aucun principe ou code déontologique officiel. Puisque le corpus n'est proposé qu'en guise d'illustration, nous nous limiterons à ces informations contextuelles⁴.

4. Format vertical vs. format horizontal pour transcrire une interaction triadique

Les deux transcriptions qui suivent font appel aux mêmes principes et conventions de transcription. L'auteure propose en italique une traduction française des propos du juge et de l'interprète en néerlandais.

A l'instar du format partition, le format vertical n'établirait pas de hiérarchie entre les locuteurs et tendrait à présenter leurs propos comme automatiquement interdépendants les uns des autres (Edwards 1993 : 3 ; Ochs 1979 : 46). Selon Edwards (1993 : 11), l'alignement sur la gauche, conformément à notre sens de lecture occidental de gauche à droite, conduit le lecteur à considérer les locuteurs comme égaux dans l'interaction : « [...] Vertical format biases the reader to perceive speakers as equally engaged and influential on the course of the interaction ». Le juge, l'interprète et l'accusé sont ici placés sur un pied d'égalité, ce qui évite tout parti pris avant même l'analyse des données.

3 Article 332 du Code d'instruction criminelle en vigueur en 2006.

4 Pour plus d'informations sur le corpus, sur la collecte des données et sur le contexte institutionnel, voir Gallez (2014).

J = Juge ; I = Interprète ; A = Accusé

1. J =Dirse. (.) Heeft hij waar heeft hij school gelopen?
=Dirse. (.) Où est-il allé à l'école?
2. I OÙ est-ce que vous avez été à l'école?
3. A (.) À (.) à l'I.T.
4. I (2) [*respiration audible*] In het I.T. (.) °C'est quoi, ça°?
(2) [*respiration audible*] À l'I.T. (.) °C'est quoi, ça°?
5. A (.) C'e :st (.) à l'I.T., c'e :st (xxx) (.) c'e :st le long de la Francilienne (.) c'e :st=
6. I =L'I.T. c'est le nom de l'école ou c'est l'endroit? =
7. A =Oui c'est [c'est
8. I [C'est le nom de [l'école?
9. A [l'école.=
10. I =Ja, dus I.T. was de naam van de school. I.T. WAS DE NAAM VAN DE SCHOOL.=
=Oui, donc l'I.T. était le nom de l'école. I.T. ÉTAIT LE NOM DE L'ÉCOLE.=
11. J =Dat is in het Franstalig landsgedeelte?
=C'est dans la partie francophone?

Tableau 2 : Exemple de transcription au format vertical d'un extrait de l'interrogatoire

Bien qu'offrant moins de possibilités que le format partition⁵, le format vertical est adapté à la notation de phénomènes de synchronisation temporelle de prise de parole entre locuteurs respectifs (Ehlich 1993 : 131) comme la synchronie et l'enchaînement des tours de parole. Le début du chevauchement de parole (tours 7 et 8) a été représenté par un crochet, comme spécifié dans les conventions de transcription. L'enchaînement entre deux tours de parole est également bien visible (tours 6 et 7, 9 et 10, 10 et 11).

Ce format présente également un avantage lors de la publication des données, car il est plus compact que les deux autres, malgré la place qu'occupe la traduction des tours dans une langue divergente de la langue de publication. Cette traduction, généralement notée entre crochets ou en italique juste en dessous des propos originaux, peut nuire à la lisibilité du transcript, surtout si les deux langues employées par les locuteurs primaires nécessitent toutes les deux une traduction et que les tours de parole sont longs.

Nous proposons ci-dessous le même extrait transcrit selon un format horizontal. Comme Ochs (1979 : 49) et Edwards (1993 : 325) le soulignent, le format horizontal accorderait la priorité temporelle et la prééminence au locuteur se trouvant le plus à gauche. Nous avons donc placé à gauche les propos du juge (A) qui dirige l'interrogatoire. Les propos de l'interprète sont transcrits dans la colonne centrale (B) pour refléter son rôle de pivot entre les deux locuteurs primaires. De par sa position centrale, l'interprète est amené à coordonner la transi-

5 Pour transcrire des données vidéo et les aligner sur les productions verbales des locuteurs, il est préférable d'opter pour un format partition et un logiciel adapté (Valero-Garcés 2015 : 156 ; Niemants 2018 : 670). Il en va de même lorsqu'il s'agit d'analyser la prosodie.

tion des tours de parole entre les deux locuteurs primaires (Wadensjö 1998 : 109). Il est littéralement « the man (or the woman) in the middle » (Knapp-Potthoff/ Knapp 1987 : 181). Les propos de l'accusé occupent la colonne de droite (C) car il est le destinataire de la question, à laquelle il est appelé à répondre, après traduction de l'interprète. Par souci de clarté, nous avons inclus la deuxième intervention initiative⁶ du juge (tour 11).

	Juge (A)	Interprète (B)	Accusé (C)
1.	<u>Dirse.</u> (.) Heeft hij waar heeft hij school gelopen? = <u>Dirse.</u> (.) Où est-il allé à l'école?		
2.		Où est-ce que vous avez été à l'école?	
3.			(.) À (.) à l'I.T.
4.		(2) [respiration audible] In het I.T. (.) °C'est quoi, ça°? (2) [respiration audible] À l'I.T. (.) °C'est quoi, ça°?	
5.			(.) C'e :st (.) à l'I.T., c'e :st (xxx) (.) c'e :st au long de la Francilienne (.) c'e :st=
6.		=L'I.T. c'est le nom de l'école ou c'est l'endroit?= ←	
7.			=Oui c'est [c'est ←
8.		[C'est le nom [de l'école? ←	
9.			[l'école.= ←
10.		=Ja, dus I.T. was de naam van de school. I.T. WAS DE NAAM VAN DE SCHOOL.= ← =Oui, donc l'I.T. était le nom de l'école. I.T. ÉTAIT LE NOM DE L'ÉCOLE.=	
11.	Dat is in het Franstalig landsgedeelte? =C'est dans la partie francophone?		

Tableau 3 : Exemple de transcription au format horizontal du même extrait de l'interrogatoire

6 L'analyse conversationnelle a montré que certains types d'énoncés, comme les paires adjacentes, s'orientent mutuellement les uns envers les autres selon un principe de « pertinence conditionnelle » (Schegloff 1968 : 1083). Par exemple, dans le format question-réponse, la première partie de la paire adjacente (la question), dite « initiative » (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1996 : 38) pose une pertinence conditionnelle car elle définit normativement l'attente et la production de la seconde partie de la paire (la réponse), dite « réactive » (*Ibid.* : 38).

Contrairement au format vertical, le format horizontal prend d'emblée le parti de refléter le rôle interactionnel (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1996 : 20) des locuteurs respectifs et par conséquent, la « préallocation » des tours de parole.

Lorsqu'on compare ces deux formats, on constate que le principal avantage de cette disposition en colonnes réside dans la clarté de visualisation des données transcrites. La comparaison entre le texte source et le texte cible (A et B ou C et B) est facilitée. Ce format permet également de visualiser dans une même unité spatiale les propos originaux et leur traduction proposée par le chercheur (tours 1, 4, 10 et 11).

La notation des propos des différents locuteurs dans des cases séparées impliquerait que les propos adjacents ne sont pas présentés comme interdépendants (Ochs 1979 : 47) ou contingents, ce qui est pertinent dans une interaction interprétée étant donné que l'interprète ne participe pas à la construction du sens de la même façon que les locuteurs primaires (Davidson 2002 : 1284-86 ; Mason 2006 : 361). Ce format demande dès lors du lecteur ou du chercheur une évaluation consciente du lien sémantique et pragmatique qui unit un énoncé avec celui qui le précède ou le suit. Ochs (1979 : 47) fait également remarquer que le format horizontal permet d'établir visuellement des liens de cohérence entre les énoncés d'un seul ou de plusieurs locuteurs, qu'ils soient adjacents ou non.

Grâce à la spatialisation des tours de l'interprète entre ceux des deux locuteurs primaires, la « séquentialité » de l'interaction, c'est-à-dire son organisation structurale (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1996 : 47) est mise en évidence. Par rapport à l'exemple (2) proposé par Edwards (2013 : 11), nous avons choisi de noter chaque tour de parole à un niveau vertical inférieur au précédent, afin de mieux marquer la succession des productions orales. Comme il a été expliqué précédemment, l'alternance des locuteurs suit l'axe horizontal tandis que la succession temporelle des productions orales suit l'axe vertical. Grâce à cette adaptation, le cheminement interactionnel entre les trois locuteurs ainsi que le destinataire des tours, indiqués par les flèches, apparaissent plus clairement. En outre, ce format adapté met en valeur la répartition de la parole entre les trois locuteurs mais également la dynamique interactionnelle, ce qui est particulièrement précieux dans une recherche qui adopte une démarche interactionniste et pragmatique.

Dans la mesure où il accroît la lisibilité, le format horizontal accroît également la maniabilité du transcript. Ceci constitue un avantage non négligeable dans un corpus volumineux dont l'analyse porte sur des unités supérieures à la simple paire adjacente. Globalement, on peut donc dire que le format horizontal contribue à faire ressortir le co(n)texte mais également la « contextualisation » (Pérez González 2006 : 392) dans l'interaction. Il fait en effet apparaître les ajustements interactionnels entre locuteurs pour établir la réciprocité de compréhension. Le tour 6 de l'extrait, dans lequel l'interprète pose spontanément une question de clarification à l'accusé, en est une illustration.

Comme dans les deux autres formats, il est possible de noter certaines caractéristiques temporelles du discours, telles que l'enchaînement entre deux tours (entre le tour 6 et 7) et la simultanéité de parole (entre le tour 8 et 9). Pour représenter la simultanéité de parole, le format horizontal peut faire appel à l'alignement horizontal de deux tours côte à côte et marquer la synchronie par des

crochets, comme illustré dans l'exemple (2) de Edwards (1993 : 11). Dans l'extrait transcrit par nos soins, la simultanéité de parole n'apparaît pas sur une ligne horizontale en raison du décalage vertical des cases. Il convient toutefois de remarquer que dans les deux cas, la linéarité du format horizontal ne se prête pas bien à la notation précise de phénomènes de synchronisation de parole car il ne permet pas d'aligner spatialement les productions linguistiques des différents locuteurs pour montrer comment s'effectue leur synchronisation dans le temps.

En résumé, les avantages pratiques du format horizontal proposé ici ouvrent des perspectives d'analyse qui permettent de comprendre le fonctionnement interne de l'interaction triadique et de mieux cerner le rôle de l'interprète au sein de celle-ci. Les deux sections suivantes illustreront comment le format horizontal peut servir de base à la segmentation du corpus en unités d'analyse hiérarchiquement organisées et à la modélisation de l'interaction.

5. La séquentialité interactionnelle dans l'interaction triadique

Comme mentionné précédemment, les choix méthodologiques de transcription traduisent et définissent une conceptualisation théorique particulière du discours et ils matérialisent à leur tour la segmentation ou le découpage du corpus en unités d'analyse pertinentes (Mondada 2008 : 103).

Comme nous l'avons vu, en mettant en valeur la séquentialité de l'interaction, le format horizontal permet de dégager le tour de parole⁷ comme unité d'analyse. Le tour de parole est transcrit dans une case du format horizontal que nous avons appelée « unité ». L'interrogatoire analysé comporte au total 1312 unités ou tours de parole.

Dans l'interrogatoire, une unité d'analyse supérieure au tour de parole ressort également : la « séquence ». La « séquence » classique peut ici être définie comme l'enchaînement de tours de parole des locuteurs entre deux tours de parole du juge.

Elle correspond plus ou moins à ce que Davidson (2002 : 1284), dans son « modèle collaboratif », désigne par l'enchaînement de différents « métatours », définis comme « the collection of turns necessary for a speaker's contribution to the discourse to be heard by the other interpreter ». Dans la plupart des cas, la séquence est donc initiée par une question du juge mais il peut également s'agir, comme la représentation en modèles ci-dessous le montrera, d'un tour d'une autre nature, comme une remarque procédurale ou un commentaire.

Pour comprendre la signification interactionnelle des tours, il faut se pencher sur le sens véhiculé par les énoncés et l'interpréter en fonction de ce que les locuteurs accomplissent au sein de la séquence. Le « chaînage » séquentiel (Goffman 1987 : 13) dérive en effet de la valeur pragmatique attribuée à certains types d'énoncés et des normes interactionnelles que cette valeur induit :

7 Le tour de parole a été défini selon un critère interactionnel et a été identifié dans la transcription par un changement de locuteur.

La séquentialité découle de la valeur des énoncés et non l'inverse : les « séquences » ne sont pas constituées comme telles sur la seule base de leur séquentialité ; l'application des principes de pertinence conditionnelle et d'implicativité séquentielle repose avant tout sur le contenu sémantico-pragmatique des énoncés. (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005 : 65)

Par conséquent, la représentation du cheminement de la fonction locutrice sous forme de modèles qui découlent de cette transcription horizontale permet d'explorer la nature fonctionnelle des tours de l'interprète et son rôle dans l'interaction.

6. Modélisation de l'interaction triadique

Quatre études (Knapp/Knapp-Potthoff 1985 ; Bolden 2000 ; Davidson 2002 ; Van De Mierop/Mazeland 2009), partant chacune d'un format de transcription vertical, ont inspiré la modélisation séquentielle présentée dans cette section, tant sur le plan conceptuel que représentationnel. A partir d'exemples issus d'interactions interprétées en milieu médical et/ou scolaire, elles identifient toutes les quatre des cheminements séquentiels divergents au chaînage séquentiel « classique » de l'interaction triadique. Celui-ci assimile séquentiellement l'interprète à une « machine traduisante » se limitant à transférer les propos des participants d'une langue à l'autre de sorte que l'interprète assume la fonction locutrice un tour sur deux (Bolden 2000 : 393).

Les études citées se penchent sur la signification interactionnelle de ces divergences pour comprendre ce que l'interprète accomplit au sein des variantes identifiées et les représentent sous forme de modèles, le plus souvent linéaires. Elles s'interrogent également sur les conséquences éthiques que peuvent entraîner ces divergences interactionnelles par rapport au modèle séquentiel classique.

Les modèles que nous présentons ci-dessous, élaborés à partir de la transcription horizontale, permettent de visualiser la dynamique de l'interaction et de quantifier les récurrences. À l'instar du système de notation utilisé par Davidson (2002 : 1282) dans son modèle unique, la traduction de l'interprète est désignée par la lettre attribuée aux propos originaux suivie d'un nombre en exposant (par exemple A^1 pour A) pour rendre compte des divergences que présente la traduction (tant dans la forme que dans le contenu) par rapport au discours source. Comme dans les modèles proposés par Knapp/Knapp-Potthoff (1985), des flèches de style différent (ici, de couleur différente) ont été utilisées pour distinguer le tour de parole d'un locuteur et son destinataire final (son allocataire) du destinataire intermédiaire de ce tour.

6.1. Modèle I : « Modèle classique »

Il s'agit du modèle d'interaction triadique le plus simple et le plus direct. Dans l'interrogatoire analysé, 112 séquences sur 233 suivent ce modèle, c'est donc le plus fréquent (48%). Il reflète le cheminement canonique et unidirectionnel

d'une séquence triadique et se compose en général de 4 tours de parole, soit les actes de langage réalisés dans la première partie de la paire (question du juge) et la seconde partie de la paire (réponse de l'accusé) suivies de leur traduction respective.

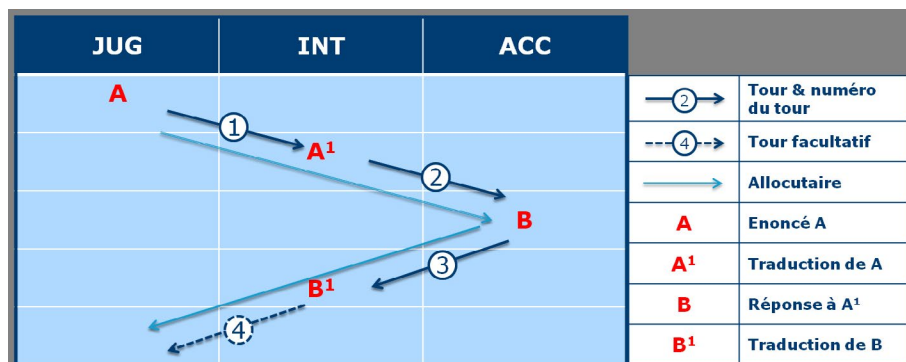


Tableau 4 : Cheminement séquentiel dans le modèle I

6.1.1. Variante du modèle I

Nous avons également considéré que faisaient partie du modèle I les 9 séquences dans lesquelles le quatrième tour (traduction de l'interprète) est omis. Il s'agit de séquences dans lesquelles le juge utilise une structure déclarative plutôt qu'interrogative dans son intervention initiative. Sur la base du corpus, deux hypothèses sont possibles pour expliquer le choix de l'interprète de ne pas traduire la réponse de l'accusé. Soit l'interprète estime qu'il est superflu de relayer la réponse de l'accusé au juge car le comportement non verbal de l'accusé la rend suffisamment explicite. Soit l'interprète perçoit la réponse de l'accusé comme un assentiment ou une confirmation de l'assertion dans la question du juge au moyen d'un simple régulateur de type « mmm ». La séquence peut également constituer ou annoncer une « réparation » d'un problème de communication. Ces modèles I suivent ou précèdent dans ce cas un modèle III. Celui-ci sera illustré dans la section 6.3.

6.2. Modèle II : « Modèle d'expansion »

Il y a « expansion » lorsqu'il y a allongement de la séquence par rapport au modèle classique. Ce modèle est divisé en deux sous-modèles (IIA et IIB) qui présentent un cheminement séquentiel identique, mais qui se distinguent l'un de l'autre par le comportement interactionnel des locuteurs au sein de la séquence.

6.2.1. Modèle IIA : Expansion par auto- ou hétéro-segmentation des tours de parole

Le modèle IIA intervient dans 60 séquences sur 233. Il reflète un des comportements interactionnels suivants :

1. L'interprète segmente la réponse de l'accusé (hétéro-segmentation) en deux ou plusieurs tours de parole (par chevauchement de parole) ou la raccourcit (par un enchaînement) ;
2. L'accusé segmente spontanément sa réponse (auto-segmentation) ;

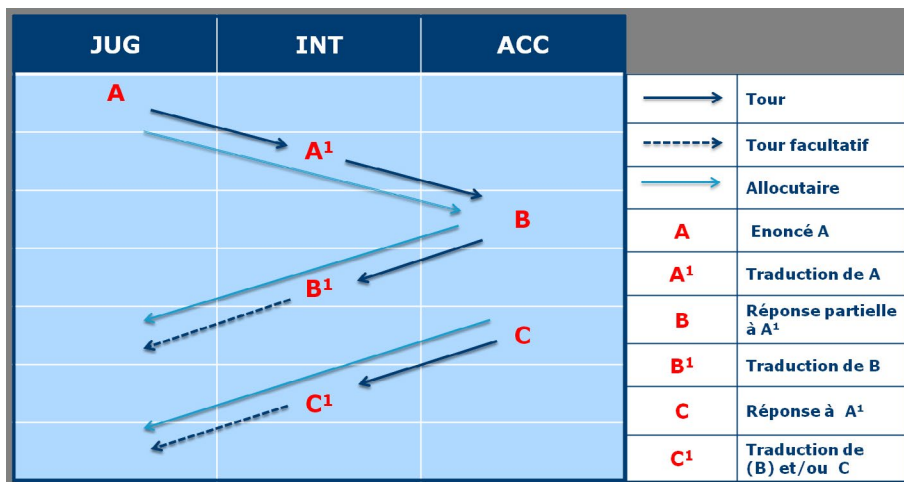


Tableau 5 : Cheminement séquentiel dans le modèle IIA

6.2.2. Variante du modèle IIA

Cinq séquences du corpus correspondent à la variante du modèle IIA. Il s'agit de l'image en miroir de l'auto-segmentation de la réponse de l'accusé, car l'interprète segmente ici spontanément la question du juge (hétéro-segmentation) en deux tours de parole entre lesquels vient s'insérer le premier segment de réponse de l'accusé. Ce segment n'est pas traduit par l'interprète. Le premier tour de l'interprète consiste en une assertion avec demande intonative de confirmation et le deuxième tour contient l'acte de question (voir « two-part » ou « multi-part renditions » selon Wadensjö 1998 : 108).

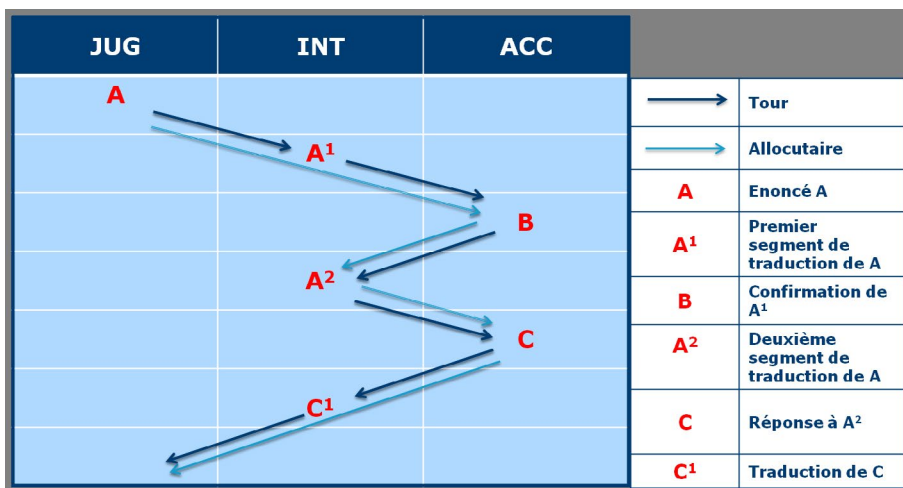


Tableau 6 : Cheminement séquentiel dans la variante du modèle IIA

Les modèles IIA mettent donc en évidence que la transition des tours entre l'accusé et l'interprète ou plus précisément l'emplacement du changement de tour (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1990 : 65 ; 1996 : 30) peut faire l'objet d'une négociation. Ce raccourcissement (par enchaînement ou chevauchement de parole) et cette « hétéro-interruption » (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1990 : 173) des tours d'un locuteur primaire par l'interprète constitue un phénomène que plusieurs chercheurs ont identifié dans les interactions triadiques (Berk-Seligson 1990 : 189 ; Van De Mierop/Mazeland 2009 : 131). Lorsque l'interprète ne maîtrise pas ou n'utilise pas la technique de la prise de note en consécutive, comme c'est le cas dans cette étude, il ne peut se fier qu'à sa mémoire. Ceci pourrait expliquer son empressement à segmenter la réponse de l'accusé une fois qu'elle présente une unité sémantique afin d'éviter une surcharge cognitive. De plus, vu que les réponses de l'accusé manquent souvent de cohérence et de cohésion, la segmentation des tours de parole de l'accusé témoigne d'un souci d'adaptation de l'interprète et lui permet d'exercer un contrôle sur les réponses formulées.

Quelle que soit la motivation de l'interprète, ses interruptions exercent donc une pression extérieure sur la progression du témoignage en cours (Berk-Seligson 1990 : 189) et régulent l'interaction par une distribution de parole (Wadensjö 1998 : 109).

6.2.3. Modèle IIB : Expansion par échange de tours entre l'interprète et l'accusé

Le modèle IIB est présent dans 36 séquences. Au sein de ce modèle, l'interprète entretient un dialogue en français avec l'accusé hors de portée auditive du juge, en aparté, sans en demander préalablement l'autorisation au juge. Cette interaction est déclenchée par une question ou une réaction de l'interprète (C) adressée à l'accusé pour :

1. répéter la question du juge ;
2. préciser la question du juge ;
3. anticiper une question du juge ;
4. clarifier le sens de la réponse de l'accusé ;
5. répondre directement à la question de l'accusé ;
6. exhorter l'accusé à répondre à la question posée.

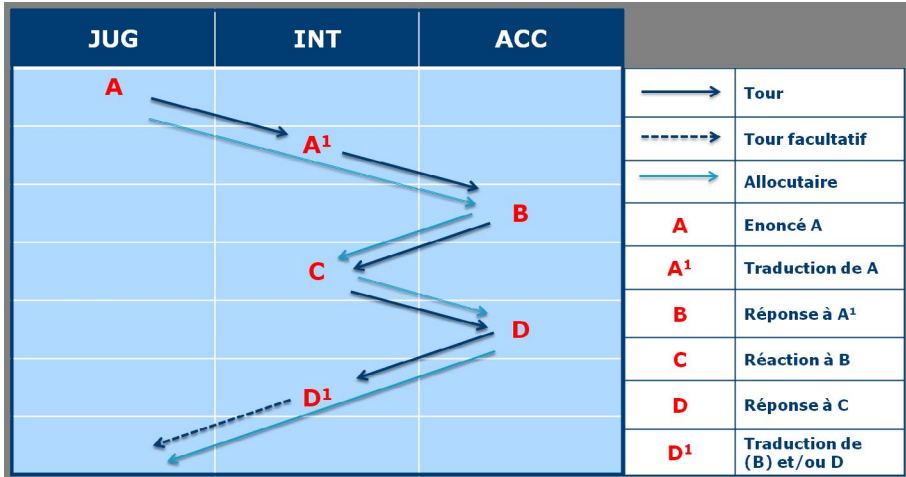


Tableau 7 : Cheminement séquentiel dans le modèle IIB

Il peut arriver, au sein du tour C, que l'interprète traduise d'abord la réponse B de l'accusé pour le juge et enchaîne immédiatement au sein du même tour avec une question adressée à l'accusé. Ce tour (B¹/C, non représenté ici) est alors un tour bilingue, constitué à la fois de propos en néerlandais adressés au juge (traduction) et en français adressés à l'accusé (réaction), comme illustré au tour 4 du tableau 3. Vu leur bivalence, nous avons baptisé ces tours bilingues « tours Janus », conformément à la terminologie utilisée par Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2001 : 64).

6.3. Modèle III : « Modèle unilingue »

Le modèle III intervient dans 16 séquences de l'interrogatoire. Il s'agit d'une séquence dans laquelle il y a interaction directe entre le juge et l'interprète sans que celui-ci fournisse une traduction. La communication entre le juge et l'interprète s'effectue en néerlandais, de sorte que l'accusé en est exclu. Cette interaction est le plus souvent initiée par l'interprète dans le tour 2, ce qui a pour effet d'interrompre la séquence déjà entamée par le juge. Quel qu'en soit l'initiateur, il s'agit d'une « réparation » dans le processus communicationnel ou d'un commentaire de nature métadiscursive. Dans notre corpus, ce modèle reflète un des comportements interactionnels suivants :

1. l'interprète corrige sa traduction et signale la correction au juge ;
2. l'interprète demande au juge de clarifier ou de répéter une question ;
3. l'interprète adresse au juge un commentaire métadiscursif ou métapragmatique⁸ ;
4. l'interprète répond directement à la question du juge au lieu de la traduire ;
5. le juge demande à l'interprète de répéter sa traduction ;
6. le juge signale à l'interprète un problème avec le micro.

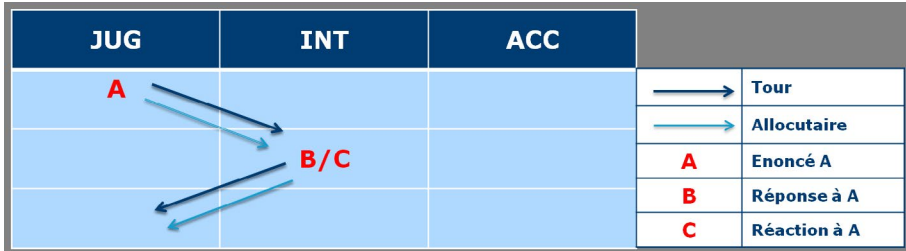


Tableau 8 : Cheminement séquentiel dans le modèle III

En un mot, le modèle III, ou modèle unilingue, permet d'identifier des séquences dyadiques dans lesquelles l'interprète devient un participant verbal actif dans l'interaction et sort de l'interprétation linguistique pour communiquer en tant que « personne indépendante » (Shlesinger 1991 : 152) avec le juge. Dans notre corpus, cette « intrusion » (Berk-Seligson 1990 : 186) de l'interprète dans l'interaction entre locuteurs primaires sert le plus souvent à adresser au juge un commentaire métadiscursif sur le processus de traduction ou une question de clarification. Ce modèle met par ailleurs en exergue des interactions d'ordre technique (requête de parler dans le micro, demande de répétition d'une traduction) à l'initiative du juge.

6.4. Modèle IV : « Modèle unidirectionnel »

Le modèle IV intervient dans 9 séquences de l'interrogatoire. Il se caractérise par son unidirectionnalité car l'acte initiatif du juge, traduit par l'interprète, ne produit pas de réaction verbale de la part de l'accusé. Le modèle ne comprend donc pas de traduction vers le néerlandais. Ce modèle reflète un des comportements interactionnels suivants du juge :

1. commentaire de nature organisationnelle ou métadiscursive (servant à la planification de l'événement interactionnel ou à la planification discursive) destiné à apporter une précision et n'appelant pas de réponse à cet emplacement précis ;
2. question ou commentaire traduits en français par l'interprète mais immédiatement suivis d'une question du juge, ce qui ne laisse pas le temps à l'accusé de réagir ;

8 Il s'agit d'un commentaire sur les conditions de production de l'énoncé.

3. question de clarification sur une thématique à laquelle l'accusé ne souhaite ou ne sait pas répondre.

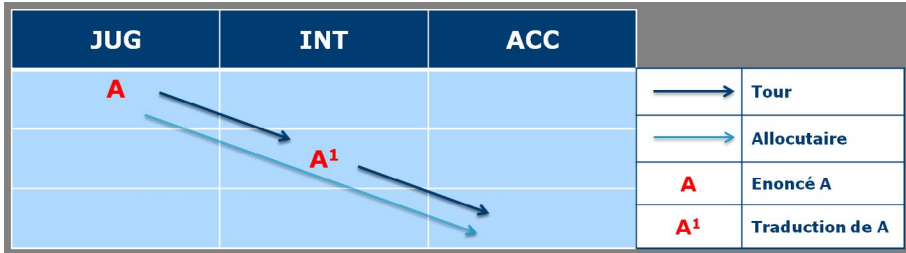


Tableau 9 : Cheminement séquentiel dans le modèle IV

6.5. Modèles particuliers

Dans l'interrogatoire, il arrive également que les délimitations interséquentielles s'estompent en raison de « séquences d'insertion » (Atkinson/Drew 1979 : 56) ou de l'enchâssement de modèles séquentiels dans d'autres modèles séquentiels. En cas d'imbrication ou de croisement entre deux modèles, nous avons choisi de les représenter séparément et de ne pas rendre compte de leur chevauchement sur un tour de parole médian. En cas d'enchâssement, c'est le modèle « dominant » qui a été pris en compte (par exemple un modèle IIB dans un modèle IIA ou un modèle III dans un modèle IIA). En raison de la longueur des extraits, ces modèles ne seront pas illustrés ici.

Les contraintes interactionnelles très fortes qui président à l'interrogatoire font que les particularismes rencontrés sont sporadiques dans le corpus à l'étude (4 séquences) et qu'il est donc possible, malgré ces cas particuliers, de dégager des modèles récurrents.

7. Émergence proportionnelle des modèles interactionnels dans l'interrogatoire entier

Pour rappel, l'interrogatoire compte 1312 tours de parole répartis en 233 séquences. L'émergence proportionnelle des modèles dans l'interrogatoire est la suivante :

- Modèle I : 112 séquences, soit 48%
- Modèle II : au total, 96 séquences, soit 41%
 - Modèle IIA : 60 séquences, soit 26%
 - Modèle IIB : 36 séquences, soit 15%
- Modèle III : 16 séquences, soit 7%
- Modèle IV : 9 séquences, soit 4%

MODÈLES INTERACTIONNELS

- I (classique)
- II (expansion)
- III (unilingue)
- IV (unidirectionnel)

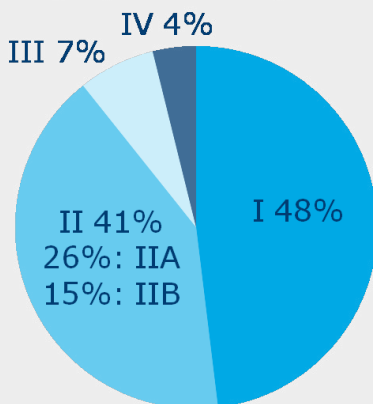


Tableau 10 : Répartition proportionnelle des modèles interactionnels dans l'interrogatoire

Si l'on se penche sur l'émergence proportionnelle des séquences dans l'interrogatoire, on constate que les modèles III et les modèles IV sont les plus faiblement représentés, avec respectivement 7% et 4%. Le modèle I est le plus largement représenté (48%), ce qui signifie que l'interaction suit quasiment dans la moitié des cas le déroulement séquentiel canonique d'une interaction triadique. Le modèle II est quasiment représenté en proportion égale puisque dans 41% des cas, l'interaction est caractérisée par une expansion des tours de parole au sein de la séquence. Cette expansion est due, dans 26% des cas, à une hétéro- ou une auto-segmentation des tours de parole de l'accusé et dans 15% des cas, à un dialogue entre l'interprète et l'accusé.

Les modèles IIB interpellent car ils révèlent d'emblée le rôle collaboratif joué par l'interprète dans l'interaction. Ce type d'intrusion spontanée de l'interprète dans la communication pour entretenir un dialogue avec le « client » est attesté dans de nombreuses études en interprétation de dialogue mais très rarement⁹ dans le contexte de l'interprétation judiciaire car il va à l'encontre des prescriptions déontologiques de neutralité et d'impartialité contenues dans la plupart des codes (Hale 2007 : 108).

Dès lors, vu la récurrence des apartés non audibles et non signalés entre l'interprète et l'accusé dans les données recueillies, vu l'absence de recherches approfondies et systématiques sur le sujet à partir d'études de corpus authentiques au

9 Voir Berk-Seligson (1990 : 192) et Hale (2004 : 194-198) pour quelques exemples. Hale reconnaît ailleurs (2008 : 110) ne pas disposer dans ses données recueillies dans les tribunaux australiens d'exemples significatifs d'apartés non signalés entre l'interprète et le justiciable.

tribunal mais également vu l'impact particulier que ces interventions métapragmatiques de l'interprète peuvent avoir sur la communication et sur l'authenticité des propos de l'accusé, il semble particulièrement intéressant de se pencher de plus près sur les modèles IIB¹⁰.

8. Conclusion

Cet article a montré que les choix de transcription doivent s'inscrire dans une perspective réflexive et qu'ils doivent être guidés par les objectifs de la recherche car ils conditionnent l'analyse. La spatialisation d'une transcription influence la façon dont le lecteur perçoit l'information et évalue l'importance des différents éléments transcrits.

Le format horizontal que nous proposons place l'interprète au cœur de l'échange, conformément à la configuration participative et à la chronologie de prise de parole dans l'interaction triadique. Il présente plusieurs avantages méthodologiques par rapport au format vertical traditionnel et au format partition :

1. il accroît la lisibilité du « transcript » et par conséquent sa maniabilité car il permet de travailler sur des unités d'analyse de dimension différente (tour de parole, séquence) et il facilite les renvois au reste du corpus, même lorsqu'il s'agit d'une vaste quantité de données ;
2. grâce à la séparation des tours de parole des locuteurs dans des cases ou « unités », il permet de visualiser clairement le cheminement de la fonction locutrice et donc la séquentialité de l'interaction. Le format horizontal reflète de cette façon la dynamique interactionnelle et permet d'examiner les ajustements mutuels entrepris par les interactants pour établir la réciprocité de compréhension, tant au niveau local de l'interaction qu'à un niveau supérieur ;
3. par ailleurs, il permet également d'analyser la macro-structure séquentielle de l'interaction sous forme de modèles, c'est-à-dire de dégager des récurrences interactionnelles. Il sert ainsi de base au calcul de l'émergence proportionnelle de chaque modèle dans l'interaction ;
4. enfin, par le biais de la modélisation de l'interaction, il est possible d'identifier les séquences dans lesquelles la séquentialité triadique classique est infléchie par l'interprète.

Ce format de transcription horizontal revisité et adapté à l'interprétation de dialogue constitue dès lors un instrument méthodologique particulièrement utile et flexible pour la description et l'analyse de l'interaction triadique dans une perspective interactionniste et pragmatique. C'est pour cette raison que plusieurs chercheurs l'utilisent déjà pour l'analyse empirique de leur corpus en l'adaptant aux besoins et à la finalité de leurs recherches¹¹.

10 Pour une discussion approfondie des implications de ces intrusions de l'interprète sur le procès en question, voir Gallez (2014).

11 Voir par exemple Monteoliva-García (2020) pour une application dans les interrogatoires de police, Rudvin/Carfagnini (2020) dans le domaine des demandes d'asile ou encore entre autres Napier *et al.* (in press) pour l'interprétation en langue des signes.

Conventions de transcription

(.)	Silence équivalent à un battement de mains
(2)	Silence équivalent à 2 secondes
[Overlapping ou chevauchement de parole : le crochet indique le point où un autre participant prend la parole simultanément
=	Latching ou enchaînement immédiat entre deux tours de parole
e :	Allongement du son placé devant les deux points
° °	Faible intensité de parole (volume de la voix)
MAJUSCULE non limitée à l'initiale d'un mot	Forte intensité de parole (volume de la voix)
Souligné	Emphase particulière sur une syllabe ou un mot
?	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)
.	Fin d'un propos (critère grammatical) accompagné généralement d'une intonation descendante
[]	Méta-commentaire ou glose du transcripteur

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Alignement et position subjective, une double focale analytique pour observer la dynamique interactionnelle en interprétation de dialogue

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Abstract

This study aims to evaluate the methodological complementarity of the concepts of footing (Goffman 1981; Wadensjö 1998) and position (Davies/Harré 1990), to study the interactional dynamics of a bilingual, interpreter-mediated encounter. This double analytical lens is applied to four excerpts: two in mental health and two in court interpreting. The results show that the concept of position lends greater focus than if we limit our examination to footing alone. They highlight the participants' constant and mutual influence in terms of the construction and negotiation of discursive projections, the shared responsibilities among all the participants regarding the different communicative perspectives adopted by the interpreter, as well as the specificities of the interaction at the interpersonal level. The proposed conceptual apparatus also reveals different relational dynamics between mental health and court settings. Applied to larger data sets, it could therefore contribute to determining whether there are interpersonal postural patterns that are typical of a given setting, which would feed into the debate on the interpreter's role.

Keywords

Dialogue interpreting, footing, subjective position, methodological complementarity, interactional dynamics, interpersonal dynamics.

Depuis la fin des années 1990, de très nombreuses études en interprétation de dialogue (ID) relèvent du paradigme de l'interaction basée sur une conception dialogique du discours (Pöchachker 2004 : 79) et se focalisent sur la dynamique interactionnelle. L'étude de celle-ci alimente les discussions sur le rôle de l'interprète de dialogue. Le concept de *footing* (Goffman 1981) que Wadensjö a adapté à l'ID (1988), que nous nommerons *alignement* en français, s'est révélé particulièrement fertile dans ce cadre (e.g. Merlini/Favaron 2003, 2005 ; Llewellyn-Jones/ Lee 2014 ; Defrancq/Verliefde 2017 ; Hlavac 2017).

Par ailleurs, dans la recherche en contexte monolingue, les tenants de la théorie du positionnement (Davies/Harré 1990), ci-après TP, ont rejeté l'approche de l'interaction par le concept de rôle, considéré comme statique car préexistant à l'interaction. Pour observer de manière strictement inductive la dynamique interactionnelle, ils proposent celui de position, à savoir la projection discursive d'un ensemble non prédéterminé d'attributs personnels (van Langenhove/Harré 1999 : 17). Mason (2005, 2009) et Merlini (2009) ont introduit la TP dans l'arsenal analytique du chercheur en ID. Leurs applications éclairent sa puissance descriptive pour conceptualiser les aspects dynamiques de la rencontre, notamment sur le plan interpersonnel : l'interprète et les intervenants primaires ne cessent de projeter discursivement, pour eux-mêmes comme pour les autres, des identités multiples et mouvantes, constamment négociées et modifiées ; la responsabilité conjointe de tous les participants dans la production de certains énoncés de l'interprète apparaît clairement. Malgré ces résultats prometteurs, la TP n'a suscité jusqu'à présent que très peu l'attention des chercheurs en ID (Baraldi 2018 ; Delizée 2018 ; Falbo/Niemants 2020).

L'objectif de cette étude est dès lors de contribuer à mettre en lumière la pertinence de l'association des concepts d'alignement et de position pour observer la dynamique interactionnelle en ID au niveau des énoncés. Pour l'atteindre, nous appliquerons ces deux concepts, après les avoir définis, à quatre extraits d'interactions bilingues interprétées authentiques dans deux secteurs d'intervention différents (santé mentale et tribunaux), et confronterons les résultats.

1. Cadre conceptuel

1.1. L'alignement

Rappelons brièvement l'essence de ce concept largement utilisé dans la recherche en ID. Afin d'éclairer le rôle du locuteur participant à une interaction monolingue en tâchant notamment de mettre en évidence la part de liberté dont il dispose par rapport à son rôle social, préexistant à l'interaction, Goffman a introduit dans sa réflexion les concepts de cadre et de statut participa-

tionnels¹, ainsi que d'alignement (1981). Il identifie trois formats de production et trois formats de réception, auxquels sont associés des statuts participationnels. Animateur, Auteur et Responsable pour la production (1987 : 154), et Participant non ratifié, Participant ratifié auquel le locuteur ne s'adresse pas particulièrement et Participant ratifié auquel il s'adresse, pour la réception (*Ibid.* : 15). Goffman met en lien les statuts participationnels avec l'alignement, dont il caractérise le changement plus qu'il ne le définit : l'alignement change en raison de la modification du ton, des qualités sociales dont se réclament les participants, des indices de transmission (e.g. vitesse d'élocution, pauses, volume, accentuation), du passage d'un registre à un autre, etc. (*Ibid.* : 135 et 137). L'alignement n'est donc pas défini *stricto sensu*, et les concepts de statuts participationnels, de formats de production/réception et d'alignement paraissent se superposer.

Dans l'optique de faire émerger les variations du rôle de l'interprète au cours d'une interaction bilingue interprétée, Wadensjö (1998) a eu recours à la notion de négociation du cadre participationnel et a opérationnalisé le concept d'alignement en en faisant un synonyme des formats de production et de réception, eux-mêmes utilisés dans le même sens que statuts participationnels comme l'oeuvre goffmanienne le donne à penser. Les formats de réception ont été redéfinis en modes d'écoute et mis en corrélation avec les formats de production, et ils ont été conceptualisés en six alignements (*Ibid.* : 92). L'alignement de l'interprète par rapport à un énoncé se fait en tant que récepteur et locuteur (*Ibid.* : 87-93) :

- en tant que Reporter, il² écoute pour répéter ; en Récapitulateur, pour être capable de transmettre le contenu sans pour autant en respecter la forme originale ; en Répondant, pour contribuer à l'échange ;
- il restitue en tant qu'Animateur lorsque la responsabilité de ce qui est dit est attribuée à l'intervenant primaire (IP) ; en Auteur lorsqu'il choisit les mots mais attribue la responsabilité de ce qui est dit à l'IP ; il s'exprime en Responsable lorsque la responsabilité et l'auctorialité de ce qui est dit ne sont pas imputées à un IP.

Wadensjö a ainsi transformé le modèle essentiellement descriptif de Goffman en un modèle explicatif basé sur des concepts opérationnels à même de mettre en lumière la raison de certaines actions discursives de l'interprète. Notons que ce modèle propose six perspectives communicatives seulement, données *avant* l'interaction, et qu'il suppose une différenciation aisée entre les alignements d'Animateur, d'Auteur et de Responsable.

Pöchhacker (2012) a approfondi théoriquement et empiriquement la notion de participation de l'interprète en se basant sur les versions modifiées du cadre participationnel goffmanien proposées par d'autres auteurs depuis

- 1 Le cadre participationnel est la relation qu'entretient l'ensemble des membres d'une réunion sociale environnante avec un moment de parole (1987 : 147). Le statut participationnel, qui se manifeste lors de la production et de la réception de la parole, est la relation de chaque membre d'une réunion sociale à ce qui est dit (*Ibid.* : 146).
- 2 Pour faciliter la lecture de cet article, le masculin générique sera utilisé pour désigner les interprètes, mais il s'agit bien entendu autant d'hommes que de femmes.

la perspective linguistique et psychologique. Il propose un cadre analytique reposant sur la distinction entre le niveau des énoncés et celui de l'événement communicatif. Pöchhacker s'appuie également sur les travaux de Merlini et Favaron (2005), qui ont revisité l'appareil Goffman/Wadensjö en redéfinissant certains alignements et en intégrant d'autres. Elles ont déterminé sept alignements de production pour l'interprète, tributaires de la manière dont l'IP s'est adressé à lui (ou pas) dans l'énoncé précédent sa prise de parole. Les modèles dérivés de Goffman témoignent de la nécessité de rendre compte de la modifications des perspectives communicatives plus dynamiquement que ne le permet la conceptualisation originale (cf. Wadensjö 2015 : 300). En contexte monolingue, le concept de position a été proposé dans cette même volonté de rendre compte du jeu interactionnel aussi soupagement que possible. Étant donné que c'est l'appareil Goffman/Wadensjö qui est jusqu'à présent le plus utilisé en ID, c'est lui que nous associerons au concept de position dans cet article. Dans le cadre d'une autre étude, il serait néanmoins productif de suivre Pöchhacker (2012) pour continuer la confrontation critique des modèles existants.

1.2. La position

La théorie du positionnement (Davies/Harré 1990 ; Harré/van Langenhove 1999a) a pour objectif premier d'explorer de manière inductive la dynamique d'une interaction³ monolingue et d'observer la production discursive des identités aux niveaux interpersonnel, institutionnel, intergroupal et/ou culturel (Harré/van Langenhove 1999b : 10). C'est le niveau interpersonnel que nous retiendrons dans cette étude.

Une position désigne un ensemble d'attributs personnels projetés discursivement qui influencent les possibilités d'action entre interactants. Elle implique un ensemble de droits et de devoirs qui rendent certaines actions discursives socialement acceptables, obligatoires, ou indisponibles dans cette position (*Ibid.* : 1). Elle naît *dans* et *par* l'interaction, elle n'est pas préexistante à celle-ci ; les droits et devoirs qui en découlent ne sont donc pas imposés structurellement, comme dans le cas du concept du rôle, mais sont négociables en cours d'interaction (Henriksen 1998 : 48). Le positionnement est le processus discursif par lequel le locuteur se situe lui-même (auto-positionnement, réflexif) et situe l'interlocuteur (hétéro-positionnement, interactif) dans une position donnée (Harré/van Langenhove 1999c). Les positions sont les fruits de la coopération entre les interactants, et chaque position projetée par le locuteur peut être acceptée, modifiée ou rejetée par l'interlocuteur. Le locuteur peut également projeter plusieurs positions de manière concomitante (*Ibid.*). Ainsi, forces constitutives des actions discursives, interactivité et négociation des positions, qui sont les produits *immanents* d'une interaction donnée, constituent le socle de ce modèle explicatif du jeu interactionnel.

3 Son champ d'études s'est ensuite élargi à d'autres formes de productions discursives.

Née dans le champ de la psychologie sociale, cette théorie vise à analyser le processus de positionnement pour observer l'émergence discursive des identités personnelle et sociales⁴. Dans l'adaptation de la TP à l'ID, nous suggérons d'écarter la notion d'identité si l'objectif de recherche n'est pas d'étudier ce qui fonde l'essence des interactants de manière persistante (identité personnelle) ou de retrouver des modèles comportementaux disponibles socialement (identités sociales). Lorsque l'objectif est d'observer de manière strictement inductive le comportement verbal des interactants, ce qui peut être un phénomène éphémère non tributaire d'une représentation collective prédéfinie, nous proposons de conceptualiser ce qui est projeté discursivement sous le terme de « position subjective ». « Position » fait référence à une posture susceptible d'être souvent modifiée au fil des mouvements, ce qui souligne la fugacité potentielle des projections discursives. « Subjective » centre le propos sur le sujet observé et son rapport à ce qui est dit et aux autres participants. Prenant pour base les fondements théoriques initiaux récapitulés dans le paragraphe précédent, nous proposons la définition suivante pour l'ID : une position subjective est une projection discursive qui reflète la manière dont l'un des interactants, y compris l'interprète, considère ce qui est dit et envisage, par ce qui est dit, sa relation aux autres interactants ; elle naît dans le *hic et nunc* interactionnel et implique, pour soi et pour les autres, des droits et des obligations négociables par tous tout au long de l'interaction.

L'objectif étant de faire émerger les positions *immanentes* d'une interaction donnée, la TP ne propose aucune labellisation *a priori*. L'analyste les conceptualise donc en cours d'analyse, ce qui permet de mettre en relief les spécificités de l'interaction étudiée, notamment sur le plan interpersonnel. Les chercheurs qui ont appliqué la TP ont ainsi observé, dans leurs données, des positions qui reflètent différents types de relations projetées par ou pour l'interprète, qu'ils ont labellisées Co-décideur (Mason 2005), Co-investigateur (Mason 2009), Co-prestataire de service (Merlini 2009), Gestionnaire de conflit (Baraldi 2018), Médiateur relationnel (Delizée 2018) ou encore Expert-conseil (Falbo/Niemants 2020). Ces labels, ainsi que les catégories proposées par Jalbert (1998) et Leanza (2005) dans leurs discussions sur le rôle de l'interprète⁵, serviront de sources d'inspiration pour l'analyse des données de cette étude. Cependant, conformément à l'essence même de la TP, ils ne seront pas transformés en typologie préexistante à l'analyse.

2. Méthode d'analyse et données

Afin d'évaluer la pertinence de l'association des concepts d'alignement et de position subjective pour l'analyse de la dynamique d'une interaction interprétée au niveau des énoncés, nous appliquerons ces deux concepts aux mêmes données discursives et comparerons les résultats. En outre, afin de déterminer si ceux-

4 Elle a ainsi été appliquée pour étudier la reconstruction des identités sociales en cas de maladie d'Alzheimer, la projection de l'identité personnelle dans l'autobiographie, le rôle d'un journal local dans la formation d'une identité nationale, etc.

5 Notamment celles de Professionnel bilingue ou monolingue.

ci varient en fonction du secteur d'intervention, nous analyserons deux extraits d'interprétation en santé mentale et deux extraits d'interprétation devant les tribunaux. Notre objectif étant d'ordre strictement méthodologique, nous ne discuterons pas des actions discursives de l'interprète du point de vue de ce qui est éthiquement et qualitativement acceptable.

Les extraits en santé mentale sont tirés d'un entretien psychothérapeutique russe-français interprété, audio-enregistré avec le consentement des trois parties en 2013 en Belgique francophone par Delizée (2018)⁶. Les interactants sont la patiente, le thérapeute (psychanalyste) et l'interprète russophone, qui est toujours la même depuis les 2 ans et 6 mois que dure la thérapie : ils ont donc développé une relation caractérisée par un certain degré de familiarité. L'interprète est diplômée en philologie, a suivi environ 450 heures de formation spécifique à l'interprétation de services publics et travaille exclusivement dans ce domaine depuis 10 ans.

Les extraits en interprétation devant les tribunaux sont tirés d'une audience néerlandais-français interprétée tenue devant un Tribunal correctionnel en Belgique néerlandophone, audio-enregistrée en 2014 avec le consentement des parties par Defrancq et Verliefde (2017). Les interactants sont la juge, la prévenue, l'avocate de la défense et l'interprète néerlandophone. Elle a suivi une formation en interprétation, mais pas spécifiquement pour les tribunaux ; elle travaille dans ce secteur depuis plus de 10 ans.

Les conventions de transcription sont données en annexe. Les interventions en russe et en néerlandais sont suivies d'une traduction en français aussi proche que possible de l'original, dont le but est de tenter de reproduire sur le lecteur les mêmes effets que l'énoncé original aurait eus sur l'interlocuteur (cf. Traverso 2002).

3. Analyse

Pour les 4 extraits, nous décrirons chaque tour de parole et conceptualiserons ce qui s'y joue d'abord en termes d'alignement, ensuite de position subjective.

Extrait 1 – Santé mentale - AD/24 : 35 - 25 : 29⁷

La patiente (P) fait part de certains symptômes physiques au thérapeute (T).

6 Entretien n°4 tiré d'un corpus de 8 consultations.

7 Codage des extraits : initiales des chercheurs/minutage de l'enregistrement ou lignes de la transcription.

N° du tour	Locuteur	Tours de parole
1	P	когда я переживаю, у меня всё равно ноги опухают. - <i>quand je m'inquiète, j'ai de toute façon les jambes qui gonflent.</i>
2	I	mais quand je: je m'inquiète un peu, <u>quand il y a le stress</u> , c'est les jambes qui gonflent.
3	T	((1)) hum hum::, ((1))
4	I	tiens c'est bizarre,
5	T	((2)) ben non c'est une ma- manifestation, je pense, somatique, ((.)) c'est: ((1)) c'est une une manière qu'elle a? mais: mais bon, ((2))
6	I	ты замечаешь это постоянно тогда, когда ты переживаешь, да? - <i>tu remarques ça constamment lorsque tu t'inquiètes, oui?</i>
7	P	да, когда я слишком переживаю, я уже: ноги:: чешу, у меня там пятна появляются красные. - <i>oui, lorsque je m'inquiète trop, je gratte déjà: mes jambes::, j'ai là des taches qui apparaissent rouges.</i>
8	I	ah oui: ah oui oui oui.
9	P	опухают. - <i>elles gonflent.</i>
10	I	oui, c'est somatique.
11	T	oui hein?
12	I	parce qu'elle dit dès que je m'inquiète un peu, je commence euh:: j'attrape des plaques rouges sur les jambes, je commence à gratter.

Au tour (2), I restitue à la 1^{re} personne les propos exprimés par P en (1) et introduit une addition (soulignée). Elle restitue en choisissant les mots et en attribuant implicitement la responsabilité du contenu à P puisqu'elle applique la norme de la restitution en « je », mais rien n'indique à T que P n'est pas l'auteur de l'addition : I s'exprime-t-elle en Auteur ou en Responsable ? Puisque I restitue le sens propositionnel exprimé en (1), elle s'auto-situe dans une position que nous appellerons celle de Convoyeur de sens (voir discussion dans la section 4). En outre, elle paraphrase « je m'inquiète » par le terme « stress », qui relève davantage du discours médical. Autrement dit, I passe de *la voix du monde* de P à *la voix de la médecine* pour T⁸. Ce changement discursif est une manière de s'identifier avec l'institution médicale (cf. Hatim/Mason 1990). Il indique que I s'est auto-située de manière concomitante dans une position que nous appellerons celle de Co-intervenant bilingue, à l'insu du thérapeute.

En (3), T émet des signaux de réflexion (pauses, raclements de gorge sur une courbe intonative légèrement montante). Ces éléments paraverbaux ne permettent pas de déterminer si T place I dans un alignement/une position particulier/ère⁹.

8 C'est-à-dire qu'elle passe de l'expression quotidienne à l'expression affectivement neutre et fonctionnelle de ce dont on parle (cf. Mishler 1984).

9 Des éléments non verbaux, comme le regard, pourraient servir d'indices supplémentaires pour les déterminer (cf. Mason 2009 : 67-69).

En (4), I prend la parole de son propre chef en français : elle s'exprime en Responsable. En faisant part de son étonnement à T, I s'est auto-située dans une position que nous appellerons celle de Co-intervenant monolingue.

En (5), T s'adresse à I en désignant P à la 3^e personne. Il émet une hypothèse (« c'est une manifestation somatique ») de manière très hésitante. Les pauses, l'intonation montante, les faux départs et la proposition inachevée sont en effet des indices d'incertitude. De plus, c'est normativement à lui de reprendre son rôle de président de séance et de s'adresser à P, mais il fait une pause de deux secondes à la fin du tour. Ces signaux indiquent que T place I dans l'alignement de Répondant : il lui donne la possibilité d'écouter pour contribuer à l'échange. Puisque T partage son hypothèse avec I et lui donne la possibilité de réagir, il valide son auto-positionnement en Co-intervenant monolingue.

En (6), I interroge d'elle-même P en russe : elle s'exprime en Responsable. Elle lui demande confirmation du lien entre gonflement des jambes et inquiétude exprimé en (1). Si la réponse est positive, l'hypothèse de T « manifestation somatique » sera validée. Puisqu'elle cherche à obtenir de la part de P la confirmation de l'hypothèse de T, elle quitte la position de Co-intervenant monolingue et s'auto-positionne en Co-intervenant bilingue.

En (7) et (9), P développe le lien entre inquiétude et symptômes physiques. L'absence d'indicateurs non verbaux tels que le regard ne permet pas de déterminer à qui s'adresse P. Si P s'adresse à T, elle active les alignements de Reporter ou Récapitulateur/la position de Convoyeur de sens pour I. Si P s'adresse à I, elle active l'alignement de Répondant/elle prolonge sa position de Co-intervenant bilingue.

En (8), I émet des signaux de réception en français, destinés donc à T : elle écoute en Répondant et prolonge la position de Co-intervenant bilingue. En (10), I confirme en français l'hypothèse de T : elle s'exprime en Responsable et est toujours dans la position de Co-intervenant bilingue.

En (11), T produit l'adverbe de confirmation « oui » suivi du marqueur discursif « hein » accompagné d'une intonation montante, qui est un indice de consensualité (Delomier 1999 : 145) : T indique à I qu'ils partagent le même avis, et par l'intonation montante, il lui donne la possibilité d'écouter pour contribuer à l'échange. T active donc l'alignement de Répondant et valide la position de Co-intervenant bilingue.

En (12), I transmet les propos de P exprimés en (7) à la 1^{re} personne sans respecter la forme de l'original et indique par l'inquit « elle dit » que la responsabilité en est imputable à P. Lorsqu'elle restitue les propos de P, I s'exprime en Auteur, mais lorsqu'elle formule le connecteur « parce que », elle s'exprime en Responsable. Puisqu'elle restitue le sens propositionnel exprimé en (7), I réinvestit la position de Convoyeur de sens. De plus, puisque le connecteur logique, de nature pragmatique, établit un lien causal entre sa propre confirmation de l'hypothèse de T en (10) et l'argument en faveur de cette confirmation qu'elle cite via l'inquit en (12), I continue de s'exprimer de manière concomitante depuis la position de Co-intervenant bilingue.

Cet extrait illustre principalement la souplesse de la labellisation des projections discursives offerte par la TP : elle n'est pas limitée à une typologie prédéfi-

nie et permet de mettre l'accent sur le niveau interpersonnel. Là où l'alignement qualifie I de Répondant/Responsable, la position souligne les mouvements collaboratifs entre T et I. Par ailleurs, les tours (2) et (12) montrent qu'il est parfois malaisé de différencier les alignements d'Auteur et de Responsable. La notion de concomitance des positions permet de surmonter cette difficulté analytique : I est ici positionnée à la fois en Convoyeur de sens et en Co-intervenant.

Extrait 2 – Santé mentale - AD/24 : 03 - 24 : 11

Au début de la thérapie, le corps de P était couvert d'eczéma. T voudrait à présent lui examiner les mains.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | T | [<i>prénom de la patiente</i>], montre-moi un peu les mains. |
| 2 | I | покажи руки. - <i>montre les mains.</i> |
| 3 | T | montre-moi, ((.)) plus près! |
| 4 | P | что, гадает? - <i>quoi, il lit sur les mains?</i> |
| 5 | T | il y a plus rien. |
| 6 | P | [а не, не гадает. - <i>ah non, il ne lit pas sur les mains.</i> |
| | I | [/rire/ |
| 7 | I | tu sais tu sais lire lire sur les mains? /rire/ |

En (1), T interpelle P par son prénom, produit la forme impérative du verbe « montrer », qu'il fait suivre du complément indirect « [à] moi », du complément direct « les mains », ainsi que du mitigateur adverbial « un peu » qui a pour fonction d'adoucir l'injonction (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1992 : 218-219). En s'adressant à P, T place I en Reporter ou Récapitulateur. Puisqu'il demande implicitement à I de transmettre le sens de son intervention, T l'hétéro-positionne en Convoyeur de sens.

En (2), la structure lexico-syntaxique de la restitution est semblable, mais pas identique à celle de l'original : le prénom et le complément indirect ne sont pas exprimés, et le mitigateur n'est pas adverbial, mais aspectuel¹⁰. Étant donné ces légères modifications lexico-syntaxiques, I s'exprime-t-elle en Animateur ou en Auteur ? Puisque I restitue les sens propositionnel et pragmatique (la mitigation) de l'intervention de T, elle valide la position de Convoyeur de sens projetée par T en (1).

En (3) et (5), T s'adresse à P : il place I en Reporter ou Récapitulateur, et prolonge sa position de Convoyeur de sens.

En (4) et (6), P adresse une plaisanterie à I à propos de T, désigné à la 3^e personne : P place I en Répondant. La plaisanterie, manifestation de politesse linguistique positive, permet de construire discursivement une relation de complicité (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1992 : 175) : par cette plaisanterie, P hétéro-situe I dans une position que nous appellerons celle de Complice de P.

Les interventions de T et de P en (3-5) et (4-6) se succèdent rapidement : que

10 La plupart des verbes russes ont deux formes aspectuelles, imperfective et perfective. En (2), le verbe transitif est au perfectif, ce qui en adoucit l'impératif.

faire, restituer les propos de T ou réagir à la plaisanterie de P ? En (6), I produit un rire, manifestation de son alignement en Responsable. Puisqu'elle ne transmet pas les interventions de T, elle rejette la position de Convoyeur de sens projetée par T. Son rire, seconde partie de la paire adjacente plaisanterie/rire (Schegloff/Sacks 1973), indique qu'elle valide la position de Complice projetée par P.

En (7), I restitue la plaisanterie en désignant T à la 2^e personne, comme si P s'était adressée à lui : I restitue en Auteur en choisissant ses propres mots et en en imputant la responsabilité à P. Elle produit ensuite un rire, manifestation de son alignement en Responsable. En restituant la plaisanterie, I s'est auto-positionnée en Convoyeur de sens. De plus, en la transmettant à T comme si P la lui avait directement adressée et en produisant un rire qui peut être perçu comme un appel à entrer dans la relation de connivence construite discursivement par P, I tisse une relation patiente-thérapeute complice. Ces éléments indiquent que de manière concomitante, I s'est auto-située dans une position que nous appellerons celle de Médiateur relationnel.

Cet extrait illustre particulièrement que la perception du processus de négociation conjointe des projections discursives s'effectue à des niveaux de granularité différents par les deux concepts. L'analyse par l'alignement fait un « zoom avant » sur les *modifications* des perspectives communicatives au niveau Énoncé original-Énoncé restitué. Ainsi, I est située par T en Reporter ou Récapitulateur en (1) et réagit en Animateur/Auteur en (2) ; est de nouveau située en Reporter/Récapitulateur par T en (3-5) mais ne réagit pas ; est située en Répondant par P en (4-6) et réagit en Responsable en (6) et en Auteur/Responsable en (7). L'analyse par la position effectue un « zoom arrière » pour suivre l'évolution des perspectives communicatives tout au long de l'échange. Ainsi, I est hétéro-positionnée par T en Convoyeur de sens, position qu'elle valide et qui est ensuite prolongée par T puis rejetée par I. I est ensuite hétéro-positionnée en Complice par P, valide brièvement cette position, puis l'abandonne et s'auto-positionne en Convoyeur de sens et en Médiateur relationnel de manière concomitante. La position éclaire en outre le jeu relationnel de complicité construit discursivement entre les trois interactants à l'initiative de P.

Extrait 3 – Tribunal - BD/SV/159 - 163

La prévenue (P) est accusée de possession de stupéfiants, cocaïne, héroïne et méthadone ayant été trouvées en quantités importantes chez elle ; selon son avocate (A), ces substances étaient destinées à sa consommation personnelle (Defrancq/Verliefde 2017). Dans les extraits 3 et 4, qui se suivent immédiatement dans l'interaction originale, la juge (J) tente de déterminer si l'intention de P n'était pas plutôt de les revendre.

P s'exprime en français. Les autres parties comprennent le français mais sont uniquement autorisées à s'exprimer en néerlandais. Dans ce cas, il est habituel en Flandres que l'interprète soit mandaté pour transmettre en français au prévenu tout ce qui se dit en néerlandais, mais pas pour restituer en néerlandais à la cour les propos tenus en français par le prévenu (*Ibid.*).

- 1 J 25 gram voor de feesten [met methadone ((.)) het verwondert me dat ge hier st:aat. - 25 grammes pour les fêtes [avec de la méthadone ((.)) ça m'étonne que vous soyez: ici.
- 2 I [25 grammes pour les fêtes PLUS le- méthadone//
- 3 P <pas PLUS la méthadone,> [j'aurais jamais mélangé hein j'aurais pas eu:h,
- 4 A [dat was waarschijnlijk ter vervanging van de drugs. [c'était probablement pour remplacer les drogues.
- 5 I vous n'avez pas pris les deux en même temps?
- 6 P non non,

En (1), J constate que P détenait, outre 25 grammes de stupéfiants, de la méthadone. J s'adresse à P et produit un énoncé ironique (souligné) qui permet plausiblement d'inférer la posture argumentative suivante : si ces substances étaient destinées à sa seule consommation, P aurait succombé à une surdose ; par conséquent, elles étaient destinées à la revente. En s'adressant à P, J place I en Reporter ou Récapitulateur et l'hétéro-positionne en Convoyeur de sens.

En (2), I restitue la première partie du tour (1) puis est interrompue par P. La préposition originale « met - avec » est transmise par « PLUS » avec une augmentation du volume vocal. Étant donné ces légères modifications lexico-intonatives, I s'exprime-t-elle en Animateur ou en Auteur ? Puisque I restitue le contenu propositionnel de l'intervention de J, elle valide la position de Convoyeur de sens projetée par J.

En (3), P contre-argumente : elle n'aurait pas mélangé stupéfiants et méthadone.

En (4), A soutient cette contre-argumentation. Elle émet une hypothèse affirmative impersonnelle : la méthadone était probablement destinée à remplacer les stupéfiants. En s'adressant à J, A place I en Reporter ou Récapitulateur et prolonge sa position en Convoyeur de sens.

En (5), l'énoncé de I « ne pas prendre les deux en même temps? » est une paraphrase de celui de A « remplacer » en (4), qui fait lui-même écho à celui de P « pas mélanger » en (3). I transforme l'hypothèse affirmative impersonnelle originale en interrogative personnelle. Elle transmet les propos de A en choisissant elle-même les mots et introduit d'importantes modifications lexicales, syntaxiques et intonatives : s'exprime-t-elle en Auteur ou en Responsable ? Puisqu'elle transmet le contenu propositionnel émis par A, elle valide la position de Convoyeur de sens projetée par A. De plus, les modifications indiquent que I demande à P la confirmation du contre-argument que celle-ci a avancé en (3) et qui a été soutenu par A en (4). Autrement dit, I adopte la même perspective communicative de soutien à P que A : de manière concomitante, I s'est auto-située dans une position que nous appellerons celle de Co-avocat de la défense.

Cet extrait montre essentiellement que la conceptualisation par la position, qui s'appuie ici sur l'analyse pragmatique de la dimension argumentative de l'échange, éclaire le déploiement du jeu relationnel tout au long de l'échange : il

se cristallise au niveau de l'affiliation¹¹ entre l'avocate, la prévenue et l'interprète. Les tours (2) et (5) illustrent en outre la difficulté de différencier les alignements d'Animateur/Auteur/Responsable lorsque l'interprète introduit des modifications lexicales, syntaxiques et intonatives. La position de Convoyeur de sens recouvre d'emblée la transmission des dimensions linguistique, propositionnelle et pragmatique (voir section 4).

Extrait 4 – Tribunal - BD/SV/164 - 172

- 7 J ja maar hoe komt [dat dan ((.)) da ge bijstand nodig had da ge zo'n ontweningsverschijnselen toonde als ge toch ((.)) <maar heel weinig heroine pakte?> - *oui mais comment ça se fait [que alors ((.)) que vous ayez eu besoin d'assistance que vous ayez eu une telle crise de manque si vous quand même ((.)) <avez pris seulement très peu d'héroïne?>*
- 8 I [mais comment ça se fait en fait que vous êtes adonnée-, que vous avez eu besoin d'une assistance médicale? ((.)) si vous n'étais- <qu'une consommatrice OCCASIONNELLE?>
- 9 P [9A] j'avais déjà mon traitement de méthadone ((.)) [9B] simplement, //
- 10 J <ze had al wat?> - <elle avait déjà quoi?>
- 11 I ze was reeds in behandeling met methadone maar ik denk dus dat ze bedoelt dat ze haar methadone nam als ze geen drugs nam en omgekeerd, waardoor dat ze wel ontweningsverschijnselen had omdat ze ook geen methadone¹²// - *elle avait déjà son traitement de méthadone mais je pense alors qu'elle veut dire qu'elle prenait sa méthadone quand elle ne prenait pas de drogue et l'inverse, et donc qu'elle a bien eu une crise de manque parce qu'elle¹² pas de méthadone non plus//*

En (7), la question de J permet plausiblement d'inférer la posture argumentative suivante : si P a quand même souffert d'une crise de manque, c'est que les substances trouvées chez elle étaient destinées à la revente et non à la consommation personnelle.

En (8), I restitue en Auteur/Convoyeur de sens.

En (9), P produit une intervention dont voici la reconstruction analytique sur le plan argumentatif (cf. Moeschler/de Spengler 1981). Elle produit en [9A] un mouvement d'admission « j'avais de la méthadone » qui devrait entraîner [non-q = pas de crise de manque]. Son second mouvement en [9B] débute par l'adverbe « simplement » qui introduit une opposition, mais elle est interrompue par J. Il est plausiblement inférable que ce mouvement d'opposition allait introduire « je n'ai pas suivi mon traitement de méthadone », ce qui entraîne [q = crise de manque]. Autrement dit, P entame une contre-argumentation pour expliquer la raison de sa crise de manque.

11 L'affiliation est la manifestation, par le destinataire, de son soutien et de son acceptation de la posture du locuteur (Stivers 2008 : 35).

12 I est interrompue par P et ne prononce pas le verbe qui se place à la fin de la subordonnée en néerlandais.

En (10), J s'adresse à I et lui demande ce que P avait déjà. J incite donc I à intervenir en néerlandais, contrairement à son mandat. J place I en Répondant, ce qui lui donne le choix au moment de prendre la parole : soit elle restitue en Animateur ou Auteur, soit elle réagit en Responsable. La question de J porte sur le mouvement d'admission [9A] seul¹³. Celui-ci, qui devrait entraîner [*non-q* = pas de crise de manque], sonne comme un aveu : il permet en effet d'inférer plausiblement que puisque P a quand même eu une crise de manque, c'est que les substances trouvées chez elle étaient destinées à la revente et non à sa consommation. Autrement dit, si I répond à l'invitation de J de ne restituer que [9A], elle soutiendra *de facto* la posture argumentative de J exprimée en (7) : par sa question, J hétéro-positionne I en Co-juge.

En (11), I restitue [9A], puis exprime son avis en Responsable. Il s'agit de sa reconstruction inférentielle du mouvement d'opposition [9B] commencé par P mais interrompu par J : certes, P avait déjà débuté son traitement de méthadone, mais elle prenait soit de la méthadone, soit de la drogue, ce qui a quand même provoqué une crise de manque. Puisque I ne restitue pas uniquement [9A], elle rejette la position de Co-juge. Sa reconstruction inférentielle de la posture argumentative de P en (9) fait écho à ce qui a été dit dans l'extrait 3. En effet, l'inférence verbalisée de I soutient *de facto* le contre-argument de P en (3), lui-même appuyé par A en (4) : I s'est de nouveau auto-positionnée en Co-avocat de la défense.

Cet extrait, associé au précédent, montre principalement que l'alignement éclaire le jeu « Action de l'IP-Réaction de I » au niveau textuel, tandis que la position met en lumière le jeu des affiliations entre les interactants. La prise en compte de la dimension pragmatique (ici, argumentative et inférentielle) souligne les confrontations autour de la prévenue : J incite I à se positionner en Co-juge, ce que I rejette pour investir à deux reprises la position de Co-avocat.

4. Discussion

Les résultats montrent que les analyses tant par l'alignement que par la position subjective éclairent le jeu interactionnel et la distribution des responsabilités entre les interactants dans la production discursive de l'interprète. Des différences émergent également, qui indiquent la complémentarité de ces deux concepts pour mieux saisir ce qui se joue en cours d'interaction interprétée, et ce, sur trois plans étroitement liés entre eux.

1. Négociation conjointe des projections discursives tout au long de l'interaction. L'analyse par l'alignement éclaire nettement le jeu interactionnel en effectuant un « zoom avant » sur la paire Énoncé original-Énoncé restitué. L'alignement permet de suivre le jeu de ping-pong entre l'intervenant primaire (IP) et l'interprète (I) au niveau *micro* : l'IP situe I en Reporter/Récapitulateur, I réagit en Animateur/Auteur ; l'IP situe I en Répondant, I réagit en Auteur/Responsable, etc.

13 La question ne porte ni sur l'opposition, ni sur la totalité du tour de P, auxquels cas elle aurait pu être « simplement quoi? » ou « qu'est-ce qu'elle a dit? ».

La TP pose d'emblée les concepts souples d'auto- et d'hétéro-positionnement, de validation, rejet, abandon et prolongation d'une position qui mettent en évidence le déploiement de la négociation conjointe des projections discursives au niveau *macro*, tout au long de l'interaction (cf. Mason 2009 : 71). L'analyse par la position effectue ainsi un « zoom arrière » pour observer l'évolution d'une position : projetée, validée, prolongée, rejetée puis réinvestie, etc.

2. Différenciation des perspectives communicatives. Il est parfois malaisé de différencier les alignements de production. Goffman lui-même était conscient de cette interconnexion : « En tant qu'animateur, auteur et/ou responsable, la personne agit depuis un rôle social qu'elle peut modifier très vite tout en gardant constante sa qualité d'animateur, d'auteur et/ou responsable. » (1987 : 154, nous soulignons). Ces alignements sont en lien étroit avec la notion de sens, qui peut être divisée en plusieurs couches. Le sens linguistique correspond à ce qui est encodé par des moyens lexicaux et syntaxiques dans la phrase originale (Carston 2002 : 17). Le sens propositionnel (sémantique) se ramène à la référence à un état des choses dans le monde (Récanati 1979 : 6), et le sens pragmatique correspond à ce que l'énoncé évoque du point de vue des pensées et des sentiments du locuteur (*Ibid.*). L'appareil conceptuel de Goffman/Wadensjö peut donner à penser que l'alignement d'Animateur signifie le transfert (quasi) littéral de l'énoncé original, et celui d'Auteur le transfert du sens propositionnel (1998 : 88 et 92). L'alignement d'Animateur impliquerait dès lors que l'interprète transmet le sens linguistique et que la forme lexico-syntaxique en langue-source soit (quasi) la même qu'en langue-cible. Dans nos données, nous n'avons que deux occurrences de restitutions très semblables aux originaux, dans l'extrait 2 en (2) et l'extrait 3 en (2), mais les légères modifications au niveau lexical, syntaxique et intonatif ne permettent pas de trancher catégoriquement entre les alignements d'Animateur et d'Auteur. La position de Convoyeur de sens que nous proposons est plus aisée à manipuler car elle recouvre d'emblée les trois niveaux de sens que l'interprète est susceptible de transmettre, sans devoir les dissocier : linguistique, propositionnel et pragmatique. Par ailleurs, les alignements d'Auteur et de Responsable sont souvent intimement mêlés au sein d'une même restitution (cf. Krystallidou 2013), comme le montrent l'extrait 1 en (2) et l'extrait 3 en (5). La TP présente de ce point de vue l'avantage d'exposer clairement la notion de concomitance des positions, ce qui permet de surmonter le flou entourant la différenciation Auteur/Responsable. Dans ces extraits, l'interprète valide la position de Convoyeur de sens et s'auto-positionne de manière concomitante en Co-intervenant ou Co-avocat.
3. Produits immanents d'une interaction donnée, éclairage de la relation interpersonnelle et différenciation des secteurs d'intervention. Davies et Harré (1990) ont rejeté le concept d'alignement pour son degré de détermination trop élevé. Selon eux, l'alignement est un concept qui existe *avant* la prise de parole et lui donne forme : il détermine la relation qu'établit

un locuteur avec un récepteur en fonction de sa conception de ce dernier et *vice versa*, antérieurement à la prise de parole (*Ibid.* : 44-45). Nous ne pensons pas que cette manière de percevoir la prédétermination puisse s'appliquer à l'ID : Wadensjö (1998) a clairement montré que les relations qui s'établissent entre les locuteurs, y compris l'interprète, émergent *en cours* d'interaction et que les alignements font l'objet d'une constante négociation. L'analyse de nos données aboutit au même constat. Nous estimons que la prédétermination se situe dans le fait que les possibilités de conceptualisation des perspectives communicatives sont limitées à six alignements et sont données *avant* l'échange, ce qui ne permet ni d'élargir l'éventail conceptuel, ni de tenir compte de ce qui est spécifique à une interaction et à un secteur donnés. De plus, la labellisation de l'alignement éclaire davantage la relation que le récepteur/locuteur entretient avec ce qui est dit (dimension intertextuelle), plutôt que celle qu'il entretient avec les autres interactants (dimension interpersonnelle). Ainsi, quel que soit le contenu des interactions et quels que soient les secteurs d'intervention, l'analyse des quatre extraits montre que l'interprète est situé par l'IP en Reporter/Récapitulateur ou en Répondant, et qu'il restitue majoritairement en Auteur/Responsable ou réagit en Responsable. La TP, elle, ne propose aucune typologie préétablie, mais offre la possibilité de conceptualiser les perspectives communicatives en étant uniquement limité par ce qui est observable dans *une* interaction. Elle permet en outre de les labelliser de manière à mettre l'accent sur la relation interpersonnelle, ce qui spécifie les alignements de Répondant/Responsable : dans les quatre extraits, le jeu interactionnel se situe respectivement au niveau de la collaboration avec le thérapeute, de la complicité avec la patiente et de la médiation relationnelle, de l'affiliation avec l'avocate ou avec la juge. Nous observons de plus une posture différente de l'interprète et des IP selon le secteur d'intervention. En santé mentale, la posture des trois participants est coopérative : collaboration T-I, complicité P-I et médiation relationnelle exercée par I pour co-tisser le lien entre les IP. Au tribunal, les postures sont au contraire dichotomiques et instrumentalisantes (cf. Defrancq/Verliefde 2017) : J s'adresse soit à P, soit à I en l'utilisant dans sa confrontation avec P (hétéro-positionnement de I en Co-juge) ; I s'adresse soit à P, soit à J en se faisant l'instrument de la défense de P (auto-positionnement de I en Co-avocat). Notons encore que les concepts d'alignement et de position subjective exigent un degré de profondeur analytique différent. Pour identifier l'alignement, il suffit souvent d'examiner les déictiques personnels, l'usage du discours (in)direct dans la restitution et la correspondance de contenu propositionnel entre ce qui a été dit par l'IP et par I (cf. Merlini/Favaron 2003 : 219). Une analyse discursive approfondie prend en revanche tout son sens pour déterminer la position. C'est un concept particulièrement souple car il peut être opérationnalisé par différents indices linguistico-pragmatiques, tels que les marqueurs discursifs, les processus inférentiels, les manifestations de politesse linguistique et les mouvements argumentatifs.

5. Conclusions

Notre objectif était d'évaluer la complémentarité méthodologique des concepts d'alignement (Goffman 1981 ; Wadensjö 1998) et de position (Davies/Harré 1990) pour observer la dynamique d'une interaction interprétée. Nous avons observé que l'analyse par la position subjective rehausse la netteté de l'image obtenue au moyen de l'analyse par l'alignement et élargit le champ d'informations. L'association des deux concepts met en évidence que l'interaction est le lieu d'un réseau d'influences hautement complexe et que l'interprète est pris dans ce réseau : les participants s'influencent continuellement en termes de construction et de négociation des projections discursives, non uniquement au niveau de la paire Énoncé original-Restitution, mais tout au long de l'interaction. Ceci souligne les responsabilités partagées entre *tous* les interactants dans la production discursive de l'interprète. L'analyse par la position permet également de différencier aisément les perspectives communicatives adoptées par l'interprète et d'observer la concomitance de certaines d'entre elles. Par ailleurs, l'analyse par l'alignement est limitée à une typologie prédéfinie de six possibilités conceptuelles qui éclaire davantage les aspects intertextuels plutôt qu'interpersonnels et ne rend pas compte des spécificités d'une interaction et d'un secteur d'intervention donnés. L'analyse par la position propose une conceptualisation dynamique : grâce à l'observation et à la labellisation des projections discursives au fur et à mesure de leur production sans typologie préexistante, elle permet de lever le voile sur ces spécificités.

La double focale analytique alignement-position subjective apparaît dès lors comme pertinente pour saisir avec acuité la fluidité de la dynamique interactionnelle, tout particulièrement au niveau interpersonnel, la force constitutive des pratiques discursives de *tous* les interactants, ainsi que la singularité de chaque interaction. Elle fait de plus apparaître clairement dans nos données une posture différente des interactants selon le secteur d'intervention : coopérative en santé mentale et instrumentalisante au tribunal. Appliqué à des corpus plus larges, l'appareil conceptuel proposé pourrait ainsi contribuer à déterminer s'il existe des schémas posturaux interpersonnels spécifiques à chaque secteur d'intervention. Il conviendra également d'articuler en détail cette focale analytique à la notion de rôle, et de continuer à discuter les modèles déjà existants basés sur les concepts d'alignement, de rôle et de position.

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Conventions de transcription d'après Jefferson (2004)

Notation	Phénomène transcrit
. , ? !	courbe intonative descendante, continue, ascendante, injonctive
↑	montée intonative soudaine
:	allongement du son précédent. Les deux points sont répétés en fonction de la durée perçue de l'allongement
((2)) (.))	pause en secondes pause équivalente à un battement de mains
/italique/	description des éléments paraverbaux
//	interruption de la parole
[chevauchement de parole
MAJUSCULES	augmentation du volume vocal
< >	accélération et décélération du débit
~	sic

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A study on the impact of interpreter intervention in the Maltese Criminal Courts

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Abstract

The human right to an interpreter for minority-language speakers in criminal proceedings is protected and provided for under European and Maltese law. This study considers whether the provision of interpreting has an impact on criminal trials in Malta. To answer this question, two lines of inquiry were followed in the three cases studied: firstly, on the particular communicative context, to understand contextual expectations vis-à-vis court interpreting and secondly, on the roles interpreters adopt in court. Ethnographic research was undertaken and data collected through observation during court hearings, recorded field notes and the transcribed audio recordings of three case studies. An interdisciplinary approach was adopted, through the use of elements from: 1) the law; 2) forensic linguistics; 3) interactional sociolinguistics; and 4) critical discourse analysis, which were applied in the analysis of collected data. The data show that interpreter action in court does not always meet specific contextual expectations i.e. the interpreter as a “conduit”, or as a “faithful renderer of utterances”, with a resulting impact on the context in both form and content. Other roles based on interpreter action may sometimes be observed, but difficulty was found in matching observed action with roles established in the literature.

Keywords

Court interpreting, Maltese law, communicative context, adversarial trial, interpreter's role, ethnography, case studies.

Introduction

This paper aims at understanding the impact of the court interpreter on the specific communicative context of trials in the Maltese Criminal Court. In considering interpreter impact, the paper focusses on two key elements: context and role. The context is that within which the interpreter acts as an interpreter, which appears purely legal when viewed from the standpoint of the law, but which also involves a communicative context. The role of the court interpreter will be considered from both perspectives: the law and court interpreting.

The main question the researchers are attempting to answer in this paper is: What, if any, is the impact of the court interpreter on the particular context? This is approached by asking the following sub-questions: What is the context? What is the interpreter's role according to the context and as observed in reality? In this paper, impact is therefore observed on the basis of actual accuracy of the interpreter within context, as compared with prescribed role.

This paper starts with an outline of the criminal trial as communicative context, together with a consideration of possible interpreter roles within that context. This is followed by the Maltese criminal trial as legal context. A description of the methodology and the analytical methods used to investigate the research question is then given. Finally, the court interpreter's prescribed role under Maltese law forms the basis of a discussion on possible roles which she¹ may adopt, and on the impact of interpreter inaccuracies, followed by a succinct conclusion. As the subject has not been previously studied in Malta (except partially in Torpiano 2011), recourse is made to internationally published research.

1. Communicative context and interpreter roles in a criminal trial

1.1. Communicative context in a criminal trial

Context is understood here in both a legal and a communicative sense. In the communicative sense, it is considered "a resource deployed in concrete socially-situated meaning-making action [...]" (Blommaert *et al.* 2018: 2) which is very much at the "intersection of language/discourse and social structure" (Blommaert 2001: 14). The criminal trial may be viewed as a social, legal and communicative event, as it is the hearing where the guilt or innocence of an accused is decided upon, according to any particular country's constitutional, procedural and criminal laws, based on a particular communicative event.

The trial is also a communicative event constituted by components (Hymes 1964: 13). The entire trial depends on the use of both oral and written

1 "She" is used for all references to the interpreter in this paper.

language. All evidence collected in preceding phases is produced, heard and examined during the trial itself in oral proceedings before the court, and is used in deciding on the guilt or otherwise of the accused, according to definitions of crimes in written laws. The adversarial trial depends on the oral language used by the prosecution and defence to persuade the court which version of events correspond to the truth. Different language registers are regularly used in court, according to who is speaking and the occasion: legal language, standard or formal language, colloquial language and other varieties. All may be heard during the examination and cross-examination of witnesses. Language use itself is essential in preserving the seriousness of the event and the authority of the court and is strictly regulated by law as to who and when court actors may speak. These rules correspond to language genres used in different parts of the trial and are particularly important in the examination and cross-examination of witnesses (Gibbons 2003).

It may be argued that anything interpreted concerning the content and form of what is said during the trial has an impact on the communicative context, which then affects the legal context and proceedings to varying extent. Context is subject to a constant process of recontextualisation in the different parts and forms of such criminal procedures, in which the interpreter also participates. The importance of context is particularly recognised in ethnographies, in that data collected are situated, which is also the case in this study (Blommaert 2001: 26).

1.2. Interpreter's role(s) in a criminal trial

Equally tied to the criminal trial as a communicative context, the court interpreter's role is defined by ethical duties to be respected when interpreting in court. These duties are prescribed either by established codes of ethics or by the law itself, through the oath the interpreter takes in court (Mikkelsen 1998: 21; Hale 2007: 103). Established codes of ethics agree on the court interpreter's duties of accuracy, impartiality and confidentiality (Hale 2007: 108), the first of which is mainly discussed in this paper. Accuracy and impartiality also arise from the oath to interpret "faithfully", or "well and truly", or "to the best of their ability". The interpreter's duty is to place the minority language speaker (MLS), witness or accused, in the same position as one who understands the language of the court. This has been understood to mean interpreting "*verbatim*", where the interpreter acts as a "conduit" (Hale 2004: 8) i.e. "without any changes, additions or omissions in content, meaning, manner or tone" between source and target text, and without explanations (Hewitt 1995: 200; Mikkelsen 1998: 21). While acting as a "conduit" has been considered the ideal, the *verbatim* rule has been considered contentious, in that a word-for-word or literal translation would not be understood in the target language; a complete interpretation with no additions or omissions is often impossible when interpreting in court; and clarifications and explanations are sometimes necessary for the text to make sense (Mikkelsen 2008: 83).

Interpreters are also expected to remain neutral and unbiased towards all parties in court. Any conflict of interest, such as previously being a victim of a similar crime, having close relationships with court actors, or even stating that the accused did not understand the question posed, could fall foul of this rule (Mikkelsen 1998: 23).

Hale (2008: 102) found that the following five main roles were either prescribed or could be deduced in court interpreting:

- the “advocate for the powerless participant”;
- the “advocate for the powerful participant”;
- the “gatekeeper”;
- the “filter, embellisher, clarifier, speech assistant”;
- the “faithful renderer of the original utterances” (*Ibid.*: 102).

Hale classified these roles according to levels of accuracy and impartiality (*Ibid.*): “Advocates” both scored medium on accuracy with no impartiality. “Gatekeepers” scored low on accuracy with no impartiality. The “filter/embellisher/clarifier” scored medium to high on accuracy in content alone and impartiality. The “faithful renderer of original utterances” scored highest on accuracy in content and manner, and on impartiality, and placed the MLS in the same position as others speaking the language.

Only the last two proposed roles are considered to be acceptable vis-a-vis the prescribed role of the court interpreter (Nartowska 2015). The last two roles have also been considered to match the controversial ‘conduit’, when taken as an ideal.

Roles may also vary in definition (see Wadensjö’s (2017) “co-constructor of meaning”) and may be adopted on a “continuum” (Niska 2002: 138; Pöchhacker 2008: 13). Rather than role, other researchers look at interpreter visibility (Roy 2000; Angelelli 2004), or whether the interpreter is an actor in court proceedings. Yet others classify such interpreter action in context as im/partial and un/ethical (Ozolins 2016: 280).

In reality, all the classifications could be seen to overlap: a role can be more or less visible, imply being an actor (or not), while being considered im/partial at the same time. Hale’s roles focus on the interpreter and his/her acts. Being a visible actor or interpreter partiality/impartiality also looks at the proceedings and the effect on such proceedings. Such a viewpoint is perhaps more valuable in considering the interpreter’s acts in court.

Surveys confirm the above-mentioned roles and find that interpreters also carry out acts which sometimes pertain to other professions, such as the legal sector or social services (Martin/Ortega Herraes 2014: 141). These include clarifications, explanations of cultural differences and terms, or legal procedure (Kadric 2001), additions and omissions, summaries and changes in register (Martin/Ortega Herraes 2014: 141), since accuracy is also connected to coherence (Hale 2007). Interpreters varied in levels of impartiality according to the different parties in court (Falck, as in Niska 1995: 293).

2. The Maltese criminal trial as legal context

2.1. The Maltese legal context

The legal context is that of the trial in Maltese criminal courts as regulated by criminal and procedural laws. The system is traditionally viewed as ‘mixed’, since procedural laws constituting the trial by jury were adopted from British common (adversarial) law, while concepts in the Criminal Code² emanate from the civil law (inquisitorial) system (Mamo 1954: 9; Attard 2013: 42). References to human rights, including the right to an interpreter in court, with added provisions and safeguards for the criminal courts, are provided under the Constitution of Malta³ and procedural laws, transposed from relevant European laws (the European Court of Human Rights, hereafter ECtHR, and the EU Directive 2010/64). It has been argued that such references imply that the Maltese legal system is European (Aquilina 2011), and not only ‘mixed’ or ‘hybrid’. As a consequence, references to matters concerning trials in the criminal courts are made to British law, legal literature and case-law, while in matters of human rights, Maltese courts refer to European law and the case-law of the ECtHR.

The criminal courts in Malta are regulated by the Criminal Code (CC) and the Code of Organisation and Civil Procedure (COCP)⁴. Trials are adversarial in nature and may be heard by inferior or superior courts, depending on the gravity of the offence judged and on the length of the sentence to be handed out. Cases before the (inferior) Magistrates’ Courts as Courts of Criminal Judicature are heard by one magistrate alone, while the (superior) Criminal Court may be constituted by a judge alone (on the accused’s request) or by both judge and jury. When sitting alone in the criminal court, the judge decides on both law and fact, whereas when sitting with a jury, the judge decides on legal questions while the jury decides on fact.

The Magistrates’ Courts also act as Courts of Criminal Inquiry, compiling evidence in procedural phases leading up to the trial. Such evidence would be later heard during the trial by the Criminal Court, or by the Magistrates’ Court sitting as Court of Criminal Judicature. In its capacity as Court of Criminal Inquiry, the Magistrates’ Courts enjoy wide powers “more akin to an inquisitorial, rather than the accusatorial system” (Grech 2006: 54).

2.2. National and official languages

Maltese is Malta’s national language, and while both Maltese and English are recognised as official languages for administrative purposes, Maltese is the official language of the courts (S5(2) & (3) Constitution of Malta). However, cases may be heard in English when all the parties to a case are English-speaking and do not understand Maltese, or with the other party’s consent when one of the

2 Laws of Malta.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

parties is English-speaking (S52(1) COCP; S561(1) CC). Any party may apply to the court to hold all proceedings in English. If, however, one party does not agree, or only speaks a third language, an interpreter must be appointed by the court. For historical and geographical reasons, both English and Italian are widely understood amongst the Maltese population. Italian was the language used in Maltese courts up to the nineteen thirties, although Malta was a British colony until 1964.

2.3. Provision of a court interpreter

The provision of an interpreter for foreign language participants during the criminal trial was formally recognised as an essential element to a “fair trial” by the Council of Europe in article 6(3)⁵ of the European Convention of Human Rights (hereafter ECHR), later adopted as the Charter of Rights of the European Union. In 2010, the EU Directive 2010/64 of the European Parliament and of the Council on the right to translation and interpreting during criminal proceedings further defined this right. As a signatory of the ECHR and an EU member state, Malta has transposed all of these laws into Maltese law. The provision of court interpreting primarily represents the protection of the accused’s human rights: that is why the law requires that an interpreter be provided whenever an MLS appears in criminal proceedings, and also requires that a record of such appearance be kept (SS451, S452, S391 CC; S516 COCP).

2.4. Interpreting in the Maltese criminal courts

There are no defined qualification or accreditation requirements for interpreters in Maltese courts. The only training available in Malta is a university Master’s course in conference interpreting, very recently offering an optional credit in court interpreting, or a postgraduate diploma in sign language interpreting or a short course run by the Commissioner for refugees in interpreting for refugees. Court interpreters are a mix of language graduates, trained conference or sign language interpreters, trained refugees, persons recommended by embassies, and lawyers or law students, sometimes appointed on the spot in court. All court interpreters are freelance. An official list of court interpreters is held and referred to by the courts and the police. A number of them, who interpret in commonly recurring languages, have been regularly engaged by the criminal courts for years.

When interpreting for an MLS witness before the court, the interpreter stands next to the witness facing the court and uses short consecutive mode, while for an MLS accused, the interpreter uses whispered simultaneous (chu-

5 European Court of Human Rights (2020) *Guide on Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights Right to a Fair Trial (criminal limb)*, Updated on 31 December 2020 <https://echr.coe.int/guide_art_6_criminal_eng.pdf>.

chotage) mode while sitting next to the accused. Where an interpreter cannot be found between any desired language and Maltese, a relay, normally through English, may be used (if the case cannot be heard in English).

3. Methodology and analytical methods followed

3.1. Ethnography of communication

An ethnography of communication was considered appropriate in researching this subject because it means “investigat(ing) directly the use of language in contexts of situation” (Hymes 1964: 3). In this case, the ethnography focussed on interpreting in the criminal courts, gaining access to audio recordings, observing interpreted and other interactions during court proceedings, taking field notes, collecting and analysing data. The aim was to obtain situated meanings of interactions and hence produce a “thick description” (Geertz 1973: 9) of the interpreter and her work within the context of the Maltese criminal courts. Besides being a legal expert, the researcher has spent a considerable amount of time in court observing and taking field notes⁶. This also involved participatory methods, not in the cases discussed here but of use in the ethnography. This enabled immersion in and access to the site, enhancing the lived experience of court interpreting and provided added insight.

Ethnography has been successfully used, also as part of mixed method studies in researching interpreter impact in court interpreting, by leading researchers in the subject such as Hale (2004), *inter alia*. It has also been used in Translation and Interpreting Studies (Flynn 2005; Koskinen 2008; Duflou 2016). Influential authors in ethnography (Hymes 1964; Geertz 1973) have been relied upon as a guide in this research.

Ethnographic data used in the analysis were gleaned from case studies as often occurs in qualitative research (Silverman 2011: 58). This permitted a detailed study of situated discourse, which is impossible to capture solely through note-taking. Three audio recorded case studies, to which access was granted by the court, were transcribed. They contain the examination and cross-examination of witnesses. As the number of cases is limited, the study cannot claim to be representative of the whole phenomenon of interpreting in the Maltese Criminal Court, or of the population of interpreters in Maltese courts. It cannot, however, be considered of less value. Each case is unique, and “intrinsic” in being “ordinary and particular” and thereby, “of interest” (Stake 1994: 236). Case studies also permit an in-depth understanding of the use of interpreting within particular contexts.

6 Intermittently from October 2016 to June 2021.

3.2. Analytical methods

The use of analytical concepts from various disciplines (forensic linguistics, interactional sociolinguistics, critical discourse analysis) enabled us to gain an understanding of what the speech under scrutiny represented in relation to the context. The law and contextual regulations applicable to interpreting in court were also combined with these different approaches to language use to gain a fuller insight into interpreter practices in the Criminal Court.

In this respect, several areas of study have previously been drawn upon by scholars researching court interpreting to analyse the data collected. For example, forensic linguistics (O’Barr 1982; Gibbons 2003; Coulthard/Johnson 2007) permits an analysis of the way spoken language is used by the law, in a court of law, and during criminal cases built on written language. This features heavily in studies by Berk-Seligson (2002), Hale (2004) and Heffer (2020) in witness styles, understanding different genres, and language interpreted in court, in order to measure the interpreter’s impact on court discourse (in witness credibility, the examination and cross-examination of witnesses, and court narratives, respectively).

Goffmanian sociology (Goffman 1981) as used by Wadensjö (1998), is drawn upon, alongside socio-linguistics, particularly regarding “framing”, “footing”, and other elements of Goffman’s participation framework such as “bystander” and “overhearer” (see excerpt 2 below). Interactional sociolinguistics has been used to highlight discrepancies between source and target text. Indexicality⁷, and hence contextualisation, is traced in identifying elements of information units that constitute examination and cross-examination genres (see excerpts 2-5 below). Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 2014) has also been applied (see excerpts 2-5 below) to gain an understanding of power and authority in court arising from the law, to which the interpreter is also subject (see also Hale 2004). These different disciplines are drawn upon to discuss the excerpts from the data in section 4. The concepts and related disciplines used are more explicitly rendered in the analysis.

4. Prescriptive role, analysis and discussion

4.1. Prescribed role under Maltese law

Before presenting and analysing the main data, it is essential to consider the constraining factor of the role prescribed to the interpreter under Maltese law. This emerges from data mainly found in Maltese legal documents and will also be illustrated by an extract from the ethnographic data.

7 An indexical is, roughly speaking, a linguistic expression whose reference can shift from context to context. <<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/indexicals/>>.

4.1.1. No definition for/of the court interpreter

Maltese law does not specifically define the court interpreter's role. No formal or established code of ethics specifically applicable to interpreters in the Maltese courts exists. The only existing code of ethics for interpreters in Malta concerns sign language interpreters and is not context-specific. However, when considering legal provisions concerning the interpreter, the only possible role under the law is that of Hale's (2008: 102) "faithful renderer of other's utterances" or the "conduit" as an ideal. This is because:

- (i) court interpreting represents the accused's human right to understand the proceedings and prepare his defence (see 2.3 above);
- (ii) the interpreter swears to "interpret faithfully";
- (iii) the law appears to treat the interpreter as a witness.

4.1.2. The oath

S596(2) of the COCP of the Laws of Malta, dealing with the oath applicable to the court interpreter, states that "the [...] interpreter shall [...] swear before the court that he shall faithfully report the words of the witness". Maltese law contains no explanation as to what "faithfully" means. In other codes, fidelity is generally understood as pragmatic accuracy and impartiality, and not literal or word-for-word translation (Hale 2007: 110).

4.1.3. The interpreter as a witness

"Report faithfully" in the oath is reminiscent of witnesses reporting faithfully. Also, like witnesses, the interpreter is summoned to court by *subpoena* (S452(3) CC); should she not turn up, or should she refuse to act as an interpreter, or leave court without being dismissed, she is placed by the court in the same position as a witness who acts in the same way (S452(4) CC). The accused's spouse may not act as an interpreter, as in the case of the witness's spouse (S452(5) CC). Similarly, the law provides that interpreters committing perjury are to be treated as witnesses giving false witness (S107(2) CC). Subornation of interpreters to make a false interpretation is included in the same section as subornation of witnesses and referees (S102 CC). Witnesses or interpreters are permitted by the court to make any addition or correction (S602 COCP). Some sections of the law dealing with interpreters are also included under the title "Of Witnesses" in both the CC and the COCP. In being treated as a witness, the interpreter is unique, in that she is not a witness like any other presented in the case. All other witnesses speak about the facts of the case, or "what happened", while the interpreter only relates what is said in court, although that content refers to the facts of the case.

Classifying the interpreter as a witness is consonant with the hearsay rule, applicable to witnesses and their testimony. According to the hearsay rule

(S598 COCP), the original witness must be produced in court to testify. However, the testimony of a witness reporting in court what is/was said by another is acceptable as evidence that it was said, but not as proof of the content of what was said⁸. The interpreter is no exception to the hearsay rule – she simply does not fall under it.

4.1.4. Relevant caselaw

Furthermore, the interpreter engaged to interpret in court has been referred to as a witness in the Maltese Court of Criminal Appeal⁹. Reference should be made to British and European caselaw, which is used as a constant reference and persuasive force in the Maltese Criminal Courts. The UK courts have ruled that the interpreter is a witness with reference to a suspect's interpreted confession during police interrogations¹⁰. A police officer's testimony regarding the interpreted confession is accepted by the court, despite the fact that he did not understand what the suspect had said when interrogated. American and Australian caselaw, on the contrary, ruled that the interpreter merely acts as a 'conduit' in such cases.

In *Ucak vs U.K.*¹¹, in considering whether the interpreter was an actor in court, the ECtHR decided that "there are no formal requirements of independence or impartiality as such" in relation to court interpreters, as there were for the court itself (which must be independent of the executive, with independently appointed judges). The ECtHR decided that "the services of an interpreter must provide the accused with effective assistance in conducting his defence". The only effective assistance the interpreter can provide is by interpreting as correctly, faithfully and as fully as possible. The court went on: "...the interpreter's conduct must not be of such a nature as to impinge on the fairness of the proceedings", which clearly also implies impartiality.

4.1.5. Interpreter treated as a witness

At times, the court itself clearly treats the interpreter as a witness:

Excerpt 1: Interpreter as witness

J: "Mr/Ms (Interpreter), have a bit of patience with me. He said...?"

(Case Study 1. Recording 2. 17:08. Our translation from Maltese to English. Similar excerpt at 35.10.)

8 *Ir-Repubblika ta' Malta vs Meinrad Calleja*. Court of Criminal Appeal 3/5/2000 Indictment number 21/97.

9 *Republic of Malta vs Jurgen Sixt* 31/10/2021 Crim. App. 7/99.

10 *R vs Attard* Central Criminal Court (1958) 43 Cr. App. R.90.

11 *Ucak versus United Kingdom* Application number 44234/98. Decisions (Final) by Court (Third Section) 24/01/2002. <<http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng?i=001-22168>>.

The interpreter is requested to repeat what the witness had just stated in court in order to compare this with the witness's previous statements given to police and through letters rogatory.

4.2. Role recognition and impact of interpreter inaccuracies

The law clearly prescribes that the interpreter translates accurately. Consequently, the only acceptable roles that may be adopted by the court interpreter are the "conduit" as an ideal (and not in its negative sense), or the "faithful renderer of the other's utterances", or perhaps "the clarifier" (Hale 2008: 102).

4.2.1. The interpreter is not a translation machine

The interpreter in the Maltese criminal courts may interpret:

- for the MLS accused or witness;
- in simultaneous chuchotage, short consecutive or relay mode;
- into/from Maltese or English and/or languages understood by the court or by no one except himself and the MLS;
- in oral proceedings relying on written laws and evidence compiled by previous courts;
- in adversarial criminal courts, of a superior or inferior nature, with or without a jury;
- in a mixed system with frequent references to previous phases based on civil/inquisitorial law rather than common/adversarial law;
- based on Maltese laws and with frequent references to both British and European law and caselaw.

Despite the constraints of Maltese law, the interpreter cannot merely be seen as a "translation machine" or a "conduit" in the negative sense. This is seen in the way the interpreter adapts to the constantly changing wider context of the Maltese hybrid system where she interprets, as seen in the above extract from the ethnographic fieldnotes.

That the interpreter does not translate *verbatim* is also seen:

- in interpreter repetition for the court, when she realises the court has missed something said by the witness because it was concentrating on a legal point;
- in the court's requests to refresh the court's memory as to what was stated by the witness (excerpt 1 above);
- in clarifications of speech content with court actors or the witness regarding something not heard or understood.

That the interpreter is not merely a "translation machine" is also clearly portrayed through interpreter action shifting between different interlocutors in court and distinguishing what should be transmitted to the witness or not, which at times may not be clear at all. In excerpt 2, (i) the prosecutor asks the judge about the procedure to be followed in questioning the witness (questions or photo first?).

The interpreter is about to render this for the witness (ii) when, after the judge's response to the prosecutor, she suddenly seems to realise that it might not be in the court's interest to do so (iv).

Excerpt 2: Not a "translation machine"

- i. P: Your Honour, we could show him the photo so that we can picture where everyone was.
- ii. I: (to MLS witness in chuchotage) He is saying
- iii. J: = = *First* he testifies, and *then* we show him the photo
- iv. I: (p) A:ha
- vi. W: (pp to interpreter) Do I continue?
- vii. I: Yes

(Case Study 1. Recording 1. 9:21. Our translation into English)

In recognising that the witness was not the intended addressee of this information, the interpreter changes her own footing to that of an overhearer, and that of the witness (who does not understand the original text) to that of a bystander, instead of a participant in that particular part of the proceedings (Goffman 1981). The witness is not given the power to follow proceedings concerning him or to be aware that the court could compare what he says with a photo of the scene of the crime. While the interpreter appears to act partially as advocate for the powerful institution, or even as a court actor, she in fact acted correctly, ensuring no negative contextual impact. The photo was used to indicate the physical position of all on the scene of the crime, which was of importance as another witness's testimony contradicted this witness's testimony.

4.2.2. Seeking precision

All three case studies show the interpreter constantly seeking precision. Clarifications were used for this purpose when checking what was said by the speaker. These were accepted by the court in the case studies, but heavily objected to by defence or prosecution in other cases observed when it was thought clarifications could change content in witness testimony. Another tactic used by the interpreter was that of trying to keep up with speakers, while using consecutive mode, which often led to overlaps. Although trying to control the flow of speech, the interpreter's aim was defeated as neither the interpreter nor the speaker could be clearly heard, resulting in loss of accuracy, and the interpreter being admonished by the judge.

4.2.3. Inaccuracies, additions, omissions

It was observed that inaccuracies, differences between source and target text, additions or omissions could not always be further classified according to Hale's roles (2007). Type of inaccuracy observed did not always match described roles. Many inaccuracies appeared to indicate a need for further training in languages or interpretation skills (examples 3 and 4 below). Furthermore, while Hale's roles are broadly defined, interpreter action remains open to subjective interpretation. For example, clarifying what a speaker says favours accuracy/interpreting faithfully, but could be seen as impinging on interpreter impartiality in acting as an advocate for the speaker. Repetitions of questions posed to a witness could constitute a form of advocacy for both the questioner (the powerful participant: in pressing the witness for an answer), and the witness (the powerless participant: in giving him time to understand and consider his answer). In excerpt 2 above, the interpreter not interpreting (iv) could be viewed as "active third participant" as gatekeeper (Hale 2008: 102), or as advocate for the institution.

4.2.4. Interpreter inaccuracies and possible explanations

With particular reference to the case studies, interpreter inaccuracies were observed to run along two main lines:

- First of all, they may indicate a lack of training, constant updating and testing in languages and interpreting skills, which may interfere with content and form transmission (excerpts 3 and 4).
- Secondly, the different attributes of examination-in-chief and cross-examination genres, which require particular interpreter skills, can be equally problematic for the interpreter.

Comparing excerpts from the two genres enabled an understanding of the different interpreting skills required according to genre. Examination-in-chief tests memory and languages for precision in (sometimes lengthy) detailed descriptions. Cross-examination necessitates precision in following language structure and logic in questioning. Both genres affect content and form, which must be kept in the target text (Niska 1995: 305): content as imported into the case by witness's testimony and form as prescribed by speech in court. The following excerpts from the case studies illustrate inaccuracies within the particular frames of examination (excerpts 3 and 4) or cross-examination (excerpt 5). The resulting changes in source-to-target text have consequent effects on the process itself, thereby illustrating impact.

Excerpt 3: Omissions in examination-in-chief. Loss of content/evidence.

- i. W: e poi, ho riconosciuto il timbro della voce, ma ho riconosciuto la persona pure dal fisico, dai tratti somatici
and I also recognised the timbre of the voice, but I recognised him from his physique too, from his facial characteristics
- ii. I: u għaraft il-persuna, il-vuċi
and I recognised the person, the voice

(Case Study 1. Recording 1. 29.06)

The excerpt highlights the importance of interpreter precision in the criminal court (Section 596(2) COCP). Descriptions are an essential part of the narrative of opposing parties' own witnesses in the criminal trial and constitute evidence (Hooper *et al.* 2009: 2311 and 2355 regarding facts in issue and burden of proof). They are teased out of witnesses' memories by open questions in examination-in-chief by the party presenting the witness, without leading the witness. The witness is given the opportunity to present the facts he experienced, leading to the trial. His statement is subsequently dissected and attacked by the opposing party in cross-examination, in an effort to discover who is telling the truth, or to discredit the witness. The more detailed, the more convincing the witness's testimony becomes. Long, detailed descriptions were found to lead to omissions or changes in interpreting in the case studies.

The turn in excerpt 3 concerns the prosecutor's own witness explaining during examination-in-chief how he had recognised the accused as the aggressor during the police line-up. It illustrates how the interpreter loses content, and thereby unwittingly decreases evidence produced in court through the witness's testimony, and reduces the witness's credibility by omitting details in the description (Berk-Seligson 2002; Heffer 2020). The court itself, which understood the witness's language in this case, points out the omission, recognising its importance as evidence. (J: "[...] he said something which was not translated. With all due respect, i tratti somatici are [...]" Case Study 1. Recording 1. 29.23) Interpreter omissions amounting to loss of content during examination-in-chief, appear unintentional (but seem to indicate lack of training in language, interpreting and other skills), highlighting the importance of training and testing in language, memory and understanding of the legal side (Balogh *et al.* 2016), also addressed in Trafut¹², Qualitas¹³ and Building Mutual Trust Projects I & II^{14, 15}.

12 Trafut (Training for the future) <<https://eulita.eu/training-future/>>.

13 Qualitas: <<http://qualitas.old.ogpi.ua.es/content/assessing-legal-interpreter-quality-through-testing-and-certification-qualitas-project>>.

14 <<https://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/12234/1/BMT%20Report.pdf>>.

15 See Eulita at <<https://eulita.eu>>.

Excerpt 4: Additions in examination-in-chief: Interpreter as clarifier

- i. P: kif kien fl- (Isem l-istabbiliment), bhala ambjent, bhala nies?
what was it like inside the (name of club) - what was the atmosphere like, the crowd?
- ii. I1: how was the...the environment inside (name of club), with regards to the people, to the number of people, I imagine
- iii. I2: (interprets on relay into witness's language)
- iv. I1: (continuing) also regarding the lighting, the sound...

(Case Study 3. Recording 2. 45.44)

The interpreter translates “ambjent” as “environment”. “Ambjent” also means “atmosphere” which was the correct pragmatic meaning in this case. She also attempts to clarify the reference to “nies” (people) by adding “with regards to the number of people”, together with the discourse marker “I imagine” indicating that this was her own personal interpretation (ii). She later clarifies the “environment”, stating “also regarding the lighting, the sound...” (iv).

The original question (i) is typical of questions asked to witnesses during examination-in-chief: *wh-*, open questions (S579 COCP). The intonation is innocent, with no hint of what the prosecutor is leading to. By specifying the meaning (ii) (iv), the question form has been altered, making it more specific, and thereby tampering with the rules, or indexicality (Blommaert 2005), of examination-in-chief and with this particular genre. The changes in meaning are also important: the atmosphere and the crowd were relevant when considering the accusation of grievous bodily harm followed by death, which allegedly started from a fight in a nightclub. Was it calm or rowdy? Was there heavy drinking? The meaning has been altered along with this part of the prosecutor's narrative.

In acting independently of the court, she may have acted as a gatekeeper (Hale 2008: 102). However, in not asking the question as it was put, or requesting a clarification from the speaker, she partially usurps the power to speak from the court actor who had that power at the time, and who was himself bound by rules of evidence and genre.

Excerpt 5: Omission: cross-examination: loss of form, narrative

- i. D: ara nghidlux sew illi harstu, dak il-hin, l-inkwiet tieghu, kien dik il-pistola ippuntata lejh? U dik il-haġa li ra dak il-hin?
Am I not correct in telling him that, at that time, what was worrying him was the pistol pointing at him? And that was what he saw at the time?
- ii. I: guardi se ti dico bene (sic) che tu guardavi a quella pistola, perche' avevi paura di quella pistola?
Am I correct in telling you that you were looking at the pistol, because you were afraid of that pistol?
- iii. W: eh, certo che avevo paura di quella pistola.
Ah, of course I was afraid of that gun.
- iv. I: iva, dażgur li kelli biza' ta' dik il-pistola.
Yes, of course I was afraid of that gun.

(Case Study 1. Recording 2. 39.06)

Defence's question is typical of cross-examination, framed by the laws of evidence within the larger frame of the adversarial trial. She presents a version of events challenging the witness's statement previously made in examination-in-chief: an argument is built up, culminating in a question based on the information previously given, and contrasting with that information (i). Defence counsel puts pressure on the witness to admit that, being so frightened, his eyes were fixed on the pistol pointed at him, not on the aggressor, and consequently, he could not identify him. In doing so, she uses indexes, such as the form, formality and standard formula, recognisable as appertaining to the particular genre used in cross-examination.

The original question is coercive in form and in intonation (i), starting "Am I not correct in telling him..." which the interpreter has attempted to retain throughout this narrative (ii). However, the interpreter has used the Italian familiar form of "tu" in addressing the witness in the target text (ii), with a consequent loss of formality. Furthermore, the target text is erroneously constructed (ii), seemingly translated literally, indicating the interpreter was not a native speaker. The result is a loss in formality and coercion.

In omitting the supplementary question in (i) "And that was what he saw at the time?" the focus of the question has been deflected away from the information the questioner was trying to force the witness to admit. As this was part of a series of questions challenging the witness's recognition of the accused as perpetrator of the crime, counsel's logical sequence of questions building up an argument is disrupted and the narrative is also lost. The witness simply admits he was afraid of the gun. The total sum of loss of form and of content has robbed the cross-examiner of the exercise of power/authority granted under the law of challenging the witness. Interpreter inaccuracy has resulted in a recontextualisation of the source text through the loss of the indexicality particular to cross-examination.

5. Conclusion

This paper set out to investigate the impact of the court interpreter, if any, on trials in the Maltese criminal courts. Sub-questions asked what the context was and what the interpreter's role was in such context. The communicative context was that of the Maltese criminal courts, which are adversarial within a mixed and/or European system. Although no specific definition of role exists under Maltese law, the court interpreter's role is prescribed as that of a witness according to its legal context, "reporting faithfully" what the witness says, and thereby demanding accuracy. This role only matches the "conduit" as an ideal, or Hale's (2007) "faithful renderer of other's speech". Although the court interpreter makes an effort to be accurate and remain faithful to the source text, it was observed that in reality a loss of accuracy does occur. Different reasons explain such loss: possibly a lack of training in languages or interpreting skills, or the way language is used in the different genres of examination and cross-examination during a criminal trial. The resulting impact observed on the communicative and legal contexts in three case studies, shows that content and form may both be affected by interpreting. However, difficulty was found in matching inaccuracies to roles in Hale's spectrum: due to ambiguity encountered in role recognition. The use of ethnography and an examination of the resulting data by using concepts from the ItS literature stemming from different disciplines, permit an enriched understanding of the communicative event and consequent effects of court interpreting on the legal context.

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Interpreting at B2B wine tasting events. Pragmadiialectical insights

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Abstract

This paper addresses the specific communicative context of interpreter-mediated business-to-business (B2B) wine tasting events bringing together Italian wine producers and English-speaking buyers. Given the difficulty of obtaining authentic recordings of interactions in business contexts, the study examines the scripted dialogues that are used for role-play simulations in dialogue interpreting (DI) courses at the University of Trieste. These scripts were prepared by making use of authentic materials delivered to interpreters and gathered by the author of the paper while working as an interpreter at B2B wine tasting events. The investigation draws on the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation to answer the following research question: what are the argumentative features of interpreter-mediated wine tasting encounters? Focusing on the notions of dialectical profile, argumentative pattern and argumentative structure, the paper will show that, unlike other B2B encounters, wine tasting meetings do not generally entail actual negotiations between producers and buyers, but rather focus on the description, promotion and tasting of wine. They shape up as relatively informal meetings, which share features of business and tourist settings and in which the role of the interpreter is continuously negotiated.

Keywords

Pragmadiialectics, dialectical profile, argumentative pattern, argumentative structure, dialogue interpreting, business interpreting, B2B wine tasting event, epistemic position, interpreter's role, structured role-play.

Wine is widely known to be among the “typical Italian products that frequently emerge as topics in conference and business settings” (Kelleth Bidoli 2016: 108). Together with manufacturing and tourism, the food and wine industry is one of the three pillars of the Italian economy, with sustainably-produced wines generating substantial trade balances that bolster exports (Fortis/Sartori 2016: 284). This enviable position within the international agri-food market multiplies instances of cross-cultural encounters during which the trade of Italian wines is discussed, often thanks to the help of interpreters.

This paper explores the specific communicative context of interpreter-mediated business-to-business (B2B) wine tasting events to provide an answer to this research question: what are the argumentative features that characterise these events? The field of B2B wine tasting meetings has grown considerably over the last few years, not only because these encounters are scheduled at world-famous permanent fairs, such as *Milano Wine Week* or *Vinitaly* – where interpreting services are regularly provided (Palazzi 2006: 317) –, but also because business associations and Chambers of Commerce often organise B2B events to promote the products of more or less renowned winemakers and favour international business opportunities. Innumerable B2B events have lately taken place to enhance the visibility and expand the business networks of Italian winemakers. They include, for instance, the *International Wine Traders* initiatives and *B2B Wine Lombardia*, which were respectively arranged by a company named *Iron 3* and by *UniCredit Bank* and *Confagricoltura Lombardia* (the regional section of the General Confederation of Italian Agriculture). At these events, which are representative of the numerous initiatives organised throughout Italy, international buyers can taste and, possibly, buy Italian wines offered by representatives of Italian wineries. Given the multi-cultural environment, interpreters are regularly present to enable communication and coordinate the interaction (cf. Wadensjö 1998) between producers and buyers.

Analysing the triadic exchanges (Mason 2001) involving wine producers, potential buyers and interpreters is, however, compounded by the data-gathering obstacles characterising business interpreting research in general. The unmistakable fact that “very little attention has been directed toward business interpreting within the field of interpreting studies to date” (Takimoto 2015: 39), notoriously stems from “the obvious difficulty of obtaining natural data due to confidentiality and other constraints” (*Ibid.*). This difficulty not only hampers the examination of the contextual features of the various types of real-life interpreter-mediated encounters in business settings but also jeopardises the description of these features at university level, thereby determining a dearth of educational tools and self-study materials in business interpreting as opposed to public service interpreting (Vigier-Moreno 2020: 200). Scholars who devote their studies to dialogue interpreting (DI) in business settings without having access to authentic recordings of interactions strive to make up for this research gap by describing personal experiences (Della Libera 2009), using interviews as a research method (Takimoto 2006) or resorting to structured role-plays (Cirillo/Radicioni

2017; Vigier-Moreno 2020), in order to provide trainees with the experience they need to start working in the business sector.

In the light of unavailability of authentic recordings of interactions in B2B wine tasting settings, analytical insights will be gleaned from authentic materials that were delivered to interpreters for advance preparation of the subject before real wine tasting events. Building on the author's professional experiences in the sector and drawing on pragma-dialectics (van Eemeren/Grootendorst 1984), the following sections will describe the contextual peculiarities of interpreter-mediated meetings between Italian wine producers (WPs) and English-speaking potential buyers (PBs), highlighting the argumentative nature of WPs' turns and laying emphasis on the interpreter's role in an uncharted communicative context that is providing challenges and offering opportunities to dialogue interpreters.

1. Material and methodology

The analysis focuses on the scripts used to carry out role-playing activities during DI courses at the University of Trieste. These structured role-plays (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017) are destined to BA students with Italian as their L1 and English as their L2 or L3; they are typically "enacted by two instructors playing the two 'primary parties' in a business negotiation and students taking it in turns to play the role of the interpreter" (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 122). The structured role-play (RP) has been shown to be "a valuable teaching and learning tool to introduce students to the practice of dialogue interpreting in business settings" (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 119). Included in "virtually all modules of dialogue interpreting offered around the globe" (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 122), role-playing activities are meant to "shed light on the constraints and expectations associated with (interpreted) business negotiations and raise students' awareness of the coordinating role of the interpreter therein" (*Ibid.*). They are particularly useful at an early stage of the learning path, as trade fairs and business negotiations are the environments in which Italian interpreting students generally start working as interpreters (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 120). Wine-related topics have already been used to design RPs for the teaching of business interpreting (Lee/Buzo 2009: 54). In the context of the present study, they serve the research purpose of highlighting the features of a DI setting that has not been described yet and that is likely to continue growing in the years to come.

Although structured RPs have been criticised for being inauthentic (Stokoe 2011 in Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 126), the activities carried out with DI students at the University of Trieste are "grounded on a dialogic approach" (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 119) according to the principles of Conversation Analysis (CA, see Sacks *et al.* 1974). Moreover, the scripts that will be analysed were drafted starting from authentic materials delivered to interpreters before real B2B wine tasting meetings. These materials, including glossaries and descriptions of Italian companies, were gathered by the author when working as an interpreter at B2B wine tasting events. The scripts can, therefore, be considered representative of the typical in-

teraction occurring between WPs and PBs. They are examined using methods drawn from CA and, especially, the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation (van Eemeren/Grootendorst 1984). Argumentation theories have already been harnessed in Interpreting Studies (Marzocchi 1998) as text analytical methodologies in that, when required in argumentative situations, interpreting implies continuous argumentative interaction (Crevatin 1998: xiv). In this respect, argumentation analysis provides the interpreter with a key to understanding the overall meaning of source texts and the argumentative orientation of the professional situations s/he is immersed in (Marzocchi 1998: 5). Pragma-dialectics, in particular, has already been used as a method to examine the interplay between interactants in DI situations (e.g. Delizée/Michaux 2017; Vogeleeer/Delizée 2017), although it cannot be said to be widely used in DI research. Developed by van Eemeren/Grootendorst (1984) at the University of Amsterdam, pragma-dialectics sees argumentation as “a verbal and social activity of reason aimed at increasing (or decreasing) the acceptability of a controversial standpoint for the listener or reader, by putting forward a constellation of propositions intended to justify (or refute) the standpoint before a rational judge” (van Eemeren *et al.* 1996: 5). More simply, argumentation is understood as “a type of communication aimed at resolving a difference of opinion by critically testing the acceptability of the standpoints at issue” (van Eemeren *et al.* 2008: 476). According to pragma-dialecticians, arguers manoeuvre strategically by choosing the themes to be addressed, selecting presentational devices and adapting argumentation to their specific audiences (van Eemeren 2010: 93-94), in an attempt “to reconcile their own preferences for rhetorical effectiveness with the dialectical requirements of reasonableness inherent in the stage concerned” (van Eemeren 2010: 43).

Pragma-dialectics is a versatile methodology that can virtually be applied to the analysis of discourse in all communicative contexts, because “not a day passes without a confrontation, without argument and counter-response. Argumentation is encountered everywhere: during meetings, in scientific articles, in film reviews, letters, and in everyday conversation” (van Eemeren/Grootendorst 1987: 57). In the context of B2B wine tasting events, the interaction between the WP and the PB is inherently argumentative, as the WP strives to convince the PB of the quality of his/her wines in order to persuade his/her interlocutor to buy them.

In its simplest form, argumentation consists of a statement (the *argument*) put forward by a speaker or writer (the *arguer*) in support of another statement (the *standpoint*). (Hitchcock/Wagemans 2011: 185)

The scripts will be analysed to identify the argument put forward by WPs to support their shared and regularly unexpressed standpoint, verbalisable as *you should buy my wines*. In everyday reality, though, argumentation is rarely found in its simplest form:

In analysing argumentative practices, more elaborated *argumentative patterns* can be distinguished [...] having varying degrees of complexity. (van Eemeren 2017: 20, my emphasis)

The following section will demonstrate that WPs put forward more than one argument to convince PBs to buy their wines; in particular, at each stage of the interaction WPs set forth a different argument to defend the same unexpressed standpoint. The prototypical *argumentative patterns* (van Eemeren 2017: 19) characterising B2B wine tasting encounters will, thus, be outlined.

An argumentative pattern is characterized by a constellation of argumentative moves in which, in order to deal with a particular kind of difference of opinion, in defence of a particular type of standpoint a particular argument scheme or combination of argument schemes is used in a particular kind of argumentation structure. (van Eemeren 2017: 19-20)

As WPs advance more than one argument to convince PBs to purchase their wines, their turns result in a complex *argumentation structure* (van Eemeren/Snoeck Henkemans 2017: 55) that will be illustrated in Section 3. In describing the prototypical adjacency pairs (Schegloff 1972) that characterise the stages of the B2B wine tasting encounter, emphasis will also be laid on the notion of *dialectical profile*. First introduced by Walton (1999) with the term *profile of dialogue* and then developed within pragma-dialectics, a dialectical profile is “a means of representing a sequence of connected moves (adjacency-pairs) in a dialogue exchange” (Walton 1999: 53). Notably, the non-casual presence of an argument within the sequence of connected moves made by participants in a conversation is stressed in the definitions of dialectical profile.

A *profile of dialogue* is a reconstructed sequence of connected moves in a given text of discourse in a case *where an argument has been used*. [...] The profile of dialogue represents a local sequence of moves that is one part of a longer sequence of moves in a *goal directed conversational exchange* of a certain kind between two parties (Walton 1999: 54, my emphasis)

A similar definition is provided by van Eemeren *et al.*:

Our *dialectical profile* [...] can be defined as a sequential pattern of the moves that the participants in a critical discussion are entitled – and in some sense obliged – to make to realize a particular *dialectical aim* in a particular stage or sub-stage of the discussion (van Eemeren *et al.* 2008: 6, my emphasis)

This analytical tool is, therefore, functional to displaying the argumentative orientation of B2B wine tasting meetings and informing interpreters that the individual turns produced by WPs and PBs must be seen, as Cirillo/Radicioni (2017: 132) argue in relation to business negotiations, “against the larger picture of a ritualized goal-oriented event”, a professional situation in which an argument is regularly set forth. While describing the prototypical adjacency pairs that characterise the interaction, the promotional nature of the WP’s turns will, thus, be highlighted, as will the translational and conversational contributions the interpreter is called upon to offer in the role of coordinator of the B2B wine tasting meeting.

2. Contextualisation and analysis

Interpreting at international B2B meetings in the wine industry basically “involves interpreter-assisted cross-linguistic interactions in the private sector” (Takimoto 2015: 38) and, therefore, shares features with many business DI situations: it is conducted face-to-face (Mason 2009: 81) and short-consecutive dialogue interpreting (Takimoto 2015: 39) is used; the interpreter is, therefore, involved “in bi-directional translation, requiring active communicative skills in both languages and a facility for constant code switching” (Mason 2009: 81). However, “business interpreting occurs in a variety of settings and encompasses a variety of formats” (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 120), and the B2B wine tasting setting presents a series of contextual peculiarities that differentiate it from other business spheres.

B2B wine tasting events are generally organised in the form of multi-meeting *speed* events, during which each WP, occupying one of the many numbered tables arranged in a large room, brings a selection of wines and is allotted twenty-to thirty-minute meetings with each PB. Each meeting is supposed to end after twenty minutes, as signalled by the ring of a bell; the final ten minutes can be used by the PB either to conclude the talk with the WP or to start moving, together with the interpreter in charge of accompanying him/her, to another table, which is indicated on the agenda of scheduled meetings provided by the event organiser.

B2B wine tasting events, thus, appear to be shaped by a series of time-constrained meetings in which the interpreter is required to assist one foreign buyer in his/her multiple interactions with national producers. Despite the apparent centrality reserved for buyers, B2B events are particularly important for producers because “B2B sales far outstrip those of B2C” (Kotler/Pfoertsch 2006: 21); the interpreter, therefore, knows that producers view B2B encounters as unique opportunities to expand their business networks. Notably, even though the interpreter is “assigned” to one specific buyer, s/he is not hired by that buyer, but by the institutions organising the event, generally through a translation and interpreting agency. In this respect, the doubts that beset interpreting scholars about the frequent partiality of the interpreter in business settings (Takimoto 2015: 39) are dispelled in the context of B2B wine tasting meetings, because the interpreter does not belong to either of the two sides. The hoped-for neutrality and impartiality of the business interpreter (Garzone 2001) are, in this specific setting, guaranteed by the fact that s/he is hired by a client who does not take part in the interaction and does not have a direct stake in the outcome of the negotiation.

The discursive orientation of B2B wine tasting events is, in general, rather predictable, because they are usually devoted to specific wine typologies or regions; therefore, the interpreter knows in advance which wines will be presented at the meetings. For instance, the 2014 edition of *B2B Wine Lombardia* focused on Oltrepò Pavese wines, while the 2015 edition was dedicated to Franciacorta

1 The acronym B2C stands for “business-to-consumer” and refers to transactions conducted between businesses and individual customers.

wineries. This latter edition was organised in Brescia with the additional support of the *American Chamber of Commerce in Italy*. At this event, a team of interpreters were in charge of translating and coordinating the interaction between Italian producers and American buyers. Having a look at an excerpt drawn from the authentic materials delivered to those interpreters helps frame the topicality of B2B wine tasting events.

1. 1701 srl Società Agricola	
www.1701franciacorta.it	
DESCRIZIONE AZIENDA	On the top of Santa Giulia hill, beside the Cluniac church of the same name, within a singular landscape, the glorious eighteenth-century villa Palazzo Cazzago is home to our winery. The villa is part of ancient land belonging to the noble families Bettoni and Cazzago. The land includes approximately 15 hectares of hillside in Cazzago San Martino, Franciacorta. The name 1701 was chosen to recall the first vinification year of our <i>brolo</i> , a 4-hectare vineyard framed by XI-century walls. Today 1701 Franciacorta is a 10-ha organic certified winery. We have recently received Demeter certification, the first and only certified biodynamic producer in the Franciacorta region. As members of <i>Renaissance des Appellations</i> we follow biodynamic farming methods - an approach which excludes any chemical intervention. It is ultimately a philosophy of life, about working closely with the vine, understanding and respecting its life cycle until the point when bottled it can fully express its vitality and character and above all the authenticity of its terroir.
CARATTERISTICHE PRODOTTI	Spumante / Bollicine
Vino 1 - Spumante	80% chardonnay 20 % pinot noir - hand-picked from our biodynamic vineyards - Charmat method - 4 months in pressure tanks - dosage 8 g/l
Vino 2 - Spumante	85% chardonnay 15 % pinot noir - hand-picked from our biodynamic vineyards - classic method - minimum of 30 months on the lees - dosage 4 g/l
Vino 3 - Spumante	100% chardonnay - hand-picked from our biodynamic vineyards - classic method - minimum of 30 months on the lees - dosage 2 g/l
Vino 4 - Spumante	100% pinot noir - hand-picked from our biodynamic vineyards - classic method - skin contact for approximately 8 hours - minimum of 30 months on the lees - dosage 4 g/l
2. AZIENDA AGRICOLA FRATELLI BERLUCCHI SRL	
www.fratelliberlucchi.it	
DESCRIZIONE AZIENDA	The Azienda Agricola Fratelli Berlucchi is the unquestioned ambassador of Franciacorta land in the world, thanks to the spirit of people that have never kept away from tradition and at the same time are looking to the renewal of all the characteristics of the offer. Owned by the five Berlucchi brothers - Francesco, Marcello, Roberto, Gabriella and Pia Donata - the historic winery has always been maintaining the family name in all the labels and with 400.000 bottles produced every year it addresses the best restaurants and wine shops in Italy, Europe, US, Japan and China. All the Franciacorta Docg (Freccianera Vintage Collection) wines by Fratelli Berlucchi are obtained from Chardonnay, Pinot Noir and Pinot Blanc grapes with the classic method of refermentation in bottle and they are all vintage, that is to say matured for more than 37 months. Always appreciated are also the Curtefranca wines, called Mandola and Cà Brusade both younger than Dossi delle Querce Red and White.
CARATTERISTICHE PRODOTTI	Rosso Ferno - Bianco Ferno - Spumante / Bollicine
Vino 1 - Franciacorta non-vintage	FRESH, YOUNG, 25 MONTHS OLD. CHARDONNAY AND PINOT BLANC
Vino 2 - Franciacorta Rosé vintage 2010	FULL BODY, RED FRUIT TASTE, DRY BUT PLEASANT, LONG-LASTING PERLAGE, PERFECT WITH FISH DISHES. CHARDONNAY AND PINOT NERO
Vino 3 - CURTEFRANCA BIANCO DOC 2014	STILL WINE VERY FRESH, CHARDONNAY AND PINOT BLANC GRAPES
Vino 4 - CURTEFRANCA ROSSO DOC 2013	YOUNG RED WINE, CABERNET AND MERLOT BLEND, AGED IN BIG OAK BARREL

Figure 1: Excerpt from the “List of companies”

Figure 1 displays the first of the twenty-two pages that compose “The list of companies”, a document containing information about the Italian winemakers who took part in the 2015 edition of *B2B Wine Lombardia*². It suggests that the conversation between producer, buyer and interpreter belongs to those cases in which the interaction is governed by a topical agenda, as happens in certain instances of institutionalised conversation (Straniero Sergio 2007: 57-58). Each interaction in this context generally starts with a presentation of the company and then focuses on the wines (four, in these cases) selected by the producer to be tasted. The topic is, thus, predetermined and the typical interaction can be divided into three consecutive stages, which the participants follow to fit their conversation in the time slot allocated.

1. Presentation of the company
2. Wine description and tasting
3. Negotiation of terms and exchange of contact details

Given the severe time constraints under which the event takes place, the conversation at each table regularly begins *in medias res*, after a brief greeting. At this initial stage, WPs generally recite the scripted presentations of their companies. The interpreter, as Mason puts it (2009: 81), “translates the speaking of what has been written” in the “List of companies” rather than totally spontaneous speech, unlike what generally happens in DI situations (*Ibid*). This peculiarity is also due to the fact that the WP has to repeat the same introduction various times, to each of the PBs who sit at his/her table in turn. The prototypical interaction between Italian wine producers and English-speaking buyers occurring in the first stage of the meeting was reconstructed by harnessing the authentic material displayed in Figure 1. An excerpt of a scripted dialogue, containing the turns of the WP and PB in Italian and English respectively, is shown below.

- 2 Although this document was exclusively given to the participants in the communicative event, the information displayed in Figure 1 is not confidential, as it can also be found on the websites of the individual companies in Italian and English alike.

WP: Benvenuto, piacere di conoscerla. Conosce già la nostra azienda?

[*Welcome, nice to meet you. Do you already know our company?*]

PB: Nice to meet you, too. No, I have tasted a lot of Franciacorta wines but none of yours, so far.

WP: La nostra azienda agricola, Lo Sparviere, ha sede a Monticelli Brusati, nel cuore della Franciacorta; un luogo senza tempo che parla di storia e amore per la terra. Il suo nome deriva dalla raffigurazione dello sparviere posta sul maestoso camino all'interno del salone della casa padronale, nucleo storico della cantina. Lo Sparviere ha sede in un'antica dimora di campagna risalente al XVI secolo. Alla sua guida troviamo la Sig.ra Monique Poncelet Gussalli Beretta, donna determinata che ha fortemente voluto il recupero della storia e del fascino di questo antico angolo di Franciacorta. Oggi l'azienda si estende su più di 60 ettari di proprietà di cui 30 vitati a Chardonnay e Pinot Nero, tutti rigorosamente condotti in agricoltura biologica dal 2013. I Franciacorta Lo Sparviere esprimono le caratteristiche uniche dei terreni da cui nascono, molto ricchi di marne calcaree, e l'elevata qualità data dal nostro microclima, più fresco rispetto ad altre aree della Franciacorta. Ma solo attraverso la massima cura per la vigna e la terra, la rigorosa selezione delle uve e l'attento lavoro dell'uomo in cantina si raggiunge l'eccellenza che porta nel bicchiere la naturale vocazione del territorio; la filosofia alla base dei Franciacorta Lo Sparviere.

[*Our winery, Lo Sparviere, lies in Monticelli Brusati, in the heart of Franciacorta; a timeless place narrating a story of tradition and love for the land. Its name derives from the image of a sparrowhawk depicted over the majestic fireplace inside the manor house hall, the historic heart of the winery. Lo Sparviere is housed in an ancient country residence dating back to the XVI century. It is owned by Mrs Monique Poncelet Gussalli Beretta, a resolute woman who was determined to recover the history and charm of this ancient corner of Franciacorta. Today, the winery extends over 60 hectares of property, 30 of which are planted to Chardonnay and Pinot Noir, all cultivated organically since 2013. Lo Sparviere Franciacorta wines express the unique characteristics of the soils from which they originate, very rich in calcareous marls, and the high quality given by our microclimate, cooler than elsewhere in Franciacorta. But only maximum care for the vineyards and the soils, rigorous selection of the grapes and careful effort in winemaking ensure the excellence that infuses our wines with the natural qualities of the territory; this is the philosophy behind Lo Sparviere Franciacorta.*]

Figure 2: Stage 1 of the interaction

As shown by this initial part of the script, the WP generally produces a significantly long turn during the first interactional stage. In this respect, although note-taking is generally thought not to be involved in business interpreting situations (Vigier-Moreno 2020: 199), the interpreter usually takes notes in order to retrieve given elements that will enable him/her to accurately render WPs' messages. More broadly, the interpreter is also advised to regulate turn length by interrupting the WP, with a view to delivering an accurate translation. Resorting to compression strategies (Kalina 2015) would ensure an exhaustive conversation to fit the time allotted. Yet, the content and form whereby wine companies are presented are not mere frills but pivotal and recurring presentational devices (van Eemeren 2010: 118) that enable the arguer to implicitly defend his/her standpoint. By reciting the scripted presentation exemplified in Figure 1, the WP aims at promoting his/her brand by rapidly highlighting the historical and traditional assets of the firm. As shown in Figure 2, this presentation is generally evocative, as brands are seen as "the ideas, perceptions, expectations and beliefs that are in the mind of consumers" (Kotler/Pfoertsch 2006: v):

Brand building goes far beyond creating awareness of your name and your customers promise. It is a voyage of building a *corporate soul* and infectiously communicating it inside and outside the company to all your partners, so that your customers truly get what your brand promises. (Kotler/Pfoertsch 2006: ix, my emphasis)

The WP's intention to convey the *corporate soul* of his/her company was highlighted in the scripts to render the role-playing activity "situationally and interaction-

ally authentic” (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 126). From a pragma-dialectical point of view, history and a long-standing tradition are the first arguments whereby the WP tries to turn the potential buyer into a buyer. In this regard, the prototypical *argumentative pattern* characterising the first stage can be represented as follows:

- (1.) (Standpoint: You should buy my wines.)
 - 1.1 Because: My company has a long history and tradition of winemaking.
 - (1.1') (And: Wines with a long history and tradition should be bought.)

This argumentative pattern highlights the first argument WPs advance in the context at issue, revolving around the promotion of the historical and traditional aspects of the firm. Standpoint (1.) is placed between parentheses because it is not explicitly expressed by the arguer; it is left unsaid and supported by means of causal argumentation, as argument 1.1 is linked to the standpoint by a relation of causal dependence. (1.1') is the implicit premise upon which argumentation rests.

The initial part of the interaction illustrated in the above script already displays a discursive peculiarity of B2B wine tasting events, i.e. the regular use of specialised lexicon. For instance, most interpreters will be unaware of what *mame cal-caree* are, what is their relation to wine and what is the equivalent English term. This is due to the different *epistemic positions* (Gavioli 2015: 76) of participants in relation to the topic. This “knowledge gap”, signalled by the participants’ use of the same language for specific purposes that launches terminological challenges to the interpreter, is typical of (business) interpreting situations (Sandrelli 2005: 81). Drawing on research on epistemics in CA (Heritage 2012), Gavioli (2015: 76-77) underlines that in interpreter-mediated interactions each participant holds an *epistemic position*, i.e. a display of authority on particular matters of knowledge, and contends that interpreters “have access to and deal with information another participant is supposed to be more knowledgeable about” (*Ibid.*: 77). The WP and the PB are acknowledged as the *epistemic authorities* (*Ibid.*) as regards knowledge of wine-related matters, but the interpreter can also be considered an epistemic authority in light of his/her knowledge of interlinguistic communication strategies. Hence, the interpreter who works at B2B wine tasting encounters is engaged with the other participants in a constant “negotiation of territories of knowledge”, to borrow Heritage’s expression, which Gavioli (*Ibid.*: 73) already used to describe interpreter-mediated talk in guided tours. The notion of *epistemic territory* or *territory of knowledge* precisely refers to “what is known, how it is known, and persons’ rights and responsibilities to know it” (Heritage 2012: 5-6), and it is continuously negotiated in conversation (Gavioli 2015: 76-77).

In order to cater for their disadvantageous epistemic position within the event, interpreters are generally given a glossary of winemaking terms; those working at the 2015 edition of *B2B Wine Lombardia* were provided with a monolingual glossary, only containing Italian terms and their explanations. An excerpt of this glossary is shown below.

Affinamento

Il termine si riferisce all'incirca a una serie di operazioni di cantina che seguono la fermentazione e precedono l'imbottigliamento (chiarificazione, taglio, filtraggio, stoccaggio, ecc.), che mirano a migliorare, maturare ed a curare il vino. L'affinamento di certi vini di alta qualità può essere un lavoro assai intenso e richiedere una notevole quantità di tempo.

Aggraziato

Un vino aggraziato è ben equilibrato e raffinato. Un sinonimo più comunemente usato è "elegante".

Aggressivo

Un vino aggressivo è quello che è eccessivamente e sgradevolmente sbilanciato con tannini aspri od acidità.

Figure 3: Excerpt from the glossary

This specific glossary was delivered a couple of weeks before the event and contained more than two-hundred entries, but their usefulness was subordinate to the interpreters' struggles to find all the English equivalents before the event. In this respect, the stage concerning the description and tasting of the wines on the table is characterised by a proliferation of technical terms signalling the WP's and PB's belonging to the same *diaculture*, i.e. "a group culture defined by the shared professional background, common technical expertise" (Pöchhacker 1995: 49). While listing the bottles selected, the WP pours a glass of each wine for the PB to taste. S/he then describes the wines in turn, during the tasting, eliciting the PB's response. At this stage, too, the WP's turns are considerably longer than those of the PB, precisely because the interaction centres on the WP's argumentative endeavours to find new trade partners. Hence, interpreters are primarily engaged in IT>EN translation.

WP: Oggi la mia azienda Abrami Elisabetta ha selezionato quattro vini per questo evento. Il Franciacorta Brut, il Franciacorta Rosé, il Franciacorta Satèn e anche un vino rosso, l'Etna Rosso. Cominciamo la degustazione con il Franciacorta Brut. Conosce questo prodotto?

[Today my company Abrami Elisabetta has selected four wines for this event. The Franciacorta Brut, the Franciacorta Rosé, the Franciacorta Satèn and a red wine, too, the Etna Rosso. Let's start the tasting with the Franciacorta Brut. Do you know this product?]

PB: I can swear I tasted it for the first time when I was on holiday on Lake Garda, back in 2013. I am happy it is here on the table today.

WP: Bene, così potrà provarlo di nuovo! Il Franciacorta Brut D.O.C.G. delle Cantine Abrami è ottenuto con uve di Chardonnay e Pinot Nero vendemmiate a mano, è un vino ottimo da servire come aperitivo. Ha un perlage persistente, colore intenso giallo paglierino con riflessi d'oro e un profumo delicato con una leggera nota di vaniglia. Sulla tavola è un vino perfetto per accompagnare le portate a base di pesce e crostacei o i primi piatti molto delicati.

[Well, you will taste it again, then! The Franciacorta Brut D.O.C.G. of the Abrami winery is obtained from hand-picked Chardonnay and Pinot Noir grapes, it's excellent as an aperitif wine. It has a persistent perlage, an intense straw yellow colour with golden hues and a delicate perfume with a light vanilla note. It pairs perfectly with fish and shellfish dishes or with very delicate first courses.]

PB: Is it your base product?

WP: Sì, è il nostro prodotto di base.

[Yes, it is our base product.]

PB: (after tasting the wine) Yes, it's perfect as an aperitif wine, along with fish, as you said. But I think it partners well with cured meat, too. So, you said the grape variety is Chardonnay and Pinot Noir. In which percentage?

WP: Il vitigno è 80% Chardonnay e 20% Pinot Nero.

[The grape variety is 80% Chardonnay and 20% Pinot Noir.]

PB: And the refinement?

WP: L'affinamento avviene in barrique di rovere e/o in botti d'acciaio per minimo 24 mesi sui lieviti, e minimo 3 mesi post sboccatura.

[The wine is refined in oak and/or steel barrels for minimum 24 months on the lees, and minimum 3 months after disgorgement.]

PB: I see... Yes, it definitely brings with it all the qualities of traditional ageing.

WP: Ne vuole un bicchiere anche lei? (rivolgendosi all'interprete)

[Do you also want to taste the wine? (talking to the interpreter)]

Figure 4: Stage 2 of the interaction

The strategic role played by the WP's turns in glorifying production methods, exalting wine description and enhancing the tasting experience stand out when reading the script displayed in Figure 4. Interpreters should be made aware that winemakers see the B2B tasting encounter as an opportunity to pique the interest of their interlocutors and make a profit (Jackson 2017: ix). As with the insistence on history and tradition, then, the listing of the production, organoleptic and sensory qualities of wine are best viewed as arguments that are advanced to carry on the defence of the same implicit standpoint that has already been defended during the initial phase of the meeting.

- (1.) (Standpoint: You should buy my wines.)
 - 1.2 Because: My wines are characterised by excellent production methods and organoleptic qualities.
 - (1.2') (And: Wines that are characterised by excellent production methods and organoleptic qualities should be bought.)

This argumentative pattern highlights the second argument set forth by WPs, whereby they promote the production methods and organoleptic qualities of their wines.

While the script for stage 2 shows the argumentative nature of WPs' turns, it also suggests that the turns of PBs are not prototypically characterised by an argumentative nature. As indicated by the turn in which the PB recalls a holiday on Lake Garda, in this setting the topic is also determined by the fact that "any wine is interpreted through the lens of unconscious mental models constructed throughout a lifetime of tasting experiences" (Jackson 2017: ix). As the most important wine taster at the meeting, the PB is generally given free rein in the choice of themes, which often focus precisely on "previously generated vinous memories" (*Ibid.*). In broader terms, the topic is co-constructed by the participants and develops over the course of the conversational exchange, as happens in ordinary conversation (Straniero Sergio 2007: 48). Owing to the sequential nature and participatory structure of interaction (*Ibid.*), conversation in the B2B wine tasting context can be steered towards the most unexpected themes, although the topic is predetermined. For instance, when talking to a Chianti producer, the PB might recall his/her childhood memories and inform the other participants of a time when his/her whole family spent an unforgettable summer holiday in Tuscany. These digressions are more likely to be made after the buyer has encountered a few producers and tasted a number of wines; at this stage, the interaction generally becomes more informal and challenges the interpreter to discursively withstand the increasing relaxation of the event, which remains characterised by the overuse of specialised lexicon. Indeed, the script shows that the interaction between the WP and the PB is rather informal but also sheds light on the technical nature of the discussion, presenting additional specialised terms such as *affinamento sui lieviti* ("refinement on the lees") and *sboccatura* ("disgorgement"). Actually, the use of technical terms is not stifled but favoured by the general informality of the conversation in business settings.

The complexities of technical concepts/processes/jargon are regarded as one of the most difficult aspects of business interpreting. In fact, the more technical the discussion becomes, often the more relaxed the manner of discourse will be (Gentile *et al.* 1996: 120).

This use of specialised terminology in an informal conversation is liable to generate overlapping between the territories of knowledge in which the participants are supposed to "reside". The display of authority the other participants have on wine-related matters is frequently manifested through turn and/or role usurping, as observed in media settings (Straniero Sergio 2007: 266-269), especially when the situation is characterised by a certain "permeability of language barriers" (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 134). This situation is not infrequent, as those wine-makers who are used to trading their wines transnationally often show a certain proficiency in English³ and sometimes opt for dyadic exchanges with the buyers, thereby usurping not only the turns but also the role of the interpreter, as happens in media interpreting (Straniero Sergio 2007: 269). A prototypical situation sees the WP selecting English from the outset by saying to the interpreter "Non

3 It is, instead, much more uncommon to find an English-speaking buyer who displays a working knowledge of Italian.

c'è bisogno che traduca, parlo inglese” (“There is no need for you to translate, I speak English”). A few WPs are even unaware of who the interpreter is and only when running into a communication problem do they realise that the “third person” at the table is not some sort of “deputy buyer”, but a language expert hired by the event organiser to facilitate the work of wine experts. More frequent cases of turn usurping can precisely be observed in this second stage, when the PB tastes wine and discusses its organoleptic qualities: if the interpreter omits a certain referent when rendering the PB’s words, the WP generally “steals” his/her turn by producing utterances of the type of “*Sono sicuro che abbia detto anche ‘liquorice’, liquirizia. Non ha sentito?*” (“I am sure s/he also said ‘liquorice’. Didn’t you hear it?”). These turn usurping practices may lead interpreters to lose face, actually expelling them from the epistemic territory of their field of expertise.

Yet, interpreters are not always hampered in the execution of their professional tasks; in fact, they are also frequently “invited” to the epistemic territory of winemaking. Despite being the supposedly less knowledgeable participant regarding wine production, tasting and trade, the interpreter can nevertheless be involved in the role of (possible) *connoisseur* of Italian winemaking tradition and culture because s/he shares the WP’s *paraculture*, i.e. “culture at the level of a people, nation or society” (Pöchhacker 1995: 40). In other words, the language professional is often legitimised by either the producer or the buyer to address wine-related matters, because “in interaction, participants negotiate the ‘informativeness’ and the novelty of the issues dealt with as well as who can knowledgeably speak about them” (Gavioli 2015: 76). For instance, when the PB talks of his holiday on Lake Garda, the interpreter might be encouraged to provide his/her conversational contributions about Franciacorta wines or personal memories of holidays on Lake Garda.

The practice of business interpreting often shades off into other activities that reflect the protean nature of business contacts and the lack of clarity between interpreting and other roles – such as tourism interpreting and guide-work, which is often monolingual or bilingual work linked to other roles (Gentile *et al.* 1996: 12)

The above quotation captures the essence of the wine tasting setting, where it is even not uncommon for the interpreter to be invited to join the tasting and have a say on wine quality, as suggested by the last turn displayed in Figure 4. In these cases, the WP and PB either enquire into the interpreter’s expertise or simply wish to be kind, but their moves actually end up adding humour and light-heartedness to the encounter, because the interpreter is obliged contractually to decline the invitation. Hence, the offer generally leads to mocking the language expert because s/he is prevented from tasting wine and enjoying the day.

The final line of the script demonstrates that “even a small change in the participation framework may in fact require the interpreter to provide not just a translational but also a conversational contribution” (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 134) to decline the invitation to taste wine. Generally, a reply such as “*La ringrazio molto, ma non ci è permesso*” (“Thank you very much, but we are not allowed to”) is enough to refuse the offer politely. Broadly, Figure 4 also indicates that interpreter involvement in the tasting experience can be considered a feature of B2B

meetings in the wine industry; the interpreter is actively involved in the interaction – through questions such as “Have you ever tasted this wine?” or “And you, have you ever been to Valpolicella?” – and, therefore, significantly contributes to rendering dialogue “a co-constructed sense-making process involving all parties as co-authors of meaning in a given context” (Dal Fovo/Niemants 2015: 1-2).

If the WP and PB respect the time limitations and foresee a collaboration, a third interactional stage follows during which the two parties touch upon terms of payment and delivery and exchange their contact details with a view to resuming the talk at a later moment.

PB: I appreciated all your wines, the Franciacorta non-vintage, the Rosé vintage, the Curtefranca Bianco and the Curtefranca Rosso. As you probably know, Americans are particularly fond of red wines... so, let's talk about costs.

WP: I prezzi di questi quattro vini sono, rispettivamente, 14,69 €, 19,13 €, 9,70 € e 8,80 € (indicando le bottiglie una a una). All'ingrosso, i prodotti sono venduti a bancali di 120 bottiglie l'uno. Quindi... Oh, è suonata la campanella!

[The prices of these four wines are, respectively, 14,69 €, 19,13 €, 9,70 € and 8,80 € (indicating the wine bottles in turn). On the wholesale market, the products are sold in pallets of 120 bottles each. So... Oh, the bell has rung!]

PB: Our time has run out! (laughing) So, let me just write the prices down... What if I wanted to place an order directly with you?

WP: Se è interessato può contattarci all'indirizzo e-mail che trova sull'elenco delle aziende, ma le lascio anche il mio biglietto da visita; qui c'è il mio indirizzo personale, può scrivere direttamente a me.

[If you are interested, you can contact us at the e-mail address you can find on the list of companies, but I also give you my business card; there is my personal address here, you can write directly to me.]

PB: Great! This is very kind of you, I enjoyed the tasting very much.

WP: Grazie a lei, è stato un piacere. E (rivolgendosi all'interprete) se più tardi vuole provare anche lei i nostri prodotti torni pure qui! Almeno a fine giornata vi è concesso un bicchierino, vero?

[Thank you, it has been a pleasure. And (talking to the interpreter) if you also wish to taste our products later, please come back here! At least at the end of the day you are allowed to drink a glass of wine, aren't you?]

Figure 5: Stage 3 of the interaction

Given the limited duration of the meetings, at this stage the interpreter is often required by contract to urge the PB to move to the table of the following WP, in order to keep the event running smoothly. In other words, s/he is, again, called upon to coordinate the interaction by providing a conversational contribution, as happens when s/he is invited to drink; this conversational habit is likely to recur in the third stage, as suggested by the final line of the script. Incidentally, at the end of the working day the interpreter is entitled to drink a glass of wine.

As exemplified in Figure 5, at this third stage it is the PB who takes the initiative and asks the WP for information about the terms of payment and delivery. Cirillo/Radicioni (2017: 133) suggest that the final phase of the simulated business negotiation can be exploited by the instructor to familiarise students with Incoterms, which should become part of the specialised terminological competence of the business interpreter. However, Incoterms and, in general, terms of delivery are seldom addressed in this context owing to time constraints and the informality of the setting. Prices are, on the contrary, almost ubiquitously mentioned in this interactional sequence that is prototypically started by the PB. Building on the tasting experience of stage 2, the PB can calculate the quality/price ratio of the wines tasted; interpreters should, therefore, write prices down

and accurately communicate them to PBs, because they constitute (in relation to wine quality) the third class of arguments whereby WPs defend their shared standpoint.

(1.) (Standpoint: You should buy my wines.)

1.3 Because: My wines are characterised by an excellent quality/price ratio.

(1.3') (And: Wines that are characterised by an excellent quality/price ratio should be bought.)

Argumentation regarding prices plays an instrumental role in leading the PB to consider a purchase. Yet, WPs do not always have the time to put forward their third argument, because the “informal chatting” that characterises the event is very likely to continue until the ring of the bell, thereby limiting or even exhausting the scope for discussing – let alone reaching – a commercial agreement. In this regard, the B2B wine tasting context provides further evidence that the nature of business interpreting is *often*, but certainly not always, adversarial (Lee/Buzo 2009: 52). After all, “the atmosphere in which business meetings are conducted [...] can range from friendly informal chatting to detailed, possibly adversarial, negotiations” (*Ibid.*: 51), and B2B wine tasting events are definitely found at the left end of the continuum. Indeed, they can actually be said to eschew the very nature of business meetings, with repercussions on interpreting. Business interpreting aims at enabling the conclusion of commercial operations (Vigier-Moreno 2020: 198), as “in a business negotiation a deal must be clinched and participants’ moves will tend to be driven by economic interests” (Cirillo/Radicioni 2017: 133). Yet, agreement is not necessarily the objective of B2B wine tasting meetings, which rather centre on the mutual enjoyment of a product. From a discursive point of view, these meetings do not exclusively focus on financial advantages, but are also characterised by discussions on the histories, traditions and philosophies of winemaking companies and on the participants’ emotional responses to wine, as happens in other interpreter-mediated encounters in the tourism, agri-food and cultural sectors (Gavioli 2015: 74). Although the commercial nature of conversation in the context under analysis cannot be overlooked, agreement is not paramount and can (only possibly) be reached at a later moment “outside” the main event.

Therefore, the B2B wine tasting event can be said to lie at the intersection of business and tourism contexts. When working in this setting, the interpreter is called upon not only to coordinate the interaction to assist parties in reaching a possible agreement, but also to act as an intercultural mediator who enhances interactional closeness and promotes cultural exchange between two subjects sharing the same *diaculture* but (generally) ignoring the *paraculture* of their interlocutor.

3. Discussion

The pragma-dialectical analysis of argumentation has revealed the three arguments that WPs set forth in succession to win the PB’s trust. In the light of these

findings, the *dialectical profile* characterising B2B wine tasting events can be schematically represented as follows, with a view to providing interpreters with a sequential representation of the argumentative moves that the participants will make.

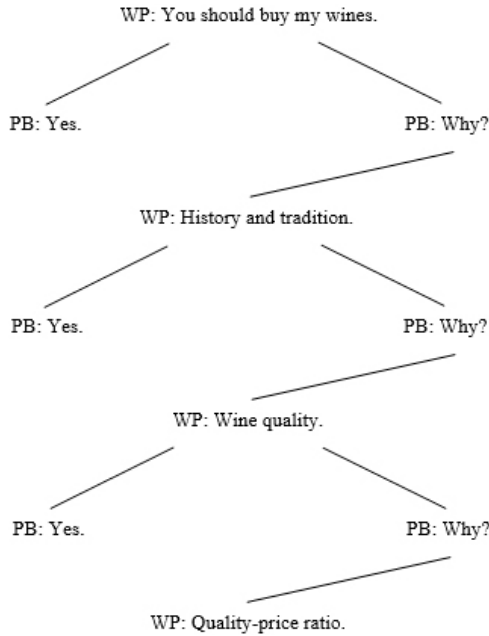


Figure 6: Dialectical profile of B2B wine tasting events

Figure 6 schematically informs interpreters that each WP will strenuously, but implicitly, defend his/her standpoint throughout the whole encounter, aware that the PB must be convinced through a dialectically reasonable and rhetorically effective discourse. Hence, WPs will try and convince PBs to buy their wines firstly by addressing the history and tradition of their companies, secondly by exalting the organoleptic qualities of wine, and finally by highlighting its competitive price. The three arguments described in Section 2 and presented schematically in the central part of Figure 6 can be seen as “alternative defenses of the same standpoint, presented one after another” (van Eemeren/Snoeck Henkemans 2017: 58); as such, they mould a *multiple argumentation structure* (*Ibid.*) that contains causal arguments and that is prototypical of the WP’s argumentation.

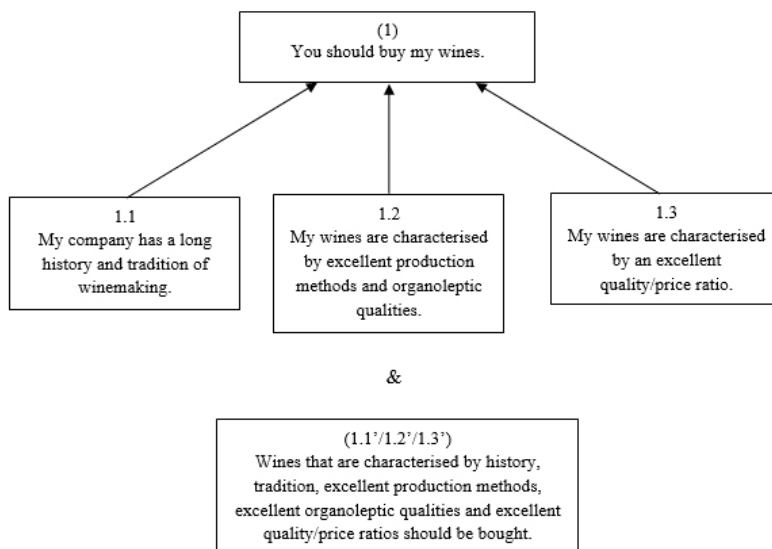


Figure 7: Multiple argumentation structure in WP's turns

As Figure 7 shows, three arguments (1.1, 1.2, 1.3) are used to defend standpoint (1). Advanced one after the other, they shape a multiple argumentation structure because they “could theoretically stand alone [...] do not depend on each other to support the standpoint and are, in principle, of equal weight” (*Ibid.*). Each argument rests on the implicit premise (1.1'/1.2'/1.3'). Notably, the standpoint is also left unsaid, as the choice to pursue the commercial aim “silently”, without discursively “forcing” the PB to buy wine, actually enhances the acceptability of the standpoint. After all, the elements of argumentation are frequently left implicit to increase the pragmatic force of discourse in various communicative settings, such as advertising or politics (Amossy 2000: 152). This is something interpreters must be aware of, if they wish to reproduce the intensity of the source-language speaker's messages, providing a dialectically reasonable and rhetorically effective rendition.

4. Conclusions

The prototypical situation of a B2B wine tasting meeting sees a national wine producer, a foreign potential buyer and an interpreter who is in charge of coordinating dialogue between the two parties. The interpreter is hired by the company or institutional body organising the event, generally through a translation and interpreting agency; impartiality is, therefore, contextually guaranteed by the non-involvement of either of the two sides in the selection of the intercultural mediator, who is “assigned” to one foreign buyer in his/her multiple interactions with national producers.

Even though the topic is predetermined because of the severe time constraints of the single B2B meetings, additional themes can arise during the con-

versation and the interaction remains rather informal. On account of this nature of dialogue as “informal chatting”, the interpreter’s role and epistemic position are regularly negotiated during the rapid meeting, as s/he is either: legitimised to act as “adjunct” wine taster (in spite of contractual obligations); or prevented from translating and coordinating the interaction in light of his/her relatively limited knowledge of wine-related matters; or because the Italian wine producer frequently speaks (or is convinced s/he can speak) English. In this sense, interpreters are often required to provide not only translational but also conversational contributions and act as intercultural mediators, in order to preserve their epistemic position – which is unique within the communicative event – and facilitate communication between those who share an epistemic position but ignore each other’s language and culture.

Notably, the B2B wine tasting meeting has been shown to be an atypical form of business encounter, as it does not necessarily aim at the contextual attainment of a commercial agreement. These meetings are, rather, time-constrained opportunities for national winemakers to meet foreign potential buyers and try and expand their business networks. These atypical contextual features influence the type of interpreting that must be provided, which appears to share characteristics of business and tourism interpreting.

The use of pragma-dialectics has been functional to describing the characteristics of this type of interpreting. In particular, it has laid emphasis on the inherently argumentative nature of the dialogue exchange occurring *before*, *during* and *after* the actual wine tasting experience. WPs have been shown to exploit these three interactional stages to advance three distinctive but complementary arguments, with a view to persuading PBs to place orders for their wines. In this regard, the conceptual tools of *argumentative pattern*, *argumentative structure* and *dialectical profile* have been productive to emphasise the omnipresence of three explicit arguments and an implicit standpoint in WPs’ turns. Thus, they have contributed to illustrating the interactional and translational features of a thriving professional context that could fruitfully be integrated in classroom settings.

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Management of overlapping speech in remote healthcare interpreting

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Abstract

Dialogue interpreting is a highly complex interactional process that requires close coordination of linguistic content and embodied semiotic resources between the participants. Such coordination greatly depends on how participants relate to the “ecology of action” (Mondada 2016), i.e. their immediate environment. In remote interpreting (RI), the reduced visual access or lack hereof makes that not all participants share the same visual ecology. This compromises the efficiency of using embodied resources such as gaze and gesture in turn-taking. As a result, common interactional issues, such as overlapping speech, can disrupt the communication and may even lead to communication breakdown (De Boe 2020). Yet, the ways in which turn-taking is managed multimodally in RI remains underexplored. Therefore, this paper investigates the effect of overlapping speech on the progressivity of the communication in face-to-face interpreting, telephone interpreting and video interpreting in three simulated doctor-patient consultations. With visual access between the interpreter and the primary participants ranging from no access (by telephone) to limited access (by video) and full access (face-to-face), these interpreting methods provide a fruitful ground to analyse the interplay between the different resources used for turn-taking. The analysis shows how the management of overlapping speech is determined by the specific ecologies of action and contributes to our knowledge of multimodal processes at work in RI.

Keywords

Dialogue interpreting, remote interpreting, telephone interpreting, video interpreting, healthcare interpreting, turn-taking management, overlapping speech.

Dialogue interpreting (DI) refers to interpreter-mediated communication involving triadic exchanges between primary participants and an interpreter (Mason 2001). Within the study of DI, turn-taking has received much attention, particularly regarding the ways in which its management differs from non-mediated dialogue. Turn-taking analysis offers insights into the unique and complex features of interaction management in interpreting and the role of the interpreter in this process (Roy 2000: 4). By investigating talk turn by turn, researchers show how participants organise communication among themselves and provide insights into the development of the co-construction of meaning and miscommunication (Wadensjö 1998: 202).

One of the most obvious characteristics of DI is the indirectness of the communication: the primary participants do not address each other directly, but take turns with the interpreter, who manages the overall interaction (Wadensjö 1998). In this process, temporality, i.e. the appropriate timing of verbal as well as embodied responses between participants (Mondada 2016), is essential to ensure synchronisation of interaction (Beukeleers *et al.* 2020). However, in DI, the presence of the interpreter as an intermediary between the primary participants makes timing particularly complex (Englund Dimitrova 1997: 162).

Especially since the Covid-19 health crisis, DI increasingly takes place remotely by means of telephone interpreting (TI) and video interpreting (VI), as well as by video relay service (VRS) combining TI and VI. Research on TI (Wadensjö 1999; Amato 2018; Castagnoli/Niemants 2018; Spinolo *et al.* 2018; De Boe 2020), VI (Braun 2004; Balogh/Hertog 2012; Braun/Taylor 2012; Licoppe/Veyrier 2017; Davitti 2018; De Boe 2020; Hansen 2020) and VRS (Napier/Leneham 2011; Warnicke/Plejert 2012) indicates that coordination of interaction is more complex in RI. This has been linked to the participants' compromised or altogether lacking visual access to each other (Braun 2017; De Boe 2020) which has consequences for the use of embodied resources. For example, gaze plays an important role in coordinating interaction (e.g. Kendon 1967; Goodwin 1981; Heath 1986). How embodied resources are used depends on the conditions in which the interaction takes place, which determine how participants interact with their immediate environment and with each other. These immediate environments are also referred to as "ecologies" (e.g. Mondada 2016). They can be spatial, when participants are physically present in one place, or visual, when they are not physically together but have visual access to (some features of) each other (Licoppe/Veyrier 2017; Davitti 2018; Hansen 2020). According to Luff *et al.* (2003: 53), "the interpretation and production of action are inextricably embedded within the immediate environment". Therefore, when participants communicate from different physical locations, the environment of action is "fractured" into separate local ecologies, which may undermine their ability to coordinate actions (Luff *et al.* 2003). In VI, examples of fractured ecologies were provided by Hansen (2020), who confirms Luff *et al.*'s (2003) conclusions that in video-mediated communication, participants' utterances can become disconnected from the ecology in which they were produced, which may pose problems for turn-taking. Moreover, as Hansen

(2020) argues, interactional issues in VI can occur as a result of participants' lack of awareness that the visual access provided by audiovisual media is limited and unequally divided between the participants, particularly in video remote interpreting, where the primary participants are located at the same place and the interpreter is present at a remote location (Braun/Taylor 2012: 39-41).

Although research focusing on interactional aspects of RI is gaining ground, much remains to be explored in this domain, especially concerning the ways in which embodied resources are used in turn-taking management. Moreover, few studies have engaged in micro-analytic investigations of the nature of RI methods (Napier *et al.* 2018: 236). Finally, most studies on remote DI have been conducted in legal settings (e.g. Braun/Taylor 2012), whereas other important contexts, such as healthcare interpreting, have so far remained under-researched.

Against this backdrop, this paper presents a micro-analysis of three simulated doctor-patient consultations. Following Mondada (2016: 340), a multimodal approach was adopted to investigate how overlapping speech (OS) was collaboratively managed by the participants. In order to investigate the interplay between the various semiotic resources at work in turn-taking, the simulations were designed around three different interpreting methods, in which visual access between the interpreter and the primary participants ranged from full access (F2FI) to no access (TI) and limited access (VI).

In what follows, I discuss key concepts concerning turn-taking (Section 1), the research methodology underpinning this paper (Section 2) and the results of the analysis (Section 3), followed by a discussion and conclusion of its outcomes (Section 4).

1. Turn-taking

1.1. Discourse-based interactionist approaches

Turn-taking is a basic feature of conversation that demonstrates its interactional character (Sacks *et al.* 1974: 728). By systematically investigating naturally occurring conversations, Sacks *et al.* (1974) exposed general rules underlying the coordination of conversation, including the principle that generally one participant talks at a time and that turn transitions may show gaps and overlaps (Sacks *et al.* 1974). Over the course of time, this theory has been further refined by explorations into the multimodal character of conversation, e.g. by studies on the role of mutual gaze in the coordination of interaction (e.g. Kendon 1967; Heath 1986; Rossano *et al.* 2009).

In Interpreting Studies, sociolinguistic approaches have been frequently applied to the study of DI by, amongst others, Wadensjö (1998), Roy (2000), Mason (2001) and Bot (2005). Within this “dialogic discourse-based interactionist paradigm” (Pöchhacker 2016: 75), researchers made elaborate reconstructions of turn-taking in DI to provide insights into the ways in which understanding in mediated discourse is achieved interactionally and conditioned by the sociocultural settings in which it takes place (Wadensjö 1998: 154). Their notions

of turn-taking were based on the work of, amongst others, Goffman (1981) and Goodwin (1981), and led to the observation that, in addition to accurately conveying messages at both a linguistic and pragmatic level, interpreters also coordinate interaction. This idea has in the meantime become widely accepted. According to Wadensjö (1998), coordination is both implicit and explicit (Wadensjö 1998). Implicit coordination is accomplished when the interpreter has his/ her turn immediately after one of the primary participants, which is also referred to as “regular turn-taking” (Roy 2000). Explicit coordination takes place when participants deviate from regular turn-taking in the form of “discursive ‘moves’ by the interpreter” (Pöchhacker 2016: 147), for example, a non-rendition in case of clarification of misunderstanding. Baraldi and Gavioli (2012) pointed out that coordination is in fact much more complex and introduced the notions of “basic” and “reflexive” coordination that emphasise the intertwined character of the two types of coordination.

Explicit or reflexive coordination is needed frequently in DI, for example, in case of overlapping speech (OS). First, OS can be the result of troubles to negotiate or time a transition-relevance place (TRP), a possible point of turn-transition. This usually occurs after a shorter or longer discontinuity in talk (Sacks *et al.* 1974), when an intra-turn space by a speaker is mistaken for an inter-turn space by the next speaker (Sacks *et al.* 1974). In interpreter-mediated conversation, this is usually the interpreter. A second type of OS is a direct turn: a verbal reaction by one primary speaker to the other, during the interpreter’s turn or immediately following the other speaker’s turn completion, before the interpreter has had a chance to start the rendition. Such a turn can be a spontaneous sign of active listening or acknowledgement (Bot 2005: 128), not aimed to take the floor, or an expression of miscomprehension by means of a request for clarification (Wadensjö 1998).

How interpreters cope with OS depends not only on their own skills, but also on the behaviour, expectations and goals of the primary participants, who, together with the interpreter, constitute a “communicative radius” (Wadensjö 1998). According to Roy (2000: 68), “[...] the participants, the discourse, and the moment combine [...] to create interactional harmony whereby a turn happens successfully and comfortably”. As conversation analysts have demonstrated, participants are concerned with advancing the progress of talk in interaction and therefore maximise “cooperation and affiliation” and “minimise conflict in conversational activities” (Atkinson/Heritage 1984: 55). This preference for progressivity rather than delay (Stivers/Robinson 2006: 386) also comes to the fore when a participant is searching for a word and other participants suggest options in order to allow the turn to progress (Goodwin/Goodwin 1986); their aim being to avoid “interactional difficulties” (Stivers/Robinson 2006: 368) and thus achieve trouble-free turn-taking. In this paper, I will refer to this as “smooth turn-taking”, which is made possible through the participants’ knowledge of how to signal and recognise potential TRPs. Speakers design their turns in such way that the other participants can recognise potential turn transitions by means of pauses, lexical choices, intonation and shifts in gaze direction (Sacks *et al.* 1974). Interpreters are actively involved in achieving smooth turn transitions by monitoring such signals (Roy 2000; Bot 2005). Since these signals are verbal as well

as non-verbal and “accessible to and actively used by all participants” (Bot 2005: 122), turn-taking can be considered a cooperative, interactional activity, which is achieved multimodally.

1.2. Multimodal dimensions of turn-taking

Although discourse-based interactionist studies certainly did not previously neglect multimodal aspects of DI, their research framework has more recently been further refined and complemented by research focusing specifically on multimodality (e.g. Pasquandrea 2011; Mason 2012; Krystallidou 2014; Davitti/Pasquandrea 2017; Davitti 2018). In addition, the introduction of technology-mediated research methods such as mobile eye-tracking (e.g. Vranjes 2018) has led to more fine-grained accounts of the role of gaze, gesture, body posture, proxemics, the handling of artefacts and spatial arrangement in interaction (Davitti/Pasquandrea 2017). In multimodal approaches, face-to-face interaction is defined as

multimodal interaction in which participants encounter a steady stream of meaningful facial expressions, gestures, body postures, head movements, words, grammatical constructions, and prosodic contours. (Stivers/Sidnell 2005: 2)

From this approach, no semiotic resources are prioritised over others. Rather, the various modes are considered intertwined layers in the complex process of participants interacting with one another (Pasquandrea 2011: 457) by using a multitude of semiotic resources to convey meaning and monitor comprehension (Mondada 2016). Gaze direction and mutual gaze between participants play an especially important role in both the coordination of the interaction and the expression of involvement in the communication (Kendon 1967; Rossano *et al.* 2009). Since DI constitutes a “complex participation format” (Pasquandrea 2011: 456), it lends itself particularly well to multimodal analysis, especially for comparing the role and functioning of the different resources across interpreting methods involving different visual ecologies.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research design

In order to allow for a comparative, multimodal analysis of remote and face-to-face DI, a data set was designed¹, consisting of the video recordings of 9 semi-scripted simulated interpreter-mediated consultations. Each simulation involved an experienced interpreter, a gynaecologist and a simulation patient

1 The data set was originally designed for the PhD project *Remote interpreting in healthcare settings: A comparative study on the influence of telephone and video link use on the quality of interpreter-mediated communication*, defended in 2020.

and was performed using 3 different interpreting methods: F2FI, TI and VI. The current paper is based on three simulations, with a total duration of 25,52 minutes (F2FI), 26,60 minutes (VI) and 32,42 minutes (TI).

In spite of their artificial character, I chose to work with simulations, because they allow for a better control of the conditions by keeping variables (e.g. doctor and patient, themes and structure of the consultations) as constant as possible (see also Napier/Leneham 2011). The simulations took place in French-Dutch: the doctor was a native speaker of Dutch with limited notions of medical French and the simulation patient a native speaker of French with little knowledge of Dutch, whereas the interpreter was a near-native speaker of both. The simulations were designed around three closely related themes taken from real-life gynaecology practice. To encourage authentic interaction between the participants, the scenarios were non-scripted; the doctor and the interpreter were informed only about the consultations' themes, whereas the simulation patient was given a list of complaints that she had to present for each theme. The interpreter was allowed to take notes, which she did during all three interpreting methods.

The configurations used for RI were TI and VI: the doctor and patient were located in the same room, while the interpreter was present at a distant location (Braun/Taylor 2012: 39-41). In TI, a telephone on speaker mode was used; in VI, Skype video calling (for images see Sections 3.3.1-3.3.3).

All simulations were video-recorded using three different camera angles to maximise the capture of triadic and dyadic interaction in the doctor's room and one separate camera in the interpreter's room. To allow for an extensive view of the communicative situation, the recordings were synchronised by means of the transcription software Elan², providing a simultaneous view of the participants from different angles.

2.2. Data analysis

The video data were transcribed, provided with a gloss in English and annotated for different categories related to interpreting quality, including message equivalence issues, interactional issues (including OS), technological issues and instances of repair.³ Based on Heritage and Maynard (2006) and Amato (2018), each simulation was divided into three parts: (1) introduction (welcome/greeting), (2) body (presentation of complaints, examination and treatment) and (3) closing phase (thanking/goodbyes). For the purpose of this paper, focusing on the management of OS – which is potentially more problematic in the body of the consultations, where it may lead to omission of important content – only the bodies of the simulations were analysed.

The analyses take into account that, within the discourse framework of doctor-patient consultations, the communication is structured sequentially, consisting mainly of three-part sequences of question-response-acknowledgement

2 <<https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan>>.

3 For a detailed overview of the annotation categories, see De Boe (2020).

(Mishler 1984). These sequences were taken as units of analysis. Each part of a sequence consists of turns, which are themselves formed by one or more turn-constructive units: sentences, clauses, phrases or single words.

To investigate turn-taking management and assess its effect on turn-taking, first, all sequences involving OS were identified and divided into two subcategories: (1) non-concurring OS: instances of OS that occurred in the absence of other issues and/or repair strategies, and (2) concurring OS: instances of OS that entailed other issues (at the level of interaction or message equivalence) and/or repair strategies. The analyses focus on the latter category, since the occurrence of issues at several levels indicates possible communication breakdown (Bot 2005). In conversations, repair comprises all actions that deal with problems of hearing, speaking and understanding talk (Schegloff *et al.* 1977), ranging from interactional to content-related issues.

Finally, the video data of the instances of concurring OS were scrutinised to establish how the various communication modes were used and combined in the management of OS across the three different interpreting methods. From these instances, the sequences illustrating most saliently the effect of the management of OS on the communication flow were selected for the purpose of this paper.

3. Results

3.1. Types of OS

The most frequently observed type of OS resulted from the participants' (especially the interpreter's) interactional behaviour of leaving no or little time in between turns. This complies with the conversational rule identified by Sacks *et al.* (1974) that participants in a conversation attempt to keep spaces in between turns to a minimum in order to ensure a smooth flow of talk. This "rapid turn-taking", taking the turn "as soon as the opportunity arises" (Englund Dimitrova 1997: 149-150) often caused OS, which was associated with participants' trouble with signalling and recognising TRPs, usually after a silence. When a participant wants to cede the floor to the next speaker, s/he usually slows down his/her speaking, drops his/her intonation, hesitates or pauses (Sacks *et al.* 1974), often combined with gazing at the next speaker (Kendon 1967). With all three interpreting methods, it occurred frequently that a pause by the current speaker was taken for a TRP by the next speaker, while in fact, it turned out to be an intra-turn pause. In the data observed, it was usually the interpreter who overlapped and dropped out by abandoning the turn, while the current speaker continued, thereby re-establishing the "one-at-a-time" principle of turn-taking (Sacks *et al.* 1974). However, in both types of RI, it turned out to be problematic for the interpreter to find the right moment to regain the floor (see Sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3). The second type of OS that pervaded the data consisted of direct turns. Although the majority of both types of OS concurred with other issues and/or necessitated further repair, these overlaps were not necessarily disruptive. Rather, their impact on the communication flow depended on how OS was managed multimodally (see Section 3.2.3).

3.2. Management of potentially disruptive overlapping speech

3.2.1. Face-to-face interpreting

In the F2FI session, OS hardly posed a threat to smooth turn-taking. This is illustrated by Excerpt 1⁴. In this simulation, the patient consults the gynaecologist concerning pelvic floor issues.

- 1 DO oké(.) euh:m(.) gebruikt u op dit moment anticonceptie/(.) want u hebt drie kinderen/
oké(.) ehm(.) are you using at this moment contraception/(.) because you have three children/
2 (.) de jongste is vijf/(.) wat doet u om niet meer zwanger te worden/
(.) the youngest is five/(.) what do you do not to get pregnant anymore/
3 IN est-ce que vous utilisez la contraceptio:n(.) une forme quelconque euhm(.)
vous avez des enfants
do you use contraceptio:n(.) a form of any kind? ehm
(.) you have children
in (gazes at PA -----|)
(mutual gaze PA/IN -----|)
4 (.) le plus jeune a cinq ans(.) qu'est-ce que vous utilisez pour protéger/
(.) the youngest is five years(.) what do you do to protect /
(1.1)
in (gazes down at her notes-----| gazes at PA ----->>)|
pa (gazes at IN ----| nods & gazes down -----|)
5 PA pour [l'instant nous]
for [the moment we]
comm (mutual gaze PA/IN->>)|
6 IN [pour ne pas être enceinte/]
[not to be pregnant/]
comm (mutual gaze PA/IN----->>)|
7 PA (.) on utilise des préservatifs\ (..) j'ai pas repris la pilule
(.) we use condoms\ (..) I did not restart with the pill
pa (gazes at IN -----|)
in (gazes at P-----|gazes at DO-----|gazes at PA----->>)|
in (facial expression-----|)
8 IN après/
afterwards/
comm (mutual gaze PA/IN-->>)|
9 PA j'ai pas repris après
I didn't start again afterwards
comm (mutual gaze PA/IN-----|)
10 IN ik ben niet herbegonnen met mijn pil(.) wij gebruiken enkel preservatieven\
I have not restarted with my pill(.) we are only using condoms\
int (gazes at DO----->>)|
do (gazes at IN-----|gazes down----->>)|
do (nodding)

Excerpt 1 (F2FI-1)

4 See appendix for transcription conventions. To maintain the readability of the transcripts, only multimodal comments relevant to the analysis are included in the transcripts.

The doctor (DO) asks the patient (PA) what kind of contraception she uses (Line 2). The interpreter (IN) renders this as “what do you use to protect”, her intonation going slightly up (Line 4). During Lines 3 and 4, PA gazes at IN, then halfway through Line 4, PA gazes down and slightly nods her head as an acknowledgement that she has understood the question. This is an anticipation by PA to take the next turn, since participants who want to take the floor tend to look away from the speaker before initiating their turn (Kendon 1967). As IN pauses (1.1) at the end of Line 4, PA interprets IN’s intra-turn pause – in spite of the slightly rising intonation – for an inter-turn pause, possibly because IN’s rendition of DO’s question can easily be understood without IN’s addition afterwards. PA starts a turn (Line 5), thereby causing OS with IN’s self-repair in the form of the addition “not to be pregnant” (Line 6). During the OS, PA shifts her gaze back to IN, engaging in mutual gaze. IN makes a facial expression indicating embarrassment (possibly for overlapping with PA) and, towards the end of PA’s turn, briefly shifts her gaze to DO, apparently showing readiness to provide the rendition. However, PA is still finishing her turn (Line 7). IN first opens and then closes her mouth and shifts her gaze back to PA, leading again to mutual gaze with the patient, and then quickly alternates her gaze between DO and PA. In other words, IN temporarily suspends her turn, but as soon as PA stops talking, IN briefly requests clarification from her (Line 8). While PA provides a clarification by repeating her phrase and adding “afterwards” to it (Line 9), IN already shifts her gaze back to DO and leaves no gap between the end of PA’s turn and her own rendition, in which she summarises the two previous turns by PA in one rendition (Line 10). During the entire sequence, DO’s gaze pattern is very stable. She gazes at PA, except for during Line 10, where she briefly engages in mutual gaze with IN, before looking down and acknowledging the information by means of head nodding. This is in line with findings by Bot (2005: 137) that therapists usually gaze at patients, also during the interpreter’s turn, to monitor the patient’s reactions.

To sum up, Excerpt 1 shows that during the OS, the participants relied heavily on gaze to regulate turn-taking after overlap occurred. In this way, they verified whether the other person continued her turn or not. As a matter of fact, the interpreter did not drop out completely from the overlap, but remained visibly in stand-by mode, looking up from her note-book and shifting gaze continuously (see Figure 1). This confirms findings from Oloff (2013: 139) describing a continuous monitoring of the availability of the co-participant and of the next possible occasion to resume the suspended turn. Moreover, the interpreter monitors her comprehension by requesting clarification. As a result, the OS causes only a slight disruption of the communication flow.



Figure 1: Face-to-face interpreting

3.2.2. Telephone interpreting

In TI, the turn-taking rhythm was slowed down as the participants left more space in between the turns, especially the interpreter. This corroborates Wadensjö's (1999) findings that, in TI, participants have a more cautious way of communicating, which results in longer moments of turn transition.

Excerpt 2 (on the theme of pregnancy) shows how a pause by the interpreter leads to an overlap, while repair is made difficult due to noise outside the room.

- 1 IN euhm (.) moi je vais vous expliquer qu'est-ce qu'un cycle de in vitro fait (.)
ehm (.) I am going to explain to you what an in vitro cycle does (.)
- 2 qu'est-ce que ça signifie et les chances que vous avez alors de de réussir (.)
what it means and the chances you have well to succeed (.)
- 3 et c'est pour vous et pour votre partenaire de 25 pour cent\
and it's for you and for your partner 25 per cent\<
- 4 (1.2)
 [par cycle]
 [per cycle]
- 5 PA [25 pour cent de chance] de plus D'AVOIR UN ENFANT/
 [25 per cent of chance] more TO HAVE A CHILD/
 pa (frowning----->)
 pa (gazing at telephone----->)
 do (gaze at PA ---| gaze at telephone ----->)
- 6 IN 20:::25 per cent kans meer om zwanger te worden (.) om een kind te krijgen/
 20:::25 per cent chance of getting pregnant (.) to have a child/
 env (noise/bad sound quality----->)
 do (leaning forward----->)
 do (gazing at telephone----->)
 pa (gazing at telephone----- | gazes at DO ----->)
- 7 PA ou bien dans 25 pour cent des cas je tombe enceinte/
 or in 25 per cent of the cases I get pregnant
 pa (gazes at telephone----->)
 env (noise/bad sound quality----->)
 do (leaning further forward----->)
- 8 IN of is het dat ik in 5:25 per cent gevallen zwanger word/
 or is it that in 5:25 per cent of the cases I get pregnant/
 do (leaning forward----->)
 pa (gazes at DO----->)
- 9 (2.1)
 DO ja, dat dat laatste (.) per cyclus/ (.)
 yes, the the latter (.) per cycle/ (.)
 do (gazes at telephone----->)
 pa (gazes at DO ----->)
- 10 we moeten vier vrouwen behandelen om een iemand zwanger te krijgen\
 we have to treat four women to get one person pregnant\
 do (gazes at telephone----->)
 pa (gazes at DO ----->)

Excerpt 2 (TI-1)

In Excerpt 2, DO has just explained PA's chances of conceiving. This is rendered by IN in Lines 1-3, after which she takes a pause (1.2), before adding "per cycle" (Line 4). During IN's turns, DO gazes down at the desk, while PA stares at the telephone. When IN stops speaking, which afterwards turns out to be an intra-turn pause (since she continues her turn after the pause), PA takes the silence as an inter-turn pause, possibly also because of IN's dropping intonation and because the turn can be considered complete in terms of syntax. PA takes the floor to request clarification (Line 5), leading to OS, and does not cede the turn. She increases the volume of her voice, which is a way of holding the floor (Schegloff 2000) and continues to gaze at the telephone, frowning. DO follows PA's gaze at the telephone. While IN takes the next turn to render PA's

question (Line 6), there is noise in the hallway outside the room, which compromises the sound produced by the speaker mode in the doctor's room. DO moves her head closer to the telephone, especially her ear, indicating difficulty hearing. PA shifts her gaze from the telephone to DO (see Figure 2). Immediately when IN stops speaking, PA shifts her gaze back to the telephone and asks another question (Line 7), while DO still holds her head close to the telephone. DO remains in this position until IN has rendered the second request (Line 8), while PA gazes again at DO. After IN has finished talking, DO leaves a long silence (2.1) before answering the questions (Turn 10). During her answer, DO gazes at the telephone, whereas PA continues to gaze at DO.



Figure 2: Telephone interpreting – Interpreter (left) / Doctor and patient (right)

Excerpt 2 illustrates that, due to the low sound quality of the speaker mode, the doctor and patient seemed to have to concentrate hard on understanding the interpreter, as expressed by their frequent frowning and leaning forward towards the telephone. Both doctor and patient consequently gazed more frequently at the telephone than at each other. Moreover, at times, background noise (e.g. in the hallway) compromised the sound quality even further, which also impacted on the gaze pattern. This pattern differed completely from the one observed in Excerpt 1. Whereas in F2FI, the primary participants continuously shifted their gaze between themselves and the interpreter, in TI, the primary participant who was being addressed by the interpreter's renditions stared at the telephone, while the other primary participant gazed at the participant who was being addressed. Meanwhile, mutual gaze was established only sporadically.

3.2.3. Video interpreting

In VI, pauses leading to OS frequently disrupted the interaction, confirming findings by Braun (2004: 85) indicating that interactional phenomena such as pauses, OS and listener responses function differently because of the difference in timing due to delay in the transmission of sound and image in VI. This type of OS, as well as OS caused by a direct turn, led to communication breakdown on several occasions. Apart from difficulties with timing, OS additionally caused sound quality problems in VI, which occur in this particular type of videoconferencing software when two people speak at a time. This further complicated the timing of turn-taking and rendered repair more complex. Moreover, as came up

in the post-simulation interviews, the camera angle of the laptop in the doctor's room made the view of the interpreter insufficient for the primary participants.

In Excerpt 3, the patient consults the doctor for complaints of abundant menstruation.

- 1 IN euhm si jamais on donnait euh une spirale (.) une forme de stérilet sans hormones (.)
ehm in case we give euh a spirale (.) a form of IUD without hormones (.)
 pa (gazes at screen-----)|
 do (gazes at screen-----)|
- 2 les saignements peuvent augmenter (..) [et (..)]
the bleedings can increase [and (..)]
 int (gazes down at notes----->)
 com (mutual gaze/ laughter DO/PA----->)
 env (bad sound quality----->)
- 3 PA [oh non] (.) là non
 [oh no] (.) that no
 int (gazes down -----| gazes at screen-->)
 com (mutual gaze/laughter DO/PA)
 env (bad sound quality-----|)
- 4 IN et les douleurs aussi (.) of heb ik het niet goed gehoord/
and the pain too (.) or didn't I hear that right/
 in (frowning -----|)
 in (bending forward to the PC----->)
- 5 (3.2)
 DO hoe bedoelt u/
what do you mean/
 do (raising eyebrows --|)
 do (smiling----- |)
- 6 IN u zei op het einde dat het zonder hormonen (.)
you said in the end that without hormones it (.)
 In (frowning-----|)
- 7 een spiraal zonder hormonen of heb ik het niet goed gehoord/
an IUD without hormones or didn't I hear that right/
- 8 DO nee (.) dat klopt
no (.) that is right
- 9 IN oké
okay
- 10 DO een spiraal zonder hormonen geeft meer bloedverlies en meer pijn
an IUD without hormones causes more loss of blood and more pain
- 11 INT tout à fait (.) j'ai j'avais bien compris (..) donc une spirale ou une sorte de stérilet
 sans hormones (.)
*precisely (.) I have I had understood it right (..) so a spiral or a kind of IUD without
 hormones (.)*
- 12 aurait notamment fait plus de saignements et causerait plus de saignements (.)
would actually have made more bleeding and would cause more bleeding (.)
- 13 et plus de douleurs abdominales
and more abdominal pain

Excerpt 3 (VI-3)

In this sequence, DO has just explained the pros and cons of placing an IUD without hormones as a possible treatment. While IN is speaking (Lines 1-2), PA and DO are both gazing at the screen. When IN comes to the part of the information saying that this type of IUD may increase the bleeding (Line 2), PA quickly shifts her gaze to DO, who gazes back at her, and reacts immediately in an emotional way in a direct turn (“oh no, that, no!”, Line 3). PA and DO continue their mutual gaze and laugh together. However, IN has not finished her rendition. At the moment PA utters her reactive expression (Line 3), IN is just gazing down at her notes, as a result of which she does not see that PA addressed DO directly, but only hears a distorted sound, which is caused by the mutual laughter between DO and PA as a result of PA’s reaction to DO (See Figure 3). IN bends forward to the screen and frowns, inquiring “or didn’t I hear that right?” (Line 4). During IN’s request for clarification, PA and DO shift their gaze from each other to the screen, still smiling. However, in the doctor’s room, no sound distortion was audible. Therefore, the question by IN seems to come as a surprise to DO, who leaves a gap of 3.2 seconds after IN’s question, which may be a way to avoid further OS (in case IN would resume her turn), and then asks IN what she means (Line 5). IN verifies with DO if she has provided the correct information to PA (Lines 6-7), which DO confirms (Line 8) and which is followed by an acknowledgement by IN (Line 9). DO then repeats the information she provided earlier (Line 10). Subsequently, IN also repeats the information she has rendered before in French, preceded by a meta comment confirming her correct understanding (Lines 11-13).



Figure 3: Video interpreting – interpreter (left) / doctor and patient (right)

Although in the end, there is no loss of message content, the direct turns and laughter caused technological issues, which inhibited smooth turn-taking and complicated repair, rendering the communication altogether inefficient. In addition, the communication breakdown obviously led to feelings of insecurity on the part of the interpreter, as apparent by her request for clarification, facial expression (frowning), posture (moving closer to the computer) and two self-repairs (“I have I had” and “would actually have made more bleeding and have caused more bleeding”, Lines 10-11). Excerpt 3 also illustrates the role of gaze. Due to the lack of mutual gaze while the interpreter was looking at her notes instead of at the screen, she did not notice the direct turn and did not yield the turn earlier, which could have limited the impact of the OS. It also demonstrates that the

fragmented ecologies caused by the reduced visual access and delay in transfer of image and sound can lead to interactional issues.

4. Discussion and conclusion

In this paper, I investigated the effect of overlapping speech on the progressivity of the communication in three different interpreting methods: F2FI, TI and VI. By means of multimodal analyses of potentially problematic instances of OS in three simulated doctor-patient consultations, I demonstrated differences in the accomplishment of turn-taking, that were linked to the specific ecologies of action created by the remote conditions.

In F2FI, where the participants had full visual access to each other, the occurrence of OS was not necessarily problematic. Even when combined with other issues and/or repair, OS hardly caused disruption of the communication flow. When OS occurred, the interpreter immediately reacted by withdrawing from the turn, and when repair was needed, it was carried out efficiently, supported by close monitoring, especially gaze. Moreover, as opposed to both RI methods, the participants could still hear what was said by both participants involved in the overlap, which also facilitated smooth turn-taking.

In TI, OS did not appear to be extremely disruptive either, due to the participants' more careful ways of communicating, leaving longer moments of silence in between the utterances and the renditions. Nevertheless, sound quality issues in the form of background noise deteriorated the already weak speakerphone volume, which complicated the management of OS. In addition, mutual gaze between the doctor and the patient was reduced. Since mutual gaze plays an important role in establishing rapport (Krystallidou 2014), i.e. a relationship of trust and mutual responsiveness between healthcare provider and patient, fostering the therapeutic process⁵, this seems a negative side effect of TI. The same applies to involvement in the interaction, which is also expressed by means of gaze (Kendon 1967; Rossano *et al.* 2009; Pasquandrea 2012: 150).

In VI, however, OS frequently disrupted the communication flow, mostly due to the delay of sound and image, which caused sound quality problems and rendered the timing of turns more complex, leading to 'hitches' in the communication flow. Moreover, the interpreter's difficulties with the timing of a renewed attempt to take the floor after her initial withdrawal indicated that the use of embodied resources for repair was less efficient than in F2FI. This was also related to the interpreter's note-taking. In VI, the interpreter missed important visual cues because she was gazing down at her notes, whereas in F2FI, the interpreter could easily combine reading her notes with gazing up frequently to monitor turn-taking.

The analyses also illustrate that in RI, the limited visual access and delay in sound and image (especially in VI) made it extremely difficult for the participants to project the end of a turn and identify TRPs. Moreover, the access to embodied

5 *Farlex Partner Medical Dictionary* (2012) <<https://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com>>.

communication modes between the participants was unequal in both remote settings. Since in TI and VI, the doctor and patient were physically together, they were able to fully employ embodied resources towards each other, whereas the interpreter only had partly access to them. As a result, it was particularly difficult for the interpreter to monitor the achievement of mutual understanding and rapport-building between the primary participants. The fractured ecologies that were thus created had implications for the achievement of smooth turn-taking.

Another observation is related to awareness. Rather surprisingly, OS was less disruptive in TI than in VI. This seemed to be related to participants' experience with this medium, which makes them conscious of the fact that the participants on the other side only have auditory access and makes them slow down the pace of communication. This was a clear difference with VI, in which the participants hardly seemed aware of the visual and auditory constraints of the medium and behaved similarly as in F2FI. This made them react in a more spontaneous, face-to-face manner, causing OS that in turn disrupted the communication flow and rendered both turn-taking and repair less fluent, confirming previous results by Hansen (2020).

Overall, this paper confirms the central role of embodied resources in turn-taking in DI by demonstrating how overlap management is determined by the specific ecologies of action created by remote conditions. It also shows the complexity of these ecologies and illustrates the usefulness of multimodal analysis as a methodology to investigate remote dialogue interpreting.

Transcription conventions adapted from Davitti (2018), drawing on Jefferson (2004) and Mondada (2016)

(1.5)	silence expressed in seconds
(.)	micropause of less than 1 second
:	sound elongation
CAPITALS	raised voice
text/	rising intonation
text\	falling intonation
[text]	onset and end of OS
-->	action described continues across subsequent lines
--	action described ends
in/pa/do	lower case for embodied behaviour of participant
comm	commentary on participants' behaviours in brackets (text)
env	environmental issue, (e.g. sound quality)

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The interpreter and the spectacle of confrontation

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Abstract

Televised formats such as talk shows and news interviews often include foreign guests whose participation requires the services of interpreters. Several studies have illustrated how, in media interpreting settings, interpreters are active participants in the interaction, rather than simply 'revoicing machines'. Most of these studies have concerned themselves with 'infotainment' shows, i.e. with a setting (usually) characterised by the physical presence of the interpreter, who becomes a ratified participant in the interaction. In this article, we wish instead to focus on the actions of interpreters in confrontational talk shows, i.e. media interpreting contexts characterised by the staged production of confrontation, where interpreting takes place off-camera in the simultaneous mode. Using examples from two Italian political talk shows featuring foreign guests, we show that also in this simultaneous interpreting context interpreters actively participate in conversational exchanges and are instrumental in the accomplishment of the confrontational practices which characterise such events.

Keywords

Dialogue interpreting, media interpreting, talk show interpreting, confrontainment, infotainment, conflictual interaction, simultaneous interpreting, overlapping speech, turn-taking management, conversation analysis.

Several studies (Straniero Sergio 1999, 2007, 2012; Wadensjö 2008a, 2008b) have shown that the specific context of media interpreting sets apart the role and performance of interpreters from other settings in that the interpreter mediates not only between speakers in the interaction but also with respect to the overhearing audience. Broadcast talk, in fact, “is centrally produced for overhearers” (Heritage 1985: 99), i.e. it is primarily designed for an (absent) news audience¹.

In this article, we focus on simultaneous interpreting during televised political talk shows and, more specifically, on interpreted confrontational exchanges. To our knowledge, this is the first study which investigates the dynamics of interpreting in the relatively recent format of confrontational talk shows. In order to examine the interpreters’ interactional behaviour when participants talk competitively, we first review examples of interpreting in the more traditional infotainment format. Next, we analyse some extracts taken from two interpreted confrontational political talk shows, focusing in particular on the communicative actions of simultaneous interpreters who are only heard by primary participants and viewers as disembodied voices. The data illustrate how this specific interpreting arrangement affects the interactional game that is typical of this type of talk shows.

1. Interpreters in talk shows

Interpreting may be required in different types of media settings, including talk shows, press conferences, interviews and debates. The interpreter may be located either in the same place as the person(s) interpreted or elsewhere. Thus, for instance, interpreters may translate an event taking place in a distant location, “without the primary participants needing the service or even knowing that the event is being interpreted into another language” (Sandrelli 2017: 180), a situation which has been described as simultaneous interpreting *in absentia* (Falbo 2012). This is the case, for instance, of the televised interpreting of US presidential debates broadcast on Italian television discussed in Colucci (2011) and Dal Fovo (2012). Simultaneous interpreting is also often embedded in journalistic commentary, so that, for instance, interpreted foreign news may be used during news bulletins “to fill in the idle slots between correspondents’ reports and the comments made in the studio” (Straniero Sergio 2011: 177).

In the case of interpreting *in presentia*, Straniero Sergio (2003) distinguishes between shared settings, in which interpreters interact directly on-site with primary participants, and displaced settings, in which remote interpreting takes place as interpreters are connected to the primary participants via communica-

1 Thus, in interpreted broadcast events such as talk shows and press conferences, interpreters may direct their utterances to the primary participants or to the secondary audience, and switch between different recipients, taking into consideration the possible interpretation and effects of their verbal actions on the audience (cf. Goffman 1981: 197-327; Bell 1984).

tion technologies such as videoconferencing. In shared settings, the interpreter shares a physical space with primary participants and thus appears on screen, while in displaced settings he or she is located off-camera, for instance, in an interpreting booth. In both cases, interpreting can be either consecutive or simultaneous, i.e. the interpreter may wait until the end of a speaker's turn or relay talk to the addressed party with only a brief lag behind the interpreted speaker. In some cases, a mix of consecutive and simultaneous modes may be involved. In on-site simultaneous interpreting, interpreted talk may be whispered only for the benefit of the foreign guest, or be uttered aloud. In displaced settings, the voice of the interpreter, who is literally not visible to the recipients of the interpreted speech, may be superimposed to that of the interpreted guest, whose volume is turned down, while the guest hears the interpretation into his or her language through headphones.

Research in talk show interpreting has mostly analysed interpreted events in which interpreters are present on site and are seen interacting with primary participants, both in consecutive and simultaneous mode. Most notably, Straniero Sergio (1999, 2007, 2012) and Wadensjö (2008a, 2008b) discuss aspects of participation framework, focusing on meaning negotiation, topic management and turn-taking behaviour. These studies have shown that interpreters actively participate in the management of the interaction and the development of conversational arguments, and their contribution is often relevant or may even prove crucial to the dynamics of the interaction.

Straniero Sergio (1999) highlights the dual structure of broadcast interaction, which takes place between primary participants, including the talk show host, the programme's guest(s), the interpreter(s) and the audience in the studio, but also between primary and secondary participants, that is the programme's external audience. He focuses on the role of the host as an intermediary between the various on- and off-screen parties, possibly acting out a variety of feelings and attitudes supposedly coming from members of the audience. This type of setting favours relational over propositional content, and phatic over referential communication, and the interpreter is often used as a contextual resource whose performance may be commented upon, reformulated or challenged by the host and other parties. At times, interpreters may even be cast by hosts as their assistants (Straniero Sergio 1999: 315) or be referred to by the host in the third person and thus turned into a discursive topic. Straniero Sergio (2012), for instance, provides numerous examples in which the host initiates a repair sequence through comments, rejections and corrections of the interpreter's interlingual renditions, as well as by requesting clarifications and questioning the appropriateness of the interpreter's rendition. Straniero Sergio shows that in the setting of tabloid and lifestyle talk shows, interpreters are often ratified and active participants who may be required to take on functions which differ from those typically assigned to their professional capacity, including the role of discussant and entertainer.

While Straniero Sergio's examples are all taken from entertainment-oriented conversational settings covering 'soft' rather than 'hard' news, i.e. ones in which the topics discussed are ordinary everyday events rather than current political affairs, Wadensjö (2008a, 2008b) discusses a segment from a talk show dealing

more specifically with political issues. This is a 1996 televised interview between the former Soviet Union leader Mikhail Gorbachev and a BBC journalist, assisted by an interpreter, who during the talk show switches between the consecutive and simultaneous mode. The interview combines generic features of the news interview and of the talk show interview, mixing 'serious' exchanges with moments of emotional relief. Wadensjö shows that while ostensibly presented as an exchange between interviewer and interviewee, with the interpreter acting as a ratified 'non-person' (i.e. someone who can act and talk "without causing a redefinition of the ongoing event" (Wadensjö 2008a: 186), the interview is in fact a three-party conversation. This becomes apparent by looking at the type of sequences, which do not simply consist in questions and answers 'echoed' by the interpreter in another language. Rather, they are more complex sequential organisations, to whose management and coordination the interpreter contributes both through his renditions and through his non-renditions. These latter include both non-translations of the host's back-channelling and 'suggestions' for possible replies, which are then taken up by Gorbachev. Wadensjö (2008b) shows that, even though – in contrast with the examples discussed by Straniero Sergio (1999) – the interpreter does not align himself with the host and declines to participate as an interlocutor, he may still be seen as acting as a principal, i.e. "someone who believes personally in what is being said and takes the position that is implied in the remarks" (Goffman 1981: 167). Wadensjö shows that through his (non) renditions of the participants' contributions and his non-verbal behaviour, the interpreter manages turn allocation at transition-relevance places (Sacks *et al.* 1974), in a way that tacitly supports Gorbachev's communicative project rather than that of the programme's host.

In the settings described by Straniero Sergio and Wadensjö, the interpreter is usually physically present in the television studio, sitting next to the host and guests. Because of the consecutive mode, s/he is allocated a turn of talk which does not overlap with that of the interpreted primary participants, as in a remote simultaneous arrangement. Thus, it could be argued that the active role of the dialogue interpreter in the settings investigated by Straniero Sergio and Wadensjö is facilitated by the basic arrangement of the show, namely, a) the consecutive mode as a way to allocate a turn to the interpreter, and b) the physical presence of the interpreter on site, which makes her or him visible and addressable, favouring her or his agency.

In what follows, we first provide a short description of how the dynamics of confrontational political shows differ from those of the infotainment type and then look at the actions of the interpreter in this context. The data we analyse suggest that, though working off-camera in simultaneous mode and in a displaced setting, the interpreter plays a relevant role in the management of the interaction and in determining the development and possibly the outcome of the conflict among participants.

2. Televised talk shows: from infotainment to confrontainment

On Italian television, like elsewhere, there are several talk shows in which hosts facilitate a debate on political and social issues between politicians, journalists and representatives of civil society. According to Scannell (1991), political talk shows are a kind of panel interview aimed at delivering news as well as entertainment to an overhearing public. However, Hutchby (2006: 65-80) maintains that contemporary political talk shows are increasingly based on creating the “spectacle of confrontation”, i.e. what has been referred to as confrontainment (see e.g. Lorenzo-Dus 2009) rather than infotainment. This is so because the main interaction modality in this type of setting is conflict. Thus, while the structure of the confrontational talk show may be similar to that of the infotainment talk show, it “also has much in common with a game show [in which] guest participants are introduced as if contestants” (Hutchby 2006: 67), and are involved in the production of confrontation as a public spectacle (*Ibid.*: 71).

In principle, nothing would prevent interviews or panel discussions from taking place in the form of orderly and peaceful conversations, as is the case of infotainment talk shows. Yet, in the confrontainment format, “what might be a boring succession of talking heads” becomes “a lively sparring match between thoroughly committed adversaries” (Clayman/Heritage 2002a: 300). The prevailing tendency of these types of talk show is to turn into acrimonious disputes: participants give free rein to their disagreements and often come to stage intense conflicts. Talk show guests turn into and behave like opponents, rather than simply like people with different ideas or political ideology. They resort to interactional modalities which are typically conflictual, such as competing for turn space and control, exchanging quick quips and retorts, sarcastic laughs, point-blank questions, producing adjacent pairs such as accusations and defences, pointing out incongruities and discrepancies in the other participants’ arguments rather than let it pass, and so on. Hosts usually allow this to happen without intervening, or even fuel confrontation between guests or take an active part in them (Clayman 2002).

Clearly, conflict does not arise automatically, as a consequence of the guests having divergent political opinions and views, but is the result of specific interactional activities and moves. In other words, the manner in which guests are selected to represent divergent interests and ideologies only partly explains the conflictual nature of most contemporary political talk shows. One of the practices which have the effect of encouraging the expression of conflict is the tendency of guests to interact directly, without the mediation of the host (Clayman/Heritage 2002a: 300). On more traditional infotainment talk shows, “disputants can only legitimately speak in response to the mediator’s questions. Therefore, there is a systematic bias against the possibility of direct address between the disputants and this results in an attenuated form of argument” (Hutchby 2006: 77). By contrast, in confrontational talk shows, guests, now turned into disputants, routinely address their disagreements to one another rather than waiting for the mediation of the host, thus generating overlapping talk. Turn-taking competition is, in fact, one of the most apparent aspects of confrontational talk show

dynamics. Rather than talking one at a time and duly waiting for other guests to complete their turn, guests and hosts try to take the floor away from each other, talking over someone else's turn. One way to keep one's turn and resist someone else's foray is to keep talking, thus occasioning overlaps. Persistent and competitive overlap is indeed what characterises many contemporary televised talk shows. The "densely interactive exchange laced through the simultaneous talk" (Schegloff 1988: 231) can "easily get lost in the hubbub accessible to on lookers and audiences" (*Ibid.*), but participants seem unconcerned that their overlapping talk may impair hearing or understanding. This is because aborting one's turn and relinquishing the conversational floor to another guest can be detrimental to one's communication project, and yielding the floor a speaker would run the risk of appearing weak with respect to the action and initiative of the opponent. Interruptions, overlapping talk and forays into each other's turn mark the transition from the "one-at-a-time" to the "free-for-all" arrangement that characterises a confrontainment setting. In the following section, we examine the role of the interpreter in such conversational encounters.

3. Interpreters in confrontainment

To illustrate the dynamics of televised interpreted conflictual interaction, we offer some examples taken from two Italian political talk shows. The first of these is a panel discussion including several Italian guests, the host, and a foreign guest. The second is an interview to a foreign guest by two Italian hosts (though we will look only at parts of an exchange between the guest and one host).

In both shows, the words of the participants were interpreted into and out of Italian. However, in contrast with the settings discussed by Straniero Sergio and Wadensjö, in the remote simultaneous interpreting arrangement of the case studies we analyse, the interpreters did not share a physical space with the primary participants and did not appear on screen. Rather than ratified participants in the conversation, they may thus appear to be featured in the show only as off-camera voices lent to the foreign guests, who on their part hear the interpreted speech of the other participants through their headphones. This organisation may be seen as being conducive to a minimisation of the role of the interpreter.

The recordings of the broadcast shows used as data were analysed as available to the general viewer, i.e. we did not have access to a separate recording of the interpreters' performance. Thus, only the translations into Italian for the hosts, guests, and external viewers were accessible, while the translations out of Italian for the foreign guests were not. Because of this, it is also not clear whether one or more interpreters were employed in the TV shows examined. However, it appears that in the first case study (Excerpts 1 and 2), one interpreter was translating into Italian and another out of Italian, while in the second case study (Excerpts 3, 4 and 5) the same interpreter was working into both directions.

Clearly, having access also to the turns of the Italian discussants translated for the 'foreign' guest could allow different interpretations of the data, since their exact wording, omissions, prosody, etc. influenced the development of the ex-

change just as much as the translation of the guest's words into Italian. However, while the data we discuss are too fragmentary and partial to allow any generalisation, we believe they will suffice for an exploratory analysis of the dynamics involved in this type of show.

3.1. Case study 1

The first case study is from a panel interview show called “Dimartedì” (lit. “On-Tuesdays”), hosted by Giovanni Floris on the private national network La7. The episode under analysis, broadcast on 30 October 2018, included, among other guests, the British Eurosceptic politician and future leader of the Brexit Party Nigel Farage.

In the first excerpt, while Farage is talking and the simultaneous interpreter is translating leaving a long *décalage*, another guest in the studio cuts in.

Excerpt 1. F (Nigel Farage), I (interpreter), G (other guest)

- 1 F: have a [look ()]
- 2 I: [che l'unione europea è forte [ma guardi un attimo
[that the European union is strong but wait a second
- 3 F: [article seven has been
- 4 F: [invoked in Poland (.) Hungary
- 5 I: [l'articolo sette è stato evocato
[article seven has been evoked
- 6 F: and (just) [invoked in Romania ()]
- 7 I: [contro:: (.) la Polonia l'Ungheria e forse la Romania
[against:: (.) Poland Hungary and maybe Romania
- 8 F: [([)]
- 9 G: [le chiedo scusa
[I beg your pardon
- 10 I: [(1.2)
- 11 G: [io non ho detto che è forte ho detto che voi per paradosso
[I didn't say that it is strong I said that you paradoxically
- 12 G: (0.1) rischiate di rafforzarla (0.1) rischiate nella vostra ottica
(0.1) risk to reinforce it (0.1) you risk from your perspective

The interpreter is faced with two options. He can either stop speaking and let the other guest have the floor, or keep translating. In either case, there will be significant consequences. As it happens, in this instance, as soon as the other speaker begins to interrupt (line 9), the interpreter stops translating (line 10) even though Farage keeps talking (line 8). In the context of the talk show, this amounts to Farage being suddenly silenced, even though his voice can be heard

in the background. Eventually Farage pauses, possibly because he hears the other speaker's (translated) contribution through the headphones he is wearing. Thus, it could be argued that by discontinuing the translation, the interpreter puts Farage at a disadvantage, since he is not allowed to conclude and have the other participants hear his argument.

This behaviour does not seem to have been dictated by any particular policy of the show nor problems of auditive overload, since only a few minutes later the interpreter makes the opposite choice and keeps translating the foreign guest even as the host chimes in (Excerpt 2).

Excerpt 2. F (Nigel Farage), H (Giovanni Floris), I (interpreter), A (audience).

- 1 F: let's start [involvement
2 A: [xxxXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
3 H: [allora
[ok then
4 A: [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
5 I: [cominciamo [ad aprire la mente
[let's start [opening our minds
6 H: [ci sono due piani
[there are two levels
7 F: [()
8 H: [ascolti farage [perché::
[listen farage [why:
9 A: [XXXXXXX [XXXXXXXxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
10 I: [a:: un'Europa in cui commerciamo insieme
[to:: a Europe in which we do business together
11 I: cooperiamo insieme siamo amici insieme
we cooperate [together we are friends together
12 F: [but not run by a bunch of old men
13 I: ma non siamo gestiti [da un gruppo di vecchi
but we are not run [by a group of old men
14 F: [(.) based in Brussels and not so far ()

Taking advantage of a burst of applause (lines 2, 4, and 9), which typically signals the completion of a turn, the host attempts to cut in three times (lines 3, 6, and 8). However, his attempts at interrupting Farage and take the floor, possibly for reasons tied to the economy and management of the show, are not successful, since the interpreter does not stop the simultaneous translation (lines 5, 10, and 11). Thus, Farage keeps his turn (lines 12 and 14) and manages to bring his argument to a proper ending.

These two examples illustrate how the interpreter acts not only to relay linguistic meaning, but he also has an influence on interactional dynamics. Without the presence of an interpreter, it would be up to participants to “decide to yield to competing talk or not” (Schegloff 1988: 237). Here, instead, to maintain his turn and resist the interruptions of other participants the foreign guest needs the interpreter to continue interpreting, he cannot accomplish that by himself. We can define the relationship between interpreter and guest not simply as a case of turn-sharing, but as a case of co-construction of a single turn by two actors. More specifically, different actors collaborate in the very construction of the turn, each adding a piece to it (Sacks 1992a: 142-149, 320-327, 574-654; 1992b: 56-59; Llewellyn 2005). To paraphrase Charles Goodwin (2013: 15), we could say that these examples show that “[h]uman beings inhabit each other’s actions”. The primary participant leverages the necessary cooperation of the interpreter to accomplish some basic aspects of interaction, such as keeping the floor. This happens not only because the interpreter is needed to translate the propositional content of the guest in the language of the other participants, but also because the management of the turn-taking system is primarily entrusted to the interpreter. Keeping or relinquishing a turn crucially depends on his or her actions.

Does the interpreter make conscious choices to translate or not to translate? In many cases it may be impossible to say whether a non-translation was intentional, or it was just a remedial strategy due to cognitive and auditive overload. Certainly, during overlapping or fast exchanges an interpreter, consciously or unconsciously, selects which turns to render. While this does not necessarily entail s/he is taking sides, it does mean that such a (non) selection may actively contribute to one speaker winning over the other, and that this action has consequences on the development of talk and agency of the interpreter.

3.2. Case study 2

The second case study is from a show called “8 e mezzo” (lit. “Half past 8”), also broadcast by La7. The episode examined was aired in 2007 and features an interview by the two journalists co-hosting the show at the time, Giuliano Ferrara and Ritanna Armeni, with Tariq Ramadan, a Swiss Muslim academic, philosopher and writer.

Confrontation is characterised not only by turn-taking competition, but also by quick exchanges between participants, who challenge each other in a sort of verbal duel of provocations. Under these circumstances, it is the most successful quipster, the one who manages to inconvenience the opponent, who gets the upper hand, and prosody, pace and tone of voice play a decisive function.

Tariq Ramadan is famed for his ability in confrontational settings such as those that arise during TV interviews and, of course, talk shows. He has featured as a guest in several popular European TV programmes, including in the UK and France, where he confronted several intellectuals, journalists and politicians. His participation has always been characterised by heated discussions with the other guests and the hosts. In the show we examine, the interaction between Ramadan and one of the hosts, Giuliano Ferrara, a journalist well known for his adversari-

al style and little inclination towards professional neutrality, rapidly degenerates into a confrontation. This is clearly shown by the fact that the respective roles of interviewer and interviewee are disrupted. In Excerpt 3, it is Ramadan, the interviewee, who asks questions to the host/interviewer, as the two speakers leave behind their institutional roles and take on those of opponents and antagonists in a dispute. Ramadan's questions are basically provocations, possibly meant to trigger a confrontation. The sarcastic tone in which his utterances are voiced is key to understand the sense of such an anomalous action. The interpreter is thus also led to emulate Ramadan's tone and pace in her rendition, in order to convey the sarcasm.

In Excerpt 3, Ferrara has just voiced his suspicion that Ramadan's acceptance of democratic values may not be genuine. In order to justify his view, the host submits that Ramadan has written a preface to a book authored by sheik al-Qaradawi, who is renowned for his fundamentalist stance and support for al-Qaeda.

Excerpt 3. R (Tariq Ramadan), H (Giuliano Ferrara), I (interpreter)

- 1 H: è lei che ha scritto la prefazione al libro dello sceicco al-Qaradawi
 2 non io per cui un po' di diffidenza ce l'ho eheheheheh
it was you who wrote the preface to sheik al-Qaradawi's book
not me therefore I am indeed a bit suspicious ehehehehe
- 3 R: mais vous [avez même pas lu la préface
but you [haven't even read the preface
- 4 I: [ma lei l'ha neanche letta [la prefazione:
 [but you haven't even read [the preface
- 5 R: [même pas lu la preface
 [not even read the preface
- 6 R: (0.1) avez vous [lu la préface ?=
 (0.1) have you [read the preface?=
 7 I: [lei l'ha [letta la prefazione?=
 [have you [read the preface=
 8 H: [=no non l'ho [letta=
 [=no I haven't [read it=
 9 R: [alors vous [ne savez
 [then you [don't know
- 10 R: pas de quoi on parle
what we are talking about
- 11 I: [=ah e allora?
 [=well then
- 12 I: (0.1) allora lei non sa di cosa [sta parlando
 (0.1) then you don't know what [you are talking about

The journalist emphasises his critical comment with a laugh (line 3). Ramadan does not stand idly by, and provocatively asks him whether he has read the preface. The question is not simply a request for information, since Ferrara had previously explicitly stated during the interview that he had not read the preface, something that Ramadan recalls in line 4, repeats (line 5), and then reformulates as a question in order to inconvenience the host (line 6). The interpreter omits the translation of Ramadan's repetition (lines 5), but tries to convey Ramadan's provocative action by mimicking and stressing his prosody (line 7)². Ferrara replies to Ramadan's direct question (line 9) by acknowledging he has not read the preface, in overlap with the interpreter who interjects (line 11) by picking up on the first word of Ramadan's conclusive remark (line 10), with an ascending intonation pattern. Then, she translates Ramadan's sarcastic remark (line 12), beginning with a repetition from her previous intervention. It should be noted that the Italian translation is more face-threatening than the French utterance, since Ramadan's inclusive impersonal pronoun "de quoi *on* parle" (line 10) has been rendered with a more direct form of address (line 12).

In the heat of the confrontation, the interpreter at one point (line 11) seems to engage directly with Ramadan's adversary, merging in her turn a translation of what the guest has begun to say with a timely reply to the host's previous answer. Together with the sarcastic intonation and the change of pronoun in the interpreter's subsequent rendition of Ramadan's turn in line 12, however, this behaviour is not to be interpreted as affiliative. The interpreter is not siding with Ramadan, but rather she seems to be trying to translate the pragmatic meaning of the action performed by the guest. A flat translation, devoid of the prosody used to convey the sarcasm and sharp tone of Ramadan's question, would have not been very effective. The primary participants are actually quarrelling, and this is what the interpreter is attempting to convey through the prosodic features of her translation. This excerpt shows that interpreting in the context of the conflictual dynamics typical of political talk shows requires the display of involvement in the conversation.

The host takes a hit, but he does not give up and tries to counter the attack. Confrontation is characterised by an acceleration of the delivery pace, and tighter turn-taking (Schegloff 1988; Hutchby 2006). Furthermore, in order to confront each other, opponents in a televised verbal fight need to deliver "their objections with greater immediacy and directness" (Clayman/Heritage 2002a: 314). The pace of the exchange becomes progressively more frantic, making it difficult for the interpreter to participate.

2 The prosodic dimension of confrontational interactions would deserve further analysis. However, since this article focuses on turn-management, the analysis of prosodic features is not carried out for reasons of space.

Excerpt 4. R (Tariq Ramadan), H (Giuliano Ferrara), I (interpreter)

- 13 H: [non l'ho letta ma ne conosco abbondanti citazioni testuali=
[I haven't read it but I know abundant literal quotations from it=
- 14 R: =de quoi? d' quoi?=
=of what? of what?=
15 H: =de la préface=
=of the preface
- 16 R: de ce que j'ai écrit?=
of what I wrote?=
17 H: =c'è qualcuno [che l'ha letta per me
=there's someone [who read it for me
- 18 I: [di quello che ho scritto io?
[of what I have written myself?

As opposed to the participants in the previous case study, the primary participants here understand each other's language, and engage in a dyadic exchange. The pace is, in fact, so fast that the interpreter is sidelined, or lets herself be sidelined by remaining silent. In line 13 Ferrara responds to Ramadan's previous summary statement (lines 9 and 10 of Excerpt 2) starting his turn in overlap with the interpreter's rendition in line 12. In line 14, Ramadan does not wait for the interpreter (who the hosts and the audience do not hear) to translate, and raises his voice repeating a request for clarification, to which the host replies in French rather than rely upon the interpreter (line 15). Ramadan fires back with another question (line 16), and at this point the host switches back to Italian (line 17), though again without waiting for the interpreter, who only at this point manages to provide a translation of Ramadan's previous utterance (line 18), competing in overlap with the host's continuation of his previous argument. While as a result of the omitted renditions the overhearing audience is excluded from some verbal details of the exchange, they are probably able to follow and appreciate the determination of the antagonists. In this context, a translation of the embedded exchange, even if delivered with a short *décalage*, would slow down the interactional pace and prevent the opponents from addressing each other directly. Instead, the conflict escalates: the primary participants ignore the default format of "turn-type preallocation" (Atkinson/Drew 1979), which would require the interpreter to provide a translation of each turn, and engage in direct confrontation. The example in Excerpt 5 again shows the interpreter struggling and falling behind during one such escalation.

- Excerpt 5. R (Tariq Ramadan), H (Giuliano Ferrara), I (interpreter)
- 19 R: [() une de ces citations ((raises index finger))
[() *one of these quotations*]
- 20 H: [per esempio [Paul Berman e altri [l'hanno letta=
[for example [Paul Berman and others [have read it=
- 21 I: [mi mi dia una di queste citazioni
[give give me one of these quotations]
- 22 R [eh? ((bends towards the host))
- 23 H: Paul Berman e [altri l'hanno letta ((grimaces))
Paul Berman and [others have read it
- 24 R: [Paul Berman [les citations qu'ils font=
[Paul Berman [the quotations they made=
- 25 I: [no
[no
- 26 R: =ne sont pas [prises de la préface
=are not [taken from the preface
- 27 I: [queste citazioni non sono le citazioni esatte
[these quotations are not the exact quotations

In this exchange the pace is so hectic that the interpreter is always one step behind the contenders. The translation of Ramadan's words in line 19 is delivered (in line 21) after Ferrara has already started his (already overlapping) reply. Ramadan's interjection in line 22 ("eh?") is uttered as the guest bends towards the host, as if trying to listen more intently to what Ferrara is saying, rather than being addressed to the interpreter translating from Italian into French in the headphones. As opposed to the example in Excerpt 2, where the foreign guest entrusted the interpreter with the management of turn-taking, here the opponents can – to some extent – communicate directly without the need for an interpreter, who is there mainly to translate the staged confrontation for the audience. In line 23, the host repeats his previous utterance as a reply to Ramadan's request for clarification in line 22, rather than in response to the interpreted speech. Ramadan does not wait for a translation of the antagonist's reply, but contradicts the host picking up the name "Paul Berman" and disputing the authoritativeness of the host's reply. The interpreter is sidelined by the fast pace of confrontation between the two opponents but manages to interject a "no" (line 25) in overlap with Ramadan's reply (lines 24 and 26), which is, in fact, a rejection of the credibility of Ferrara's repeated appeal to authoritativeness in line 23, apparently designed as a direct response in a dyadic exchange. Finally, in her rendition of Ramadan's utterance (line 27) the interpreter lets the reference to Paul Berman slide, and repeats the words from her previous turn (line 21) "queste citazioni".

Confrontation in TV shows puts simultaneous interpreters in a very challenging situation, since they have to face the conflicting demands of relaying prop-

ositional content and a confrontational attitude. In this case, the immediacy and directness required by the escalation of adversarialness (Clayman/Heritage 2002b) tends to prevent the interposition of the interpreter's turn between those of the primary participants. However, as the interpreter struggles to keep the pace of the exchange, she manages to convey the pragmatic meaning that is functional to Ramadan's confrontational strategy, and at the same time contribute as a principal to stage the conflict for the audience.

4. Discussion

Televised political talk shows often owe their success to the heated debates taking place between participants. Such disputes are fuelled not so much by the presentation of opposed arguments and views, but by interactional actions through which disagreement turns into conflict. Confrontation is exhibited through stiff turn-taking competition, as participants attempt to get the upper hand on their rivals, and through increasingly faster crosstalk, as participants attempt to leave their opponents without a valid response. Participants prevail or make the best impression when they manage to gain the floor, to not let themselves be overtaken by their opponents, or to confound them. In these situations, interpreters are often put in a strained position. As they are driven into the fray, their task becomes not so much that of coordinating interaction, for example by making the participants resume the orderly flow of interaction as they wait for turn completion, but rather that of assisting the interpreted guests in their turn-keeping strategies. In the arrangement of simultaneous interpreting the interpreter does not appear on screen, and his or her off-screen voice replaces that of the guest, whose voice is heard only in the background. While it would be tempting to think that this strategy could minimise their participation, interpreters are far from being cancelled from the show. The two case studies show that, willingly and knowingly or not, they take on an active role and emerge as full-fledged participants exactly because of the conflictual nature of this type of political talk shows, which are not simply a parade of guests who in turn express their opinion, but rather staged dialectical confrontations.

Some aspects of the interpreter's performance during talk shows may be specified by the producers of the television programme. For instance, among the aspects possibly envisaged by the producers of "lifestyle" talk shows, there may be a preference for a long *décalage*, at least at the beginning of the guest's turn, to allow the audience to listen to the foreign guest's own voice and expressiveness (Straniero Sergio 2013: 3631), which feed into the illusion of spontaneity of talk shows. In the confrontational format interpreters seem to face competing demands. On the one hand, their contribution to the show is essential, as they make it possible for the audience to follow the opposing arguments and the development of conversational conflict. On the other hand, by interposing their interpreted speech between that of the primary participants, they risk interfering with the immediacy which characterises confrontational exchanges. In the course of the exchange participants become opponents engaged in a verbal combat, whose key ingredients include fast-paced crosstalk and directness of address. When competing for a turn, participants

must decide whether to relinquish the floor and “whether to abandon an utterance in order to respond or not, whether to return to what they were saying or stay with the new tack” (Schegloff 1988: 237). In interpreted televised conflictual talk shows, some of these decisions have to be taken by the interpreter. Thus, the interpreter plays a crucial role as regards retaining the turn of the guest when faced with an attack from other participants, and more in general a foreign guest may be completely dependent on the interpreter each time a turn-taking competition arises.

When a confrontation involves expressive resources such as sarcasm, irony and forms of provocation, conflictual actions may be conveyed by prosodic patterns over and above the linguistic expression of disagreement. In the midst of the most hectic parts of a talk show, interpreters can be sidelined – or let themselves be sidelined – by the primary participants. However, such backing out or weighing in are neither a mere absence nor a disruptive and uncalled for intrusion, but rather, part of the dynamics that make it possible for disagreement to escalate into conflict (Maynard/Clayman 1991).

5. Conclusion

This exploratory analysis shows that in simultaneous broadcast interpreting of conflictual talk, interpreters are functional to the interactional framework of the show and the goals of deliberately seeking and staging verbal conflict for the sake of gaining audience. Interpreters have to struggle with the dilemma of divided loyalty not only between national host and foreign guest, but also between the discussants and the general public for whom the conflict is staged. While in shared consecutive settings the active role of interpreters is favoured by their on-site presence, the physical and organisational arrangement of remote simultaneous settings seems designed to minimise the role of interpreters. However, the examples considered here illustrate that simultaneous interpreters play a central and active role also in the accomplishment of the interactional practices which characterise confrontational talk shows, and that their verbal actions (or inactions) are consequential for the development of the confrontation.

Transcription conventions

[start of overlapping talk

? questioning intonation (usually with rising tone)

XXXx applause

:: sound elongation

(.) micro-pause of less than 1 second

(1.0) silence expressed in seconds

(()) non-verbal feature

eheheheheh laughter

() inaudible words

= latching : one sound follows the previous one with no intervening silence

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Interactional constraints on interpreters' action: the case of clinicians' comments about cultural differences

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Abstract

For a while now, interpreter-mediated talk has been analysed as a form of interaction under the lenses of approaches based on recorded and transcribed data. These studies converge on the idea that making sense of the participants' contributions puts constraints on the interpreters' activity, leading them to choices of action like explaining, clarifying, making explicit what is implicit. This paper focuses on sequences involving clinicians, migrant patients and intercultural mediators and deals with instances in which clinicians' contributions heavily limit the interpreters' choice of action. The cases in question are sequences where clinicians comment on patients' different behaviour or habits. Our analysis looks at four types of mediators' reaction that we found in the data, all showing the challenges these comments create for the mediators' choice of action. We conclude that rendering is hardly an option and that while non-rendering may serve the purpose of protecting the patients from possibly offensive talk, it also hinders their involvement in the interaction, or their possibility of replying.

Keywords

Interaction, mediation, rendering, stereotype, migrant inclusion, interactional constraints.

Studies on interaction show that contributions coming first in the talk sequence project particular choices of action and may thus put constraints on the contributions of speakers coming next. The action-projection mechanism is a key notion in Conversation Analysis explaining systematic organization of some sequences in talk, for instance the question-answer sequence in medical talk (see e.g. Heritage/Robinson 2006; Heritage 2009). Mason (2006) has discussed the conversation analytic approach as applied to sequences of interpreter-mediated interaction. His discussion has mainly focused on *relevance*, i.e. the way in which interlocutors' contributions make particular responses relevant (or necessary) as well as the way in which particular interlocutors' contributions are made relevant (by other speakers) in subsequent talk. In the case of interpreting for instance, assigning a meaning to an interlocutor's contribution through rendition is a way of making that contribution's meaning relevant in the subsequent interaction. Mason describes the mechanism in terms of both projection of action and projection of expectations. In both cases, projection does not determine interpreters' responses, but often orients them to take particular actions in the interaction. These may include explanations, clarifications or making explicit what is implicit. It follows that, in responding to interactional requirements, interpreters make choices that may produce changes in the communication process (for instance when expansions are given for explicating implicit habits). It is these choices which allow for interpreters' coordination of the interaction (Wadensjö 1998). When interpreters' choices are change-producing (e.g. re-involving an interlocutor who was at risk of exclusion or making some habit understood by those who do not share it), they show interpreters' exercise of agency (Baraldi 2019).

This paper focuses on the work of so-called intercultural mediators, that is bilingual staff employed in Italian health care to provide an interpreting service. We concentrate on sequences in which problems related to patients' unusual behaviour, knowledge or expectations are raised by the clinicians during mediated interactions. Even though Italian mediators are specifically employed by the services to deal with intercultural problems (hence the name *intercultural mediators*), when clinicians offer comments about patients being 'different', mediators in our data are put under serious constraints, eventually preventing them from rendering these comments to the patients. Occurrences of clinicians' comments highlighting patients' cultural differences are luckily not at all frequent in our data. We however, find them worth considering because they systematically limit the mediators' choices of action. In particular, possibly treating these comments as potentially offensive, mediators never render them to the patient. We suggest that this systematic mediators' response provides for reflection about both the occurrence of these clinicians' comments in interaction with migrant patients and their treatment in rendition.

1. Theoretical overview: agency, mediation and intercultural issues

The concept of interpreters' agency in coordinating interactions is frequently associated with the idea that interpreting includes forms of mediation. While views of interpreters' agency vary (see Tipton 2008; Baraldi 2019), agency is in fact clearly visible when interpreters do something more than plainly repeat what was said in one language into another. The concept of interpreters' agency can thus be considered implicit to mediation and involves interpreters' choices that can change the course of the interaction (Baraldi 2019), with more or less effective consequences for the communicative exchange. Studies of naturally occurring interpreter-mediated conversations (see, among others, Angelelli 2004; Inghilleri 2005; Tipton 2008; Mason 2009; Mason/Ren 2012) have noted the interactional impact of the interlocutors' contributions on each other and have discussed ways in which interpreters may or may not achieve interlocutors' active participation and mutual understanding.

The issue of interpreters' agency in mediating talk is rather controversial, particularly in medical encounters. Preliminary studies by Bolden (2000) and Davidson (2000) showed that interpreters exercising agency, for instance to modify laypeople's language into medical jargon, or to summarize patients' storytelling, in fact impeded access of clinicians to patients' provision of details which were often significant. Interpreters' engagement in talk with one of the interlocutors was found both critical, for the risk of excluding one of the interlocutors (Vale-ro-Garcés 2007), and necessary for example for making contents clear (Davidson 2002), supporting patients when they hesitate to speak (Pasquandrea 2011; Gavioli 2012), or creating empathy (Penn/Watermeyer 2012; Merlini 2015). More recent studies show diverse ways in which interpreters exercise agency, by collaborating with doctors giving instructions (Bolden 2018), taking patients' histories (Gavioli/Wadensjö 2021) and even creating rapport (Wadensjö 2018).

While on the one hand, mediation involves interpreters' exercise of agency in clarifying issues, positions and rapport, on the other, it has traditionally been associated with a specific function of interpreting, that of translating so-called "cultural" differences. As Wadensjö (1998: 277-278) notes, interpreting "makes it possible to identify [...] non-linguistic differences between people – differences in world view – which make shared understanding between them difficult to achieve despite the interpreter's bridging of the language gap" and observes that, for this reason, interpreters "cannot avoid functioning as intercultural mediators" (Wadensjö 1998: 75). In his thorough reflection on interpreting as mediation, Pöchhacker (2008) similarly shows that there are different dimensions of mediation in interpreting, including intercultural bridging and adjustment of social imbalances. Intercultural mediation, he argues, "is necessarily a matter of social relations – an interpersonal interaction for which the interpreter is contracted to mediate" (2008: 16). Interpreting thus includes mediation inside the complex process of translating across languages and cultures.

The issue we address in this paper is related to the intercultural-mediation component of interpreting as described above and the case we make is related to explicit mentioning of cultural differences in the interaction, which defines

communication as intercultural in the proper sense. There are probably two ways to define intercultural communication in this perspective. On the one hand, intercultural communication can be viewed as the result of encounters between culturally different individuals (e.g. Spencer-Oatey/Franklin 2009; Samovar *et al.* 2013). Holliday has criticised this approach, which he sees as a form of cultural essentialism. This definition, he argues, presents “people’s individual behaviour as entirely defined and constrained by the cultures in which they live so that the stereotype becomes the essence of who they are” (Holliday 2011: 4). An alternative, constructivist way of looking at intercultural communication is to regard it as mutual negotiation of cultural differences (Baraldi 2015). Holliday (2011) distinguishes between the two alternatives by describing the former as “big cultures” and the latter as “small cultures”. While in an essentialist view big cultures are intended as predefined in some national or ethnical context, in a constructivist view the negotiation of cultural differences is produced at a small level, as contingent and negotiated inside specific groups or activities. In these negotiated constructs, cultures may be shaped in different ways, becoming either a block for the interaction (when constructed as big) or a thread for effective inclusion and understanding, when culture is constructed as part of personal being (Amadasi/Holliday 2017). The reproduction of essentialist assumptions in institutional interactions clearly blocks communication, since the interaction reproduces group stereotypes (referring to big cultures), thus impeding the participants’ expression and negotiation of their personal trajectories in specific activities or small groups (e.g. in health care meetings).

Here we look at sequences where intercultural differences related to big cultures are raised by clinicians providing comments on the patients (their behaviour, habits or features), thus giving the mediators the task to deal with them in the small context of the encounter. While these occurrences are not frequent in our data, we will see that the constraints they put on interpreting are heavy and definitely not easy to mediate, leading to an interactional construction of stereotype. The occurrences are not many, but they are all consistent with Holliday’s idea that reproduction of essentialist assumptions blocks communication and thus impedes negotiation of cultural differences as acceptable alternatives.

2. Intercultural mediation: the Italian case

In Italian healthcare services, interpreting is provided by so-called intercultural mediators. While the label on the one hand underlines the interest of healthcare services for the intercultural component of interpreting, on the other it minimizes the complexity of the interpreting work proper and for this reason the Italian choice has been widely debated in the literature (e.g. Pittarello 2009; Merlini 2009; Baraldi/Gavioli 2012a; Falbo 2013). In his study on mediation, Pöchhacker (2008) argues that such a suggested dichotomy between interpreters and mediators is highly undesirable, since it deprives both professionals of most fundamental skills, which are indeed to be trained jointly if the target is to have professionally prepared staff.

Pöchlhacker's position (2008) is that interpreters should be trained to use mediation appropriately in that mediation is inextricably connected with interpreting: it is part of it, not a separate skill. The conception of intercultural mediators' professionalism, instead, is definitely more controversial (for a very critical approach, see Pokorn/Mikolic-Juznic 2020) and not without problems, the major one probably being the extreme variety of skills, education, and competence of Italian healthcare interpreting mediators. At present, however, Italian healthcare services are still working with mediators while training programmes have increasingly been launched to provide such staff with adequate competence (see Chiarenza 2020).

Against this controversial background, our research has observed interpreting work provided by experienced and trained intercultural mediators. Our assumption has been that observing their work through recorded and transcribed naturally-occurring interactions might reveal strong and weak points of their *doing interpreting* in a perspective where provision of cultural mediation is an explicit institutional requirement. In our studies up to now, we have mainly focused on encounters showing effective dynamics of language mediation, for three reasons. First, effective dynamics are the most frequent in our data and they represent what normally occurs in mediated interactions. Second, interpreting service is often the result of good team work (see e.g. Baraldi/Gavioli 2021), so looking at clinicians who have worked with some particular mediators for a while reveals good synchronization and effective interactional management. Finally, effective dynamics are interesting in a learning/training perspective, in that they show mediators (and interpreters and providers too) how successful interpreting including mediating components can be carried out (Baraldi/Gavioli 2016).

We cannot ignore however that there are sequences where doing interpreting can be hard for intercultural mediators (and possibly interpreters alike). In a previous paper (Baraldi/Gavioli 2017), we have analyzed the way in which a sense of cultural essentialism may be promoted by mediators positioning as authorities in producing knowledge of migrant patients' cultural needs and features, thus blocking rather than enhancing intercultural adaptation and understanding. Here, we shift our attention to the institutional providers and look at firstly, healthcare providers' stereotyping comments on patients' cultural features and secondly, their interactional consequences regarding two interconnected issues: first, the constraints on the mediators' choice of action; second, the obstacles to the rendition activity. Empirical research on medical interaction has reported significant communication barriers between healthcare providers and migrant patients (e.g. Meeuwesen *et al.* 2007; Rosse *et al.* 2016; Schinkel *et al.* 2018), but stereotyping is not included among those observed. While these studies reinforce the idea that the production of stereotypes is not frequent (or only indirect, see Baraldi/Luppi 2015) in medical interaction with migrants, they suggest that the description of even a minor number of occurrences may be of particular interest.

3. Data and methods

3.1. Data description

Our study is based on the audio-recording and transcription of authentic mediator-interpreted interactions, collected in public healthcare services in Italy in the last 15 years. It is based on a large corpus of data, gathering around 600 encounters (over 100 hours of recording), 7 languages and 25 mediators, who have worked in Italian health care for many years. The corpus was collected as part of a research project on interpreting in Italian public healthcare interaction (Baraldi/Gavioli 2012a; 2012b; see Niemants 2018 for an updated description), mainly in women's health areas.

In this paper, we focus on the Arabic and English sets of data, which make up 481 encounters (170 with Arabic and 311 with English) and 14 mediators (6 speakers of Arabic and 8 of English). The clinicians in these interactions are doctors and nurses (male and female), and midwives (all female). The patients are migrants from North African countries (Morocco and Tunisia) and West Africa (mainly Ghana and Nigeria). One encounter of over an hour (including an extract we will discuss below) occurs with an English-speaking patient from India and is interpreted by a Nigerian mediator. Since most of the encounters were recorded in gynaecological and maternity care, patients are prevalently women, who may be accompanied by their spouses. The mediators are all female.

The transcription conventions we adopted are largely derived from Conversation Analysis. The transcription method was devised on the basis of conversation in English and needs to be adapted when transcribing non-Latin alphabets (see Egbert *et al.* 2016). Transcribing interpreter-mediated data is no exception. Indeed, interpreter-mediated data pose the additional problem of combining transcriptions of languages with different alphabets in the same interaction. When transcribing interaction in Arabic and Italian, for instance, where the left-right direction of writing is not the same, overlaps can only be represented with difficulty, so a transliteration of Arabic into the Latin alphabet was adopted to accommodate these types of issues (Baraldi/Gavioli 2012b: 17-19). Names and identifying details have been changed to protect the privacy of individuals. A list of the conventions we use in our transcripts is included at the end of the paper.

3.2. Our methodological approach

Small culture construction in essentialist forms makes language mediation difficult and patients' involvement hardly possible. The problem we address in this paper is thus: how do mediators respond to blocks in communication posed by such constructs in their mediating activity? The main analytic concept we use comes from Conversation Analysis and is that of *action projection* mentioned in the first part of this paper. In brief, Conversation Analysis looks at systematic responses following particular turn types or actions and argues that response systematicity orients speakers' expectations for that response to be provided. Just to give some

examples, compliments are systematically downgraded in responses, greetings are normally reciprocated. This does not mean that no other response is possible. In fact, greetings may not be responded or compliments may be upgraded. In these cases, though, some extra-meaning or contextual cue is constructed. For instance, the interlocutor who received the greeting is upset or distracted; the interlocutor who boosts the compliment may do that for joking or because s/he is affectively related to the speaker who produced the compliment.

In medical interaction, questions may be specifically designed as to project “no-problem” responses or presuppositions that a problem exists, thus discouraging a no-problem response (Heritage 2009) and this is a mechanism by which doctors make their diagnostic orientations clear to patients. A well-known study by Heritage/Robinson (2011) has shown that when asking the patients if they have further questions, doctors may use two forms “do you have *any* questions?” or “do you have *some* questions?” (our emphasis). It is shown that the latter is significantly more likely than the former to be followed by further requests by the patient, thus making a projection of expectations for more questions clear and the item *some* more encouraging for patients to ask.

This interactional mechanism is discussed in Mason (2006) in terms of what an action makes relevant as to following actions in the interaction and in terms of construction of interactional (shared) assumptions. In interpreter-mediated interaction, Mason (2006) argues that a provider’s request for a detail makes relevant either a direct response by the interpreter or a rendition for the service seeker. In police office interrogations, however, providing a direct answer may not allow the defendants to show that they can appreciate the question and respond to it consequently, thus depriving them from the possibility of showing that they are reliable speakers, although speaking a different language. In other contexts (e.g. healthcare), this mechanism may instead optimize the conversational flux leading to better reciprocal understanding.

The action-projection mechanism, as described in Wadensjö (1998), is a crucial one for interpreter coordination activity because it gives interpreters access to expected actions or assumptions, as well as the possibility of rendering accordingly or explicating implicit meaning. In our previous work, we have shown that explication may be given as a response to other participants’ projected requirements of, for example, showing attention, seeking compliance or conveying details in delicate or appropriate ways (see e.g. Baraldi/Gavioli 2016; Gavioli 2015).

Here we focus on sequences occurring inside or following the history-taking phase of the medical encounter, as defined in Heritage/Maynard (2006), that is after clinicians have collected (some) patients’ details relevant for the current medical (mainly maternity) check-up. In these sequences, the providers comment on the patients’ answers by highlighting the cultural differences involved in the clinicians’ perspective. These comments concern food habits (e.g. rice vs. pasta), expected knowledge of personal details (e.g. knowledge concerning weight and height or dates of birth), health (common diseases in the patient’s country, e.g. malaria), the value of life and wealth (life expectancy, life standards).

As mentioned above, these types of comments are not frequent in our data, giving us around 12 sequences in the whole corpus. After these 12 occurrences, the mediators deal with the providers' comments in one of the following four ways, leading to four different types of interactional construct.

Type 1. Mediators align to the provider's proffered expression of cultural essentialism supporting it, sometimes laughing together with the clinician.

Type 2. Mediators provide explanations of patient's behaviour as typical of the patients' community group.

Type 3. Mediators deny the provider's classified behaviour as typical of the patients' group and offer an alternative explanation.

Type 4. Mediators ignore the provider's proffered expression of cultural essentialism and go on with their rendering activity by selecting some other relevant item.

Our analysis below shows one example for each type. We will see that responding to the provider's stereotypical comment is not easy. The provider's comments are never rendered to the patients, making direct or even modified (e.g. mitigated) rendition not an option in our data. Indeed, the mediators have little escape from contributing towards shaping the stereotype. Levels of alignment are however different as we will see in the four examples.

4. Interactional constraints after clinician-produced stereotypes

In what follows, we show four examples, one for each of the types listed above. We will focus on the consequences of the providers' action and the constraints it poses as for blocking the mediators' rendition activity. We additionally discuss the mediators' exercise of agency and the changes produced in the interaction by their choosing different response options.

4.1. Type 1 - The meaning of life is completely different

Extract 1 comes from an encounter with a Nigerian patient, in particular from the first part of the encounter where the midwife is taking the patient's history. At the clinician's request about how the patient's mother died (rendered by the mediator in turn 08), the patient answers that her mum was sick, had a fever, went to hospital and died. Both the mediator (in turn 10) and the clinician (in turn 14), ask for more specific details about the cause of death, which the patient cannot provide. Either the fact that the patient does not know exactly how her mother died or that a young person can die from fever, prompts the midwife's comment in turn 19 and the mediator's response in turn 20 (both arrowed in the transcript).

Extract 1

08. MEDf what happened to her? (.) before (she died)?
09. PATf she just (.) she is sick
(0.6)
10. MEDf what's the kind of sickness (she) has we want to know (you) know (((laughter)))
((laughter))
11. PATf (((laughter)))
(0.7)
12. PATf just fever just ehm before you get to hospital just fever (??)
13. MEDf ha avuto un po' di febbre quando è arrivata in ospedale (.) però (??)
she had a little fever when she arrived at the hospital (.) but (??)
(0.5)
14. OBSf ha avuto la- la malaria probabilmente? ((mobile rings))
she had the- the malaria probably?
15. MEDf no no ha detto che ha [avuto] [solo febbre]
no no she's said she has [had] [only fever]
16. PATf [hello?]
17. OBSf [ma era giovane]
[but was she young]
18. PATf ((??)) (((??)) the hospital]
19. → OBSf [dio bò (.) il] senso della vita è tutto diverso [(eh)]
[good lord (.) the] meaning of life is totally different [(eh)]
[per] fortuna che non ha
20. → MEDf detto il malocchio ((laughter)) (1.5) alcuni dicono eh
[fortunately] she didn't say the evil eye ((laughter)) (1.5) some people say eh
(2.8)
21. OBSf quanti anni aveva la mamma quando è deceduta?
how old was mum when she passed away?
(0.8)
22. MEDf (beside) ho- how old was she?
(0.4)
23. PATf thirty-eight

It may be observed that the midwife's comment is started in overlap with the patient speaking briefly on the phone; a distraction of the patient which might have prompted the midwife to speak more freely with the mediator. The actual midwife's comment, however, does not overlap with anyone else's talk and it

can be assumed that the patient could hear it. In turn 20, the mediator aligns to the midwife's comment adding a further, exaggerated, stereotype, about what other patients sometimes mention as possible causes of death. The mediator's comment is accompanied by laughter, possibly inviting the midwife to treat occurrences of weird responses by patients as laughable or not serious (see Jefferson *et al.* 1987 on the function of laughter for inviting interlocutors to share views on topics). Silence follows both this invitation to laugh and the completion of the mediator's comment. So, while possibly intended as a suggestion to appreciate this patient's response (compared to others'), the mediator's reaction *de facto* supports the clinician's comment, reinforcing the idea that the patient's cultural group has strange ideas about health and death. Thus, small culture as a shared stereotype about migrants' meaning of life is constructed in the interaction.

It is interesting to note that the mediator's alignment closes the sequence: the clinician does not comment further and the stereotyping comment is not rendered to the patient. Rather, history-taking goes on and the detail about the mother's age at death is provided. The mediator's alignment thus apparently blocks the clinician's stereotype by offering another upgraded one. However, the clinician's comment heavily limits the mediator's action. On the one hand, her possibly mitigating proposal of treating these patients' responses as not too serious is not taken up in the interaction, on the other hand, rendition of the exchange as it is, may be considered (by the mediator) a highly undesirable, potentially offensive option. This option is in fact completely discarded in the encounter, protecting the patient but leaving her with no access to what the mediator and the clinician were talking and laughing about in turns 19-20. The mediator's exercise of agency is thus severely limited, as neither mitigation nor rendition are achieved in the sequence.

4.2. Type 2 - Do you know anything Viviana?

Extract 2 comes again from a history-taking sequence, this time with a Ghanaian patient (fictitiously called Viviana in the transcript). In the first part of the consultation (not shown here), the doctor asked Viviana her weight and the date of her previous delivery; Viviana answered she does not know. When the extract shown below starts, a further question is asked about Viviana's height (turn 01, rendered by the mediator in turn 02) and she again answers she does not know (turn 03). The doctor negatively comments the patient's lack of knowledge in turn 05 (arrowed): "do you know anything Viviana?". Similarly, to what we have seen in Extract 1, the mediator laughs at the doctor's question, thus inviting the doctor to treat the patient's contribution as laughable. The doctor takes the patient's height and then comments on the patient's (non) knowledge: "questa è bella" ("this is weird", turn 20, arrowed). The doctor's comment in this case underlines the unusual nature of the patient's behaviour without ascribing it to a stereotype. It is the mediator who, in her attempt at explaining Viviana's response as not so weird, ascribes it to a stereotype: weight

supported by the student in turn 07, criticises the midwife's generalisation, stressing that it cannot be applied to such a huge country as India. Within the sequence, a we/them comparison is developed between Italy and India, going from the national dimension to the distance of inland from the sea; the mediator provides an explanation of how this distance explains the illness better than cultural belonging.

Extract 3

01. PATf erm (.) I told her I'm having thyroid (.) I'm having] thyroid (.) I'm taking tablets every day for it
02. OBSf ha problemi di tiroide?
does she have thyroid problems?
03. MEDf eh sì
oh yes
(0.1)
04. → OBSf (??) .hh (1) eh ma ha problemi di tiroide e:: st- è seguita da un- °tutte le indiane ci fai caso? (.) son tutte tiroid- ipotiroidee° (.) .hh ascolta (.) °perché secondo me° (2.5) chissà lei se abita in una zona dove c'è [(.) c'è poco iodio c'è il ma- c'è il mare] però eh
but she has problems with her thyroid e:: sh- she is treated by a- °all Indian women have you noted that? (.) they have all got thyroid- hypothyroidism° (.) hh listen (.) °because I think° (2.5) who knows she may live in an area with [(.) with little iodine there's the se- there's the sea there though
05. → MEDf [hm non lo so (.) è come noi (qui)]
[hm I don't know (.) it's like us (here)]
(0.8)
06. → MEDf eh dipende da dove abita [(.) ehm se] se abita all'interno
eh it depends on where she lives [(.) erm if] she lives inland
07. → STUF [dipende (.) è:: (è grande)]
[it depends (.) it:: (it's big)]
(0.4)
08. → OBSf vabbè anche qua però in Italia (0.6) ci son di quelli che abitano all'interno [ma tanti che]
okay but here in Italy too (0.6) there are those who live inland [but many who]
09. → MEDf [eh ma voi]
(.)
l'Italia è fatta in un modo che [il mare (??) l'inter] no proprio non è così lontano dal mare
[yeah but you] (.) Italy is shaped in a way that [the sea (??) the inland] is not so far from the sea

10. → OBSf [eh (.) c'è lo stivale]
 [eh (.) it's a boot shape]
 (0.1)
11. OBSf e invece- ah può essere! (.) .hh ascolta di- una cosa adesso adesso Tery ti spiega tutto
while instead- ah maybe! (.) .hh listen to- one thing now now Tery is going to explain everything to you
12. MEDf okay so

In this case, the midwife's reaction in turns 10 and 11 shows acceptance of the mediator's (and the student's) explanation and it is the midwife, this time, that projects the rendition of the sequence about hypothyroidism in India as not relevant for the continuation of the encounter, immediately proposing a new topic (the "tutto"/"everything" mentioned by the midwife refers to routine treatment of pregnant women with hypothyroidism, usually including an endocrinological check-up).

Even though there is no explicit criticism, the provider's essentialist positioning regarding the patient as belonging to a group excludes the patient as a person (e.g. the patient is not invited to give her opinion on the spread of hypothyroidism in India). The mediator's action discourages the stereotyped identity, by opposing an alternative explanation to the illness, but her position as a rendition provider is blocked and her choices of action highly limited. In this case, too, no rendition of the discussion is given to the patient and history-taking is taken up again and carried on.

4.4. Type 4 - The problem is that they get lost

Extract 4 comes from the same consultation as Extract 1, involving a Nigerian patient, the mediator, the midwife and a colleague of the midwife (COLf, fictionally called Elisabetta) who participates for the duration of the second half of the encounter. While telling her history, the patient mentions that she comes from a family of ten children; the participants then discuss the topic of big families, which are noted as typical of African culture (data not shown). The extract shown below starts with the midwife's colleague commenting on families with many children. The comment (how can you take proper care of so many children?) is followed by two comments by the midwife, one in turn 02 (about the different meaning of life in the country the patient comes from) and one in turn 06 (about migrants' inability to cope with Western life-style). The pause between turns 02 and 03 shows that the mediator does not take up either of the clinician's comments in turns 01-02, and instead the mediator intervenes only for translating a new history-taking question (asked in turn 03 and rendered in turn 04). The same occurs after the midwife's turn 06, where the mediator's response is in fact the translation of the patient's turn 05.

Extract 4

01. →COLf come fai a mantenerli poi?
how can you take care of them then?
(0.7)
02. → OBSf sì ma:: ti ho detto il senso della vita Elisabetta è tutto diverso
yes but as I told you the meaning of life Elisabetta is totally different
(1.0)
03. OBSf .h allora la mamma (0.9) lei e suo marito non sono consaguinei?
. h so mummy (0.9) you and your husband are not blood relatives?
(0.8)
04. MEDf you and your husband? (.) do you come from the same family?
05. PATf [hh no ((laughter))]
06. →OBSf [il problema è che qua si] perdono
[the problem is that here they] get lost
07. MEDf ((rendering PATf turn 05)) no no no
08. OBSf allora la madre ((OBSf utters words at very low volume (inaudible) while
typing on computer))
so her mother

The mediator thus ignores the expressions of cultural essentialism that are raised in the interaction treating it as private talk between the midwife and her colleague so that nothing is passed to the patient. While it may be argued that the mediator does not feel entitled to render what may be considered aside conversation, explicitly not intended for the patient, it needs to be considered that: a. what the clinician says is perfectly audible to everyone in the interaction, b. there are other cases in the data in which a second clinician participates in the interaction and their contributions are made relevant for the patient too. Thus, the very choice of the mediator to treat the clinicians' comments as not relevant for rendition cancels the stereotyped identity by non-rendering the issue in the interaction. So, constraints are put on the mediator's activity and she eventually focuses on the medical part of the check-up, cutting herself (and the patient) out of the chit-chatting that is taking place in the encounter. In this way she does take active action in constructing small culture, but still contributes in it by ignoring, protecting and excluding.

5. Conclusion

The analysed sequences show that clinicians' comments on patients' diversity introduce cultural essentialism in interactions and make mediators' actions very

problematic. First, these comments can hardly be passed to the patients as they are, in that choosing to render may reveal potential insults. This seriously hinders the mediators' rendering activity and makes it very difficult for the mediators to include the patients in the interaction. Second, these clinicians' comments put constraints on mediators' responses in that the alternative choices they have enhance their contribution to shape stereotyped cultural features. Either sharing, proposing, discouraging, and even ignoring stereotyped identities in fact produces construction of group culture as an interactional result.

In previous work of ours (e.g. Baraldi/Gavioli 2016), we have argued that, since mediators (and interpreters) participate in the interaction to make bilingual communication possible through forms of interpreting, their action refers to the communication process and the way in which the communication process is produced. We have called this interpreters'/mediators' action "reflexive coordination", following Wadensjö's concept of interpreters' coordination (1998: 145-152). Reflexive coordination focuses on the ways in which the communication process is produced, for instance by working on participants' understanding of information, explication of the expectations of actions, covering or clarifying imbalances in knowledge and contributing in creating collaborative or trustworthy relationships. Reflexive coordination is achieved in the interaction, with the contribution of the other participants. This implies that the interaction may not create the conditions for interpreters to work effectively on the communication process.

In the cases analysed here, reflexive coordination is constrained by healthcare providers' actions. In the extracts shown, rather than fulfilling medical tasks, clinicians' comments position them as authors of cultural assessments, thus displacing usual forms of reflexive coordination, based on explication of (medical) information or on assumptions that what is said is functional to provide care. In the interactions we have examined, where cultural mediators participate, clinicians' cultural comments are dealt with as cultural assessments, producing either problematic acceptance of stereotypes (extracts 1 and 2) or potentially conflictive rejection (extracts 3 and 4). Accepting the clinicians' projected action as expression of essentialism rather than care is definitely limiting for cultural mediators, whose choices can barely go beyond zero rendition, protecting the patients, but excluding them from participating.

While the choices of the mediators participating in our data may be debatable, they are placed in the awkward position of choosing between either rendering a stereotype to the patient or accepting/dissenting with the clinicians, all alternatives which might be avoided if clinicians who work with migrants were trained to refrain from proffering expressions of cultural essentialism and negative evaluations of patients' personal identity *tout court*. Even when they are jokingly or occasionally expressed, they may put heavy burdens and obstacles on interpreter-mediated talk. In our data, such occurrences are rare and in fact restricted to three clinicians in the whole corpus, but their interactional consequences are clear.

By way of a final consideration, it has probably been noted that all of the extracts we showed are from the English, not the Arabic set of data. This is not

a choice of ours, but is triggered by the results of our analysis. We have in fact found no occurrences of clinicians' stereotyping comments in our 170 Arabic-Italian encounters. While we have no explanation for this (non-) occurrence at present, it definitely provides interesting data to be explored, like observing whether some pre-emptive mechanisms are used by Arab mediators to prevent clinicians from expressing stereotypes. If this were the case, suggestions could be made not only for clinicians to refrain carefully from commenting on cultural differences, but also for mediators (and interpreters) to act pre-emptively on this interactional construction.

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 or tentative transcription
=text	latched to the preceding turn in transcript
TEXT	loud volume
°text°	low volume
.,?!)	punctuation provides a guide to intonation
((sneezes))	transcriber's comments
<i>translation</i>	translation of Italian turns is in italics

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Analysis of face-threatening acts against telephone interpreters

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Abstract

Despite the growing research in telephone interpreting, there are still few studies addressing it systematically from a linguistic point of view, since the work that has been carried out focuses on aspects related to quality, the satisfaction of those involved, the working conditions of interpreters and the skills they must possess in order to carry out training proposals. The aim of this piece of research is, based on the pragmatics of language, to analyse the prevalence and characteristics of face-threatening acts addressed to interpreters. Telephone conversations constitute an example of distance communication as opposed to face-to-face communication. Besides, interpreted interactions can be considered as indirect since the recipient does not receive the source speech but the translation of it after an interpreter has rendered it in the required language. According to literature, in distance and indirect communication there is a high prevalence of face-threatening acts (FTAs). It is thus hypothesised that telephone-interpreted conversations, as an example of distance indirect communication, will contain a high number of FTAs. The high prevalence and difficulties of FTAs for telephone interpreters have been already signalled but existing studies have analysed FTAs broadly, without making speakers and addressees a variable of analysis. In this paper, we focus on speech acts that threaten the face of interpreters and describe the most frequent ones in our study.

Keywords

Telephone interpreting, dialogue interpreting, pragmatics, face-threatening acts, qualitative research, authentic discourse data.

The use of telephone interpreting (TI) has spread to a multitude of fields related to the provision of public and private services. Its popularity is related to its advantages, especially remarkable during the COVID-19 crisis, as TI is an ideal alternative to face-to-face interpreting. Other important factors include the improvement and spread of technology (telephones and computers are present now in all settings), cost reductions, language availability and immediacy, allowing for the provision of interpreters in a variety of languages in the fastest way possible. First used in Australia in 1973 (Ozolins 1998), TI arrived in Europe in the 1990s, particularly in the United Kingdom (Phelan 2001).

In Spain it began in 2004, when the company Dualia Teletraducciones introduced TI in public institutions. Other initiatives and companies, such as Interpret Solutions, joined later, and some innovative changes followed thanks to the appearance of smartphones, such as the Voze phone application developed by Migralingua, which allows any user to contact a telephone interpreter from their own mobile phone.

Given the recent implementation of TI worldwide, research in this field is still scarce, but it is increasing, as evidenced by the SHIFT project (<https://www.shiftinorality.eu/>) or the Galileo University-Company project “Telephone Interpreting”. Internationally, TI has attracted interest from scholars such as Oviatt/Cohen (1992), Wadensjö (1998), Rosenberg (2002), Verrept (2011), Ozolins (2011), Hlavac (2013), Castagnoli/Niemants (2018) and Russo *et al.* (2020), who focused on comparisons between telephone conversations with or without an interpreter, the training of these interpreters and the impact of technology.

In Spain, published studies focus mainly on evaluating the quality of the service through the collection of feedback from the user (e.g. Jaime Pérez 2015). The results of research developed by Martínez-Gómez (2008), Prieto (2008), Luque Martín (2008), and Murgu /Jiménez (2011), indicate a lack of knowledge about this new modality among professional interpreters. As stated by Pertusa Elorriaga (2012), telephone interpreters need specific skills to perform their tasks effectively without being physically present in the interaction. They lack information about most of the communicative situations that may occur, and technical difficulties that arise from the use of the telephone, such as the lack of coverage and connectivity, the use of deteriorated or old devices, or the incorrect use of equipment (Pertusa Elorriaga 2012).

As opposed to face-to-face communication, telephone conversations constitute an example of distance communication and, moreover, interpreted interactions can be considered indirect since a speaker’s discourse is reworked before reaching the final addressee. Some authors have already pointed at a greater occurrence of face-threatening acts (FTAs) in both distance and indirect communication (Simmons 1994; Locher 2010; Castro Cruz 2017). Telephone interpreter-mediated interactions constitute examples of both distance and indirect pieces of communication, so a high number of FTAs of different kinds are expected to be produced in them.

1. Theoretical framework: face threatening acts and dialogue interpreting

Goffman (1955) developed the concept of face-work, which is defined as a set of strategies that safeguard, protect and repair the face of speakers during socio-communicative interaction. Some years later, Brown/Levinson (1987) advanced politeness theory, which will be briefly discussed in this section. Politeness theory suggests there are two types of politeness: negative and positive. Negative politeness represents freedom from imposition, implies the right of individual action and is related to autonomy. Positive politeness refers to self-esteem and is linked to the desire to relate positively to others, showing awareness, involvement and commonality. The negative and positive aspects of politeness play a determining role in social interaction, and cooperation among all participants is needed to maintain everyone's face, either through positive or negative politeness. Negative face is threatened when the interlocutor's freedom of action is challenged, whereas threats against positive face occur when the speaker disregards or criticises his/her interlocutor's feelings, values, needs, opinions, or any aspect of his/her positive face. Normally, conversational partners expect their face to be respected. However, these expectations can be threatened by verbal, paraverbal or nonverbal FTAs.

Brown/Levinson (1987: 65) make a distinction between acts that threaten negative face and those that threaten positive face. Those acts that primarily threaten the addressee's negative face include: a) speech acts that put pressure on the addressee (not) to do something (orders, requests, suggestions, advice, reminders, threats, warnings, or dares); b) acts that predicate some positive future act of the speaker towards the addressee, and in so doing put some pressure on the addressee to accept or reject them, and possibly incur a debt (offers, promises); c) acts that predicate some desire of the speaker towards the addressee or the latter's goods, making the addressee think about having to take action to protect the object of the speaker's desire, or give that object to the speaker (compliments, expressions of envy or admiration, expressions of strong emotions towards the addressee).

Those acts that threaten positive face include: a) acts that show that the speaker has a negative evaluation of some aspect of the addressee's positive face (expressions of disapproval, criticism, irony, contempt or ridicule, complaints and reprimands, accusations, insults, contradictions or disagreements, challenges); b) acts that show that the speaker is indifferent to the addressee's positive face (expressions of violent emotions, irreverence, mention of taboo topics, bringing of bad news about the addressee, boasting, raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics, blatant non-cooperation, inappropriate use of terms of address, and status-marked identifications).

We may distinguish between acts that primarily threaten the addressee's face and those that threaten primarily the speaker's. All of the above threaten the addressee's face. FTAs that are threatening to the speaker's negative face include expressing thanks, acceptance of the addressee's thanks or apologies, excuses, acceptance of offers, responses to the addressee's *faux pas*, or unwilling promises and offers. Those that directly damage the speaker's positive face

are apologies, acceptance of a compliment, breakdown of physical control, self-humiliation, confessions, admissions of guilt or responsibility, or emotional leakage. Apart from these two ways of classifying FTAs, Brown/Levinson (1987: 68) also describe some strategies for expressing them: on record (when the intention of the sender is clear to all participants) and off record (when there is any kind of ambiguity). Going on record, speakers can make FTAs without redress, or with redressive action, using mitigating linguistic mechanisms.

The concept of FTAs has been widely criticised, mainly because of the ethnocentric way in which they were described by Brown/Levinson (see, for example, O'Driscoll 2007 for an update on the subject, and Bravo/Briz Gómez 2004 on a sociocultural approach), but also expanded and studied from various perspectives, including the reactions of speakers (Harris 2001; Pérez de Ayala 2001; Culpeper *et al.* 2003, etc.). Some researchers who have studied the politeness issue in DI (e.g. Merlini 2013, 2017; Vargas-Urpí 2019), suggest combining Brown and Levinson's theoretical framework with other developments of this theory (Goffman 1955; Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005) to further understand interpreters' moves but, for the purpose and scope of this article, we will stick to Brown/Levinson's (1987) approach only.

Despite the fact that TI is becoming more and more popular research-wise, there are still few studies that address it systematically and in depth from a linguistic point of view, particularly from the field of pragmatics. As explained in the introduction, the characteristics of telephone-interpreted interactions could make them more prone to the occurrence of FTAs. Therefore, in this research we intend to analyse the prevalence and characteristics of FTAs using a methodology that involves different research methods, namely focus groups and discourse analysis of a corpus of authentic conversations. With recent exceptions (see Meyer 2019), interpreted interactions have not been analysed combining a corpus analysis methodology and a theoretical framework based on pragmatics.

Most Interpreting Studies that have linked several aspects of pragmatics and interpreting have been developed in the fields of simultaneous conference interpreting and face-to-face dialogue interpreting, for instance, court interpreting (Berk-Seligson 1990; Fowler 1997; Rigney 1999; Mason/Stewart 2001; Jacobsen 2003; Hale 2004), healthcare interpreting (Merlini 2017; Delizée/Michaux 2017; Vogelee/Delizée 2017), or educational settings (Vargas-Urpí 2019). In particular, politeness mechanisms in the field of dialogue interpreting have been studied by Pöllabauer (2004) in the context of asylum interviews and by Cambridge (1997) in medical consultations. Interestingly, the latter found that there were few FTAs against patients by physicians, and concluded that this could be due to the caution of the physician, who is usually aware of the asymmetrical situation in which the patients find themselves and tends to avoid expressions that could hurt or offend them. However, in our opinion, the scarcity of FTAs could be rather due to the fact that the conversations of Cambridge's study were simulated and not real. In court settings, Gallez (2015) deals with impoliteness and uses Bousfield's (2008) theoretical model

to carry out an analysis of the defendant's verbal FTAs towards the judge, the interpreter and the counsel. She found that the interpreter tends to mitigate them, thus disempowering the addressees of the FTAs. Merlini's (2013, 2017) studies of FTAs in dialogue interpreting in healthcare settings are also worth mentioning. In her 2017 article, she devotes a section to analyse verbal politeness in an interpreted interaction in the healthcare setting using Brown/Levinson's (1987) theoretical framework and Kerbrat-Orecchioni's revised model (2005) as part of a multi-construct analytical procedure to investigate the use of face-saving acts by interpreters. She found that "face-flattering acts" co-exist with face-saving ones, even in cooperative situations, as opposed to conflictive ones. In an educational setting, Vargas-Urpí (2019) also considers Brown/Levinson's politeness theory to reflect on the modifications introduced by dialogue interpreters when rendering the discourse of primary speakers. She suggests that (im)politeness theories are useful in order to understand these moves and the contribution of interpreters on how interpersonal relations are established in conversation.

To the best of our knowledge, no study has been carried out on FTAs in dialogue interpreting over the phone. In this contribution, we will focus on analysing threats against the positive and negative face of interpreters, whether they are uttered by service providers or by users on record and without redress.

2. Objective

We are currently developing research on the occurrence of FTAs in telephone interpreter-mediated interactions. As mentioned above, they constitute examples of distance and indirect communication, therefore, a high number of FTAs of different kinds are expected to be produced in them. Lázaro Gutiérrez/Cabrera Méndez (2018) determined the high prevalence and difficulties of FTAs for telephone dialogue interpreters. Lázaro Gutiérrez (2017) proved that FTAs are more frequent in TI than in face-to-face interpreting. However, these studies analysed FTAs broadly, without making speakers and addressees a variable of analysis. In this paper, we focus on one of the least frequent types of FTAs in these two studies, namely threats against the face of interpreters. Our objective is to describe and illustrate them with examples from our data.

3. Methodology and data

This piece of research is divided into three studies, each with a different data set and methodology. First, in order to obtain data against which to compare and contrast the findings of the TI analysis, we proceeded to the examination of conversations mediated by face-to-face interpreters. For this purpose, a corpus of 25 authentic conversations (92,124 words, 785 minutes) involving natural interpreters (who have not been trained in interpreting and do not work

professionally as interpreters) (Harris 1983), was audio- or video-recorded and subsequently transcribed. The recordings took place in hospitals and health centres in the province of Madrid (Corredor del Henares) and Guadalajara, after obtaining explicit consent from all the participants. All the conversations are part of the FITISPos-UAH Group data bank.

The second study consisted in exploring the difficulties perceived by telephone interpreters in the practice of their profession. To obtain these data, within the framework of the collaboration agreement between the company Dualia Teletraducciones and the University of Alcalá, three focus groups were organised with telephone interpreters working for the company. In the first one, the difficulties faced by telephone interpreters in their daily work were widely discussed. In the second, building on the prominent presence of references to FTAs obtained in the first group, politeness and FTAs were specifically addressed, paying special attention to their shape (speaker, addressee, type). In the third, ways of dealing with FTAs in the interpreting performance were subjected to discussion and evaluation. Ten telephone interpreters of different language combinations (Spanish, and Arabic, Dutch, English, French, German, Portuguese, Polish, Romanian, Russian), both male and female, with at least 5 years of experience participated in the focus groups. Content analysis (Berelson 1952) was used to analyse and classify interpreters' comments.

The third of these studies consists of the analysis of recordings of TI, obtained thanks to the agreements with companies that were signed for the development of the project "Analysis of face-threatening acts in telephone interpreting", funded by the Community of Madrid (January 2020 - December 2021. Ref. CM/JIN/2019-040). This has been achieved over several years of work and countless conversations and negotiations, which have resulted in the companies having agreed with their customers to the possibility of analysing the recordings of conversations, which are routinely made for research purposes, aimed at improving the quality of service. Since there are several companies involved in this project with different working procedures, it has been necessary to establish different data collection protocols, which vary both from one company to another and within the same company, depending on the client for whom interpreting services are provided. The resulting corpus of conversations is multilingual, with English, French, German, Chinese, Russian, and Spanish being the most frequent languages. It contains a total number of 345 recordings and 567,111 words (4,830 minutes). Corpus (pragmatics) analysis is being used to study this set of data as we aim for a future quantitative study. For the scope of this paper, examples of this corpus are extracted to examine them qualitatively.

The three sets of data present substantial differences. The first set of recordings is significantly smaller than the other two and shows the performance of face-to-face natural interpreters. The interpreters in the other sets are professionals hired by Spanish TI companies. The interpreters who took part in the focus groups work for a different TI company. Differences in data echo the difficulties encountered in their collection. Data collection protocols had to be elaborated accommodating requirements of the TI companies and the health-

care institutions in which the first set of recordings was collected. Besides, permission was not granted to record professional onsite interpreters, which meant that only natural interpreters were included in the first set. This obviously has led to a limitation of the study and a factor that needs to be taken into account when interpreting the results, but we still consider this set relevant to analyse the occurrence and shape of FTAs to describe common and divergent preliminary patterns between onsite and telephone interpreting.

Although the design of this corpus aims to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data, the analysis phase of the project is currently under development, so only preliminary qualitative data are provided in this contribution.

4. Analysis and results

In this section, we will first deal with the conversations mediated by face-to-face interpreters, then with the results of the telephone interpreter focus groups, and finally with the analysis of the TI recordings.

4.1. Face-to-face natural interpreters

After careful examination of the transcripts of the 25 face-to-face interpreter-mediated conversations, we found a total of 4 FTAs against the interpreters' face.

Example 1. Conversation 21.

25. D: un año. Bueno, olvidaros del dinero, olvidaros, olvidaros. Es que está que se puede morir, ¿me entiendes lo que te digo? Olvidaros, olvidaros.
one year. Well, forget about the money, forget about it, forget about it, forget about it. It's just that he can die, you know what I mean? Forget about it, forget about it.

In Example 1 the doctor raises his voice, gesticulates and repeatedly uses the imperative mode, addressing both the interpreter and the patient (hence the use of the plural). The commands expressed in the imperative mode (*olvidaros*) constitute threats against their negative face. This reaction occurs in response to a patient's question about payment for surgery in a public hospital. Given the seriousness of the patient's health condition, the physician considers the question irrelevant and does not answer it, but shows anger through his verbal (including the use of repetitions), and paraverbal language, which implies a threat against their positive face, in that this conveys strong criticism and disagreement.

Example 2. Conversation 6.

61. I: [¿pero qué] significa ese (xxx) ese?

[but what] does that (xxx) that mean?

62. D: la tuberculosis, ¿no sabe usted lo que es la tuberculosis? Es un germen, que se transmite de persona a persona, que llega al pulmón y que, no se sabe cuándo, un día puede empezar a lesionar el pulmón y a pudrirlo hace agujeros en el pulmón, y yo yo como pediatra estoy estudiando a los padres, porque los niños, en lugar de en el pulmón [va al cerebro]

tuberculosis, don't you know what tuberculosis is? It is a germ, that is transmitted from person to person, that reaches the lung and that, you don't know when, one day it can begin to damage the lung and rot it, it makes holes in the lung, and I as a paediatrician am studying the parents, because children, instead of in the lung [it goes to the brain]

63. I: [ya]

[ok]

64. D: y les da meningitis [muy grave] ¿mmm?

and it gives them meningitis [very serious] hmmm?

65. I: [(xxx)]

66. D: eso ya se lo expliqué, pero explíqueselo otra vez si no lo tiene claro la señora

I already explained that, but explain it to her again if she is not clear about it

It should be recalled that the interpreters involved in this corpus of conversations are natural interpreters, that is friends, neighbours or relatives of the patients. In Example 2, the doctor expresses her surprise that the interpreter does not understand the term “tuberculosis”. The tone of her voice seems to express surprise and a certain contempt, which constitutes a threat against the interpreter’s positive face. However, she soon provides an explanation for the interpreter, and, in turn 66, she commands the interpreter to pass this information on to the patient (*explíqueselo otra vez*), threatening the interpreter’s negative face.

Example 3. Conversation 5.

3. D: póngamelo aquí hay que pedir cita ¿eh? Porque si no te lo no es un desbarajuste no quiero trabajar de (xxx) es un lío. Dígame qué le pasa, dígame qué le pasa

put it here you have to ask for an appointment uh? Because if you don't, it's a mess, I don't want to work as (xxx), it's a mess. Tell me what's wrong, tell me what's wrong

In Example 3, the doctor expresses anger because her patient has come for a consultation without an appointment. This is a paediatric unit where a large number of patients are seen every day and there is usually no time for spontaneous visits. The imperatives, the abrupt tone of voice, the high volume, the repetitions (which convey insistence and haste) and the reproach about not having made an appointment are combined with the direct expression that she does not want to work in this way. This excerpt constitutes an example of an FTA against the negative image. The characteristics of the Spanish language prevent us in this case from determining whether the imperative “dígame qué le pasa” is addressed

to the patient or to the interpreter, since the pronoun “le” can refer to “she”, in which case it would be addressed to the interpreter, or to “you”, directly to the patient.

In Lázaro Gutiérrez (2017), through the comparative analysis of 25 conversations with face-to-face interpreters and another 25 with telephone interpreters, it was found that, in general, the incidence of FTAs was higher in TI (6 FTAs in face-to-face interpreting versus 38 in TI). Focusing specifically on threats against the interpreter’s face, even if quantitative data is not fully available yet, preliminary results from the analysis of our corpora lead us to believe that in face-to-face interpreting, they are the rarest of all, and it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the threat is directed at the user, the interpreter, or both. In terms of their characteristics, these are mainly FTAs against the interpreter’s negative face, since they are mostly orders and exhortations.

4.2. Focus groups

The second study surveys interpreters working for the Spanish company Dualia Teletraducciones by means of focus groups. The prevalence of FTAs was noted as a difficult and problematic element in the performance of TI. The examples of FTAs against the interpreter’s face that came up were very numerous, so only a few representative samples are commented on here.

Example 4. Client: 112 health emergencies, English-Spanish
Situation: Before giving his diagnosis, the doctor asks the interpreter if he is a doctor. The interpreter replies that he is not a doctor, but has a degree in translation and interpretation and the doctor replies: “Well, I thought you were professionals”.

In Example 4, we find a clear FTA against the positive face of the interpreter. It is a conversation between a doctor and a patient on the 112 emergency line. At the beginning of the interaction, the doctor initiates a conversation with the interpreter, during which he asks him if he is a doctor. After the interpreter’s response, the doctor uses irony to threaten the interpreter’s positive face.

Example 5. Client: Outpatient appointment service, English-Spanish.
Situation: A patient calls to make an appointment for her husband to be seen by the family doctor and the operator asks for her husband’s Social Security number. The lady cannot find it and when told that without the number she cannot get the appointment, she shouts back: “I hope he dies right now so his death is on you”.

Situations in which TI is used are sometimes tense and urgent. In this case, the person calling to obtain a service is very nervous and, not seeing her request sat-

isfied immediately, addresses the interpreter, raising the tone of voice considerably and trying to involve him. During the focus groups, this interpreter explained that this is an example of the end-user trying to provoke in him feelings of guilt for the possible consequences of not having attended to her request with sufficient speed. This too constitutes an FTA against the interpreter's positive face.

Example 6. Client: 112 health emergencies, Arabic-Spanish

Situation: Alerting caller phones to request an ambulance for his 14-year-old son with a temperature. The operator indicates that that is not an emergency and that he should take the child to the hospital by his own means. The alerter shouts at the interpreter: "You're a traitor! You've become a Christian bitch!".

In Example 6 we witness once again the nervousness of the users of an emergency service. In this case, the anguish and helplessness of a father seeking help for his son translates into a rise in the volume of his voice and very serious insults against the interpreter when his request is not answered. The speaker is able to identify the interpreter as a native speaker of Arabic and assumes her Muslim background. This is thus an FTA against the interpreter's positive face, who is being accused of having abandoned her customary religion.

Example 7. Client: 112 health emergencies, Russian-Spanish

Situation: Russian alerter calls to complain that the police have confiscated his dog and shouts: "Give me back my dog or I'll go out to the square with a can of gasoline and burn myself on the spot! You know I'll do it because I'm Russian like you!".

The user in this example produces several FTAs, both against the service provider and the interpreter. The order he first utters asking for the return of his dog is enunciated in the plural, encompassing both the police and the call takers, including the interpreter, as the latter explained during the focus groups. This order constitutes an FTA against the negative face of both the addressees. It should be noted that the service receiving the call is not directly related to those who confiscated the animal; however, the caller seems to establish a certain connection, perhaps because both services are public and depend on the State. The second FTA uttered by the user is a warning: "I'll go out to the square with a can of gasoline and burn myself on the spot!". It is another example of an FTA against the negative face of both the interpreter and the call taker. The last sentence is clearly addressed to the interpreter, threatening his positive face by means of a dangerously emotional topic. As in Example 5, the user's objective seems to be to arouse guilt in his interlocutors, particularly in the interpreter, who he identifies as a compatriot.

Example 8. Client: Red Cross, French-Spanish

Situation: Caller of Senegalese nationality insistently reminds the interpreter that his job and duty is to translate what he tells him, and that he (the caller) has the right to have this service provided for him.

While most of the FTAs that come up in the focus groups are against the positive face of interpreters, in this case we find another one against his negative face, as the ones illustrated in Example 7. Indirectly but insistently, the user orders the interpreter to translate everything and nothing than what he says, and argues that it is his right for this to be done.

Data collection through focus groups is very different from the systematic analysis of conversations, since in the first case, the information about the occurrence of FTAs is provided by those to whom they were addressed. It is possible, therefore, that the examples given by the informants are exaggerated or simply interpreted through their feelings and perceptions. In any case, the primary objective of the focus groups is to validate the hypothesis that FTAs present problems for interpreters, something that has been amply proven by our examples. Moreover, from the examples provided by the interpreters, a new hypothesis is drawn, which is that, in TI, FTAs against the face of interpreters seem to be more frequent than in face-to-face interpreting, where they were very rare. This is the starting point for the next stage of our analysis, in which we will analyse recordings of authentic conversations mediated by a telephone interpreter to verify the prevalence of FTAs against the interpreters' face.

4.3. Telephone interpreters

The third of these studies consists of the analysis of recordings of professional TI. In this section, some examples of FTAs against the interpreter's face are given.

Example 9. Subcorpus Spanish-English

I. Ya... Well, the thing is that everything [INAUDIBLE] the file was opened on 19th... On April 19th. But we got all the information on May 15th, so... I mean, it's just 3 days ago. And... You know, these things take their time to process.

C. But, how long? ¿Cuándo? ¿Cuándo? *When, when*

The conversation from which Example 9 is taken is highly repetitive, with the client asking the same questions many times and insisting that the claim she is complaining about must be settled. Despite the fact that the interpreter systematically translates the questions she repeats, the client keeps asking and, at times, tries to communicate directly with the operator in Spanish, apparently uncomfortable with or annoyed by the presence of the interpreter. This is a threat against the interpreter's positive face, as it constitutes an example of blatant non-cooperation in the exchange of interpreted turns.

Example 10. Subcorpus Spanish-English

- C. And I'm in Monumento de Campesino's carpark. Monumento de Campesino.
- I. ¿Monumento? Can you spell that for me?
- C. It's a Spanish word. Monumento.
- I. Yes. Monumento. Yes.
- C. [De Campesino.]
- I. [Cam...]
- O. Monumento de Campesino.
- I. Campesino.

This conversation involves an interpreter who has great difficulty in hearing the client, as he is in a windy environment, which causes noise. This circumstance, coupled with the client's pronunciation, causes the interpreter great difficulty in understanding the Spanish name of a particular landmark. The client's irritation, which had increased throughout the conversation, causes him to ironically point out that what he is pronouncing are Spanish words, calling into question the interpreter's skills and thus threatening her positive face by ridiculing her command of Spanish. At the end of the conversation, the interpreter justifies herself to the operator, explaining that the sound that reaches the interpreters is of lower quality than the sound that reaches the operators.

The examples of threats against the face of the interpreters found in the corpus of conversations are subtle, compared to the examples that the interpreters themselves offered in the focus groups. They are more often produced against the positive face, in contrast to the FTAs from the face-to-face interactions, which mostly threatened the negative face of the interpreters. The use of irony is widespread, as can be seen in Example 10, and to detect it, it is essential to closely examine the audio of the conversations in order to listen to the intonation of the speakers. After analysing the discourse of telephone interpreter-mediated conversations we found a great occurrence of FTAs against the interpreters' face. This corpus is large and quantitative analysis is still in progress. However, taking as a sample an equivalent number of words to the ones in the first study (92,124 words), we found an occurrence of 38 FTAs, 21 of them were against the interpreters' face (18 against the positive face and 3 against the negative face).

5. Discussion of the findings and conclusions

The methodology of this piece of research is exploratory and links together three different studies to investigate the occurrence and nature of FTAs (threats against the positive or negative face of interpreters) in dialogue interpreting. The results of the first study presented in this contribution, consisting of the analysis of a corpus of face-to-face natural interpreters, help us to establish a comparison

between the occurrence of FTAs in face-to-face and telephone dialogue interpreting. Because telephone interpreter-mediated interactions are an example of distance and indirect communication, the hypothesis was that more FTAs would appear there. The difficulties in obtaining access to authentic interpreter-mediated conversations made it impossible to record the performance of professional face-to-face interpreters. For this reason, only natural interpreters appear in this corpus, which is a limitation in order to establish a comparison with the results obtained from the corpus of professional telephone interpreter-mediated conversations. Taking into consideration that the characteristics of the interpreters differ, we found that the occurrence of FTAs against the interpreter's face seemed to be reduced. Comparative quantitative considerations cannot be made yet, as the telephone interpreter-mediated corpus is still under scrutiny, but we can already show examples that represent the kind of FTAs (against the positive or negative face of interpreters) that have been found. Data from our first study shows a reduced occurrence of FTAs against interpreters and a predominance of threats against their negative face.

The second study consists of the content analysis of focus groups organised with professional telephone interpreters. We wanted to find out if FTAs were a concern in their daily practice. To do so, we registered all the FTAs reported by interpreters and classified them following Brown and Levinson (1987). Results from the focus groups revealed that FTAs were, in fact, a frequent challenge for interpreters. Most of the reported FTAs were against the positive face of interpreters. Results from focus groups reflect subjective perceptions by interpreters, and another stage (our third study) is necessary to objectively observe this occurrence and better describe FTAs.

After analysing the discourse of telephone interpreter-mediated conversations we found a great occurrence of FTAs against the interpreters' face. As mentioned above, this corpus is large and quantitative analysis is still in progress. However, taking as a sample an equivalent number of words to the ones in the first study (92,124 words), we found an occurrence of 38 FTAs, 21 of them were against the interpreters' face. Whereas in face-to-face interpreting, FTAs were mainly against the negative face of interpreters (1 against the positive face and 3 against the negative face), in TI they were mostly against their positive face (18 against the positive face and 3 against the negative face). In face-to-face interpreting, FTAs are usually produced by service providers and many times addressed jointly to both interpreters and end-users. In the case of TI, we have found a high number of FTAs produced by end-users and some of them are aimed at interpreters and service providers at the same time. We could argue that many of the FTAs produced against telephone interpreters are related to customer or client expectations about the interpreter's alignment with one of the main speakers or the institution or social group they belong to (see Angelelli 2004; Aguilar Solano 2012), and that they may function as an attempt to establish links and provoke feelings of empathy, pity and guilt.

As mentioned above, the results presented in this contribution are qualitative snapshots of a developing study that aims to analyse a large volume of data systematically and quantitatively. Brown/Levinson's (1987) classifications of FTAs

(positive and negative, and addressed against the speaker's or the addressee's face) is used as a base and give rise to a four-way grid which offers the possibility of cross-classifying FTAs. This classification is, however, complex and may contain overlaps in the consideration of each FTA, which implies a limitation of this study in its future quantitative phase. In fact, the great complexity of FTAs has already been described as a challenge when conducting quantitative research on them (Clancey/O'Keeffe 2019). However, in spite of the methodological challenge, we believe in the worthiness of this kind of studies, and agree with Mason/Stewart (2001: 51) in that "issues of politeness and other interactional pragmatic variables are crucial to an understanding of what is involved in dialogue interpreting events". Knowing that FTAs are a concern for interpreters our research could contribute to a better understanding of the occurrence of FTAs and after the findings of our research, training materials or recommendations could be developed.

Transcription conventions

(xxx) – Inaudible

[] - Overlap

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Teaching dialogue interpreting by distance mode in the COVID-19 era: a challenge for the present, an opportunity for the future

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Abstract

The sudden shift from a traditional to a virtual classroom in the COVID-19 era has resulted in a radical re-organisation of courses not conceived initially as online learning. The Internet availability of materials and tools has been an excellent resource for the so-called “emergency remote teaching” (ERT); however, the passage was somewhat problematic. This paper presents our experience of teaching dialogue interpreting (DI) by distance mode in two beginner interpreter classrooms during the COVID-19 era. We present three different kinds of data: a questionnaire concerning our first ERT experience (2020), observation sheets, and two excerpts of transcriptions (made after recording the students' role-play performances in 2021). Our aim is to analyse how ERT can affect course delivery and design and to evaluate whether the pedagogical measures we took to mitigate the drawbacks of ERT were effective. In essence, we were faced with the paradox of using distance learning methods for training students to work as dialogue interpreters in face-to-face interactions. Needless to say, some problematic aspects emerged during our lessons. Therefore, the present study is also intended to highlight strengths and weaknesses in teaching dialogic interpreting by remote.

Keywords

Dialogue interpreting, dialogue interpreting teaching, emergency remote teaching (ERT), COVID-19 pandemic, distance education, gaze direction, distance learning.

Introduction

When the COVID-19 epidemic broke out at the beginning of March 2020, Italy was faced with taking measures to contain the spread of contagion, including the closure of schools and universities. In response to the President of the Council of Ministers' Decree of 9 March 2020, new solutions were adopted to manage the suspension of classroom-based instruction, and distance learning quickly replaced face-to-face interaction. This transition was challenging for both educators and students, whose lives were being disrupted by the ensuing pandemic at the same time (Hodges *et al.* 2020). Timelines for reshaping courses were very short, and not every student had the necessary technologies to access online learning. Moreover, before the shutdown was extended to the end of the academic year, instructors were uncertain about the duration of this alternative teaching modality. This lack of a long-term view inevitably led to delays in taking action.

Indeed, it should be underlined that the COVID-19 pandemic did not exactly result in “distance learning” but led to “emergency remote teaching” (ERT), as Hodges *et al.* (2020) explain in their article *The Difference Between Emergency Remote Teaching and Online Learning*. The term was created by these researchers to designate an instruction which is provided “in a hurry with bare minimum resources and scant time”, and which strongly differs from “what many of us know as high-quality online education”:

emergency remote teaching (ERT) is a temporary shift of instructional delivery to an alternate delivery mode due to crisis circumstances. It involves the use of fully remote teaching solutions for instruction or education that would otherwise be delivered face-to-face or as blended or hybrid courses, and that will return to that format once the crisis or emergency has abated. The primary objective in these circumstances is not to re-create a robust educational ecosystem but rather to provide temporary access to instruction and instructional supports in a manner that is quick to set up and is reliably available during an emergency or crisis. (Hodges *et al.* 2020: NA)

Despite being conceived as a temporary solution, ERT finally turned out to be the “world’s biggest educational technology (edtech) experiment in history” (*Ibid.*). With “1.5 billion students” involved, and along with the creation of networks aiming at supporting countries in providing online education like the Global Education Coalition launched by Unesco, this unprecedented event marked a new era in teaching paradigms; however, it will have a significant impact on what learning will “look like in the 21st century” (*Ibid.*). According to Hodges *et al.*, “emergency education models are being treated as prototypes for education systems to emulate far beyond the pandemic”. Nevertheless, one year after the COVID-19 pandemic was declared, ERT continues to be the solution to the extension of the state of emergency caused by the COVID-19 pandemic (*Ibid.*).

This paper mainly aims to discuss how ERT can affect course delivery and design in the context of a DI module. We will seek to evaluate whether the didactic and pedagogical measures we took to mitigate the most problematic aspects of ERT were effective. We also intend to highlight strengths and weaknesses in the teaching of DI by remote. To this end, we will first offer a short insight into the

studies concerning the use of new technologies for teaching DI by distance mode (section 1). In section 2, we will present our course design and data. Section 3 will first concentrate on the challenges posed by ERT and on our response to these. Next, we will evoke some basic principles and models of distance learning that were a source of inspiration for defining our pedagogical approach and the objectives of our “learning community” (Swan *et al.* 2009). Data discussion (section 4) will finally be an occasion to comment on our solutions to transform our lessons into an ERT mode. Paradoxically, we were faced with the contradiction of using the distance mode for training students to work as dialogue interpreters in face-to-face interaction.

The results of a questionnaire we submitted to our students at the end of our first ERT experience (March-May 2020) will raise the fundamental issues of the “teaching presence” (Anderson *et al.* 2001: 5) and of the students’ participation. Furthermore, our observation sheets and the two excerpts we took from the audio-recordings we made in January-March 2021, will allow us to illustrate some peculiarities which emerged during our students’ role-play performances, namely, how the concept of “face-to-face interaction” (Wadensjö 1998) changes when DI is taught by distance but is not intended to train remote interpreters. We will try to ascertain which errors and difficulties in interpreting performance seem most directly connected with our mode of delivering the course. Finally, we hope to offer some food for thought on effective approaches to distance education in times of crisis, especially since this topic is vital for both children and young adults.

1. Dialogue interpreting and distance learning: an overview

The link between Information and Communication Technologies (ICTS) and DI has become increasingly closer in the last few years. As evidenced by Tripepi Winteringham’s (2010) investigation, the use of “terminology aids, such as laptops, notebooks, small handheld PDAs (Personal Digital Assistants) or similar instruments with Internet accessibility has facilitated interpreters’ work” (2010: 91). At the same time, the helpfulness of ICTS and CAIT (Computer Assisted Interpreting Technologies) has been fully recognised not only for practice but also for training dialogue interpreters: “dedicated authoring programs”, “intelligent CAIT” applications and “computer-mediated communication tools” all seem to have “a positive effect on students’ performance” (Sandrelli/de Manuel Jerez 2007: 269). As stressed by Sandrelli (2011), trainers can devise

[...] new ways of using technology to provide a solution to a specific problem, such as an increase in the number of students, which makes it impossible to provide individual feedback in class; a reduction in the number of contact hours, with courses becoming more and more reliant on students’ autonomous practice; the need to cater to different learning styles and paces; an attempt to reduce the stress levels that are often associated with interpreter training; and, finally, the desire to encourage self-reflection and the acquisition of critical skills in order to improve performance (Sandrelli 2011: 226)

Besides providing tools for implementing interpreting practice and preparing interpreters to work in a face-to-face situation, technology has also involved the birth of remote interpreting. Telephone and videoconference interpreting are “gaining ground in a variety of settings” such as “healthcare, legal, business and administrative”, and there is a “rapid growth of web-based interpreting platforms allowing interpreters to work from a remote site” (Amato/Spinolo 2018: 7). As prophesied by one of the most prominent essays on the subject, “whereas the interpreter’s presence at the site of communicative interaction was a defining characteristic of interpreting throughout most of its millennial history”, new options for delivering the service have gained ground in response to the relentless technological acceleration which characterises our times (Koller/Pöchhacker 2018: 89). Social distancing and the closing of borders are now accelerating the process. It must nevertheless be noted that these studies also deal with some drawbacks. For instance, Koller and Pöchhacker (2018: 89) highlight the repercussions of remote interpreting on the “service quality and interpreters’ health”, such as “discomfort (e.g. eye strain) and fatigue” and the “interpreters’ perceived lack of presence”, of “being there”, which is associated with “reduced motivation and higher levels of burnout”. For her part, Tripepi Winteringham (2010: 91) warns against the risk of losing concentration, a distraction which in “liaison settings” may “even irritate the interlocutors and may cause the interpreter to miss out on essential non-verbal language and lose the human closeness that is the much-praised characteristic and facilitator of LI”.

However, these drawbacks do not seem to overcome the advantages, and research into the application of ICTS to DI teaching went one further step at the end of the 20th century. In fact, this period saw the first attempts to use ICTS for offering DI courses by distance mode: of note are the courses organised by Carr and Steyn, researchers at Vancouver Community College in Canada, or those offered by the Language Line Services of AT&T in the United States, to mention but two (Ko 2006: 67). Ko’s pioneering papers (2006; 2008) marked a turning point in this respect. In raising the fundamental issue of opting “pedagogies to best fit the new technologies so as to achieve results comparable to those of on-campus teaching” (Ko 2006: 67), this scholar sets up a training programme which used sound-only teleconferencing and telephone as the “main medium” to set up interactive activities (such as “multiple group practice”) for an off-campus group of students. Ko’s experiment demonstrated that “students trained by distance mode can achieve a level similar or comparable to those trained in a face-to-face manner in terms of interpreting ability and skills” (Ko 2008: 814). Thus, the author prophetically concluded that remote interpreting might “become a necessity (...) in the field of future training programs for interpreters” (Ko 2008: 838).

Though these studies are still relatively rare, other research followed Ko’s experiment. For instance, Tymczyńska’s (2009) blended model for a healthcare interpreting module demonstrated the effectiveness of online course management systems in supporting “both students and instructors in creating collaborative learning communities” (*Ibid.*: 158). As for fully online modules, Perramon and Ugarte’s (2020) paper reports the details of a distance teaching programme which involves fourth-year interpreting specialisation subjects: the project is

aimed at providing “telephone and videoconference interpreting, especially in liaison interpreting” to “groups with a high number of students” (2020: 95). We must also add to this list the EU-funded project *Interpreting in Virtual Reality* (IVY), which was born “to develop an avatar-based 3D virtual environment that simulates professional interpreting practice” in the settings of “business and community interpreting” (<http://virtual-interpreting.net/>). Nevertheless, Ko’s experiment remains the most similar to our ERT experience. First, it involved no face-to-face contact with distance students. Secondly, it addressed students who had no previous experience in DI teaching or practice; last but not least, its objective was to prepare students by distance to work as dialogue interpreters in face-to-face interpreting situations.

2. Course design and data

Our study, which adopts a descriptive approach and combines different teaching methods, deals with our two experiences of ERT (March-May 2020 and January-March 2021). These both concerned our course in Interpreting for International Companies, a 30-hour module of general preparatory training in DI (language combination Italian-French) for people who approach this discipline for the first time. The course is part of the third and final year exam in French Language and Translation and is intended for students who have chosen French as their first language in the degree programme in Disciplines of Linguistic Mediation at the University of Macerata. In addition to a theoretical part aimed at supplying some basic notions and a framework for critically engaging with the profession, the course includes a series of exercises, namely structured role-plays, the importance of which has been widely ascertained in the literature (see Niemants/Cirillo 2016), based on scripted dialogues. These are conducted by the teacher and a French mother-tongue assistant, who act respectively as the Italian-speaker and the French-speaker in a simulated dialogic situation where interpreter services are required. Since the course has a strong connection with the entrepreneurial world, topics and scenarios mainly deal with business negotiations, company visits and trade fairs; furthermore, two lessons are reserved for medical settings. Role-plays are proposed in the co-presence of the two teachers, generally once a week. At the same time, the other lessons are dedicated to theory, sight-translation, and exercises to improve short-term memory, like shadowing with a twist; that is, a word-for-word repetition done after a short pause.

With the COVID-19 outbreak, we were faced with the inevitability of adapting our course design to the new situation. In fact, moving to ERT required a preliminary step of analysis in which we had to consider some objective factors, first of all, the main goal of our course. Though reproducing a real-life communication context in a fully online learning context mode may seem absurd (if not impossible), the assumption that “interpreting students or practitioners engaging in remote interpreting training” should “have already acquired the interpreting skills necessary to handle basic communication in a dialogic setting” (Braun/Davitti 2018a: 151) led us to re-organise the lessons keeping in mind our original pur-

pose – that is to say, training students to work as dialogue interpreters in face-to-face interaction, and not as remote interpreters. This decision involved some adjustments in the scripts of our role-plays. We tried to convey the impression of being in a face-to-face interpreting situation by inserting as many references as possible to actions performed in real life (e.g. standing up, having a look around, tripping on a step while visiting a cheese factory). We must also consider that in such a short time our course planning could not be fully revolutionised for both administrative and practical reasons. Indeed, the concept of “course design” becomes paradoxical when applied to ERT: as Hodges *et al.* (2020: NA) point out, “typical planning, preparation, and development time for a fully online university course are six to nine months before the course is delivered”, while “educational planning in crises” requires “creative problem-solving”. As we will see in detail in the following sections, we tried to “generate various possible solutions” to “help meet the new needs for our learners” (*Ibid.*), namely by combining asynchronous and synchronous teaching. These were provided via two means: OpenOlat, a free learning management system offering content managing as well as several features for learners and teachers; Microsoft Teams, a platform that was initially designed for business meetings.

Our first ERT experience (March-May 2020) did not allow us to collect data, except for an online questionnaire submitted some time after lessons had ended (September 2020), to the students who attended the course. Conversely, in 2021 we were able to audio-record our synchronous lessons, which were almost entirely dedicated to role-plays. In order to protect students’ privacy and avoid the automatic upload of our recordings on Microsoft Stream, we used a voice recorder app. Audio data were collected over two months, from mid-January to mid-March 2021. The recordings (five lessons for a total of almost 15 hours) were transcribed using conversation analytical conventions (see Jefferson 2004), and include 28 role-play performances in total. In what follows, we will discuss two extracts that can offer a sample of difficulties and errors in interpreting, which can be more directly attributed to our mode of delivering the course (that is to say, ERT) rather than to the students’ linguistic and pragmatic competences or their lack of previous experience. Two auxiliary instruments of investigation were employed. Firstly, an observation sheet, which we filled in during the role-plays and which is a very simplified and adapted version of Merlini and Favaron’s model (2003: 216-217). Secondly, we stimulated discussion through retrospective think-aloud techniques, asking the students to comment on their performances and guiding them back to the more critical points so that they could find a better way to interpret the talk. In particular, the students were stimulated to reflect not only on some interpreting errors or on the omissions altering the message but also on their ability “to coordinate” their “listening and speaking with others’ listening and speaking” (Wadensjö 1995: 129). Finally, even if we recognise the importance of non-participant observation and peer evaluation, the peculiarity of the context did not allow for broad use of this resource since most of our students kept their cameras off during the lessons. Therefore, even if we shared an online assessment sheet, it was challenging to build a dialogue with the non-participants. We preferred not to force them to intervene, to avoid that the participants be “judged” by voices with no face.

3. Teaching dialogue interpreting via ERT: our experience

In March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic severely hit Italy. Urgent measures were taken to limit the spread of the virus: the Italian government first ordered the closure of all schools and universities on 4 March 2020, just a few days before starting our course in DI at the University of Macerata. Therefore, our transition to ERT was sudden and unexpected, and we had very limited time to plan new didactic strategies. As witnessed by people working in the field, the move from face-to-face to distance teaching and learning was accompanied by a profusion of advice and instructions from experts, which often turned out to be “tips and tricks” rather than reliable guidance to facilitate this passage (Rapanta *et al.* 2020: NA). Organisational and pedagogical issues immediately required special attention. We had to familiarise ourselves very rapidly with the tools the University put at our disposal; the aforementioned Microsoft Teams and OpenOlat, which both had some prominent drawbacks, as we will see. We also had to re-set our programme considering the “role of online assessments” (Means *et al.* 2014: 12) because, as a matter of fact, ERT did not entail any revision of exam format, but exams simply had to be taken online in the teachers’ virtual classroom. Furthermore, the “student-instructor ratio”, on which a fundamental element of our course depends, i.e. the “level of online student-instructor interaction” (Means *et al.* 2014: 10), could not be easily foreseen. We did not know how many students would be able to face “the technology barriers and challenges in using ICTs” posed by ERT, such as “internet connectivity, technology costs, and lack of technology skills” (Rahiem 2020: 6124). However, the crux of the matter was the urgent necessity to re-conceive what Anderson *et al.* (2001: 5) define as the “teaching presence”, that is to say, “the design, facilitation, and direction of cognitive and social processes for the purpose of realizing personally meaningful and educationally worthwhile learning outcomes”.

Moving to ERT meant both reflecting on some basic principles of distance learning and defining the role of the teacher in an online environment. The “importance of interaction” in distance education has been fully emphasised by researchers (Wilson/Stacey 2004: 33), especially since this element is the basis of one of the most famous models for online teaching, the Community of Inquiry (COI) model (Garrison *et al.* 2000). The COI is a “dynamic model” for “both the development of community and the pursuit of inquiry in any educational environment”, and it is founded on “three core elements: cognitive, social and teaching presence” (Swan *et al.* 2009: 44-45). According to the COI model, creating an “effective online education community” (or “learning community”) not only involves “cognitive presence”, that is to say studying a particular content, but teachers should also do their best to establish a “supportive environment” and “develop a sense of trust and safety within the electronic community” (Anderson 2008: 350). Anderson (2004, 2008) illustrated the advantages of both community-of-inquiry models and independent study models: both may allow the building of “learning-, knowledge-, assessment- and community-centred education experiences”, and these will be further enhanced by “integration of the new tools and affordances of the educational Semantic Web” (Anderson 2008: 68). In

a more recent study, Picciano (2017) took up Anderson's and Bosch's (2016) models to propose a Multimodal Model for Online Education, which could reconcile "community/collaborative models" with "self-paced instructional models". Picciano's multimodal model provides for the following design components: content (via learning management systems); reflection (blog/journal); collaboration/student-generated content/peer review; evaluation/assessment; dialectics/questioning (discussion board); self-paced/independent software; and, finally, the social/emotional component, which is conveyed through face-to-face learning and tutoring (Picciano 2017: 182). The components may be mixed to create different types of "learning communities": self-paced or fully online teacher-led courses, blended courses with instruction provided primarily by a teacher, and so on (Picciano 2017: 183-186).

Picciano's model may be a source of inspiration for pedagogical proposals during ERT, mainly if we accept that video conferencing tools such as Microsoft Teams can partially compensate for the lack of face-to-face interaction. Our "learning community" involved all the components listed by Picciano, except for the "reflection" one (merely due to lack of time for creating it and keeping it updated). Considering both these suggestions and the status of our recipients (i.e. young adults who are primarily non-resident students and who would have probably returned to their region of residence in case of extension of the state of emergency), we opted for a blend of synchronous and asynchronous lessons, with a prevalence of synchronous teaching.

Exercises involving shadowing, glossaries, instructions functioning as a kind of briefing, and a selection of materials (videos, websites, articles) introducing the subject to be treated in the following role-plays were uploaded once a week on the platform (OpenOlat in 2020, Microsoft Teams in 2021). The purpose was to facilitate a linear progression in the acquisition of specific knowledge and operational skills. In addition, audio-recorded lectures accompanied by slideshows concerning the theoretical aspects of interpreting were also offered in an asynchronous mode. This way, synchronous classrooms could be entirely dedicated to practising sight translation and role-play interpreting exercises. On the other hand, synchronous lessons permitted us to establish a direct relationship with the students and create a form of sociality in a period of social distancing, somehow integrating the "emotional" component. Thus, classes were not only an occasion for DI practice but also a chance for the members of the same learning community to meet virtually. This was also a way to counteract the inevitable "impact of stress" caused by the forced transition to online education (Hodges *et al.* 2020: NA) and to compensate for one of the main drawbacks of remote DI, the "feeling of reduced presence" (Braun/Davitti 2017: 166).

Finally, even though our guiding principle was the social constructivist pedagogy of being "a guide" who "assumes the critical role of shaping the learning activities" (Anderson/Dron 2011: 85), we also adopted some practices typical of Siemens' (2004) connectivist approach. This "theory for the digital age" guided us into planning some activities intended to implement the students' capacity to build their "personal knowledge" and to strengthen their "decision-making" processes, that is to say, the capacity to choose "what to learn" and to shape "the

meaning of incoming information processes” (*Ibid.*: NA). For instance, students were asked to expand the asynchronous materials we had provided (namely, the glossaries) and complete the preparatory work for the role-plays by researching additional materials on the Internet. It was also suggested to students to autonomously organise “multiple practice” activities with each other: this was a way to stimulate “collaboration/student-generated content/peer review”.

4. Data discussion

4.1. Results of the questionnaire (March-May 2020)

Some months after the lessons of our first ERT course ended, students were asked to fill out an online questionnaire concerning their experience with our DI course and their general impressions about this new form of learning. The aim was to evaluate the students’ satisfaction with our course and identify the strengths and weaknesses of our pedagogical proposals. The questionnaire was generated with Soci, a professional tool that can be used free of charge for scholarly survey projects. It consisted of 11 items (multiple choice questions), and was completely anonymous. We arranged three different sections, whose aims were: data concerning the students’ attendance and their degree of active participation in classes (section 1); the students’ opinions on the organisation of the course and the platforms used (section 2); their global appreciation of the course and their potential interest in including some references to CAI tools (section 3). 64 questionnaires were completed, which is a highly representative sample, since the average number of the students who attended our synchronous classrooms was 75.

As evidenced by answers to section 1, the students’ attendance was globally continuous. 50 students stated that they had attended “all” or “most of the synchronous lessons”, whereas the option “I have attended one or none of the lessons” was selected only by 4 students. It should also be noted that almost half of the participants admitted that the transition to online learning had a “strong” or “some” impact on their actual presence during the lessons; this seems to confirm that online learning can “give access to educational experience that is, at least more flexible in time and in space as campus-based education” (Anderson/Dron 2011: 53). As for the degree of participation, only 24 students participated in a “very active” way in the course, while 20 students declared that their participation was “absolutely passive”. It is worth noticing that both “reasons of privacy” and personality traits (“shyness, fear of being judged by the fellow students and by the teacher”) were indicated as the main factors conditioning active participation. However, 35 students also believed that the virtual learning environment was more “distracting”, a drawback largely assessed by research in distance learning (Anderson/Elloumi 2004: 51). These data seem even too optimistic if we consider that not all the students initially turned their cameras on nor answered when they were asked to participate in a discussion. On the other hand, we should remember that the shift to ERT was a significant trauma for the students, who were “forced to continue their courses online” and experienced

“caused chaos, confusion, and frustration” (Hodges *et al.* 2020: NA). Given the critical situation, our choice was to encourage their attendance to our course by allowing them to remain “invisible” – even though this decision did not help to build a collaborative learning community, as we will see.

The questions in section 2 revealed a general satisfaction with the organisation of the course. The balance between synchronous and asynchronous lessons was appreciated. However, most students expressed the desire to eliminate some asynchronous materials (namely, pre-recorded shadowing exercises) to practise more sign translation. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that nobody chose the option “I would prefer taking only synchronous lessons even if this means less time for practising”. Probably the students knew that the asynchronous lessons provided more material than real-time lessons. However, the results also seem to confirm Hodges *et al.*'s (2020) opinion concerning the advantages of asynchronous activities in “times of disruption” such as the COVID-19 pandemic, a period in which studying “will likely not be the priority of all those involved”. Dissatisfaction with OpenOlat was expressed by 28 students, who found the system “too difficult to use and chaotic”. Instead, Microsoft Teams was considered a “practical and comfortable” environment for distance learning (respectively 37 and 14 students expressed a global or high satisfaction with the tool). 13 students objected that the platform was far from being able to “recreate the climate of a face-to-face classroom and permit an effective interaction”.

It must be specified that OpenOlat offers groupware functionalities such as forums, wikis, and blogs. Nevertheless, users were granted minimal storage space, so we could not use these tools. As for Microsoft Teams, having worked with this platform before it was implemented with functions like pinning or spotlighting videos, apps, and expansions for its gallery view, we experienced difficulties in showing the three protagonists of the role-plays on the screen all at once (i.e. the teacher, the mother-tongue assistant and the student acting as the interpreter). The impossibility of allowing all the participants to see each other was another downside that influenced the climate of the classroom: only a few people could be seen on the screen during the meetings (initially four, then nine participants, to be exact), the others were displayed as small black icons at the bottom even if the students' cameras were turned on. Furthermore, since the platform did not permit students to work in small “breakout rooms” at the time, group activities such as “multiple dialogue interpreting practice” were impossible within the context of the lessons.

These limits were a significant obstacle to enhancing the “social/emotional” and the “collaboration” components in our learning community, and this downside affected the overall judgment on the course. On the one hand, the majority (52 students out of 64) was “globally satisfied” or “very satisfied” with the course. 34 students thought that it succeeded in “re-creating, as far as possible, the climate of the classroom, even if it did not provide any space for group work”, and according to 18 students, it “allowed a personalised way of learning, even if at the expense of the creation of group dynamics”. However, 11 students believed that the course should be more focused on “group dynamics” and were consequently not satisfied enough with it. Finally, the questionnaire outlined a general inter-

est in CAI tools such as automatic speech recognition, online glossary tools (40 students), and virtual learning environments (36 students).

Realising that our “teaching presence” was not sufficient was a point to meditate on for our pedagogical team, especially since we soon discovered that students rely on alternative “groups” which are similar to those evoked by Dron (2007). The author focused on social software used in an education context, such as MySpace, arguing that these may become a place for exchanging information and interacting in a less reliable way than in a learning community context (*Ibid.*: 234). On the other hand, even though our students undoubtedly suffered from the “loss of closeness among participants” (Hodges *et al.* 2020: NA), our survey seems to confirm Braun and Davitti’s observation on the novice interpreters’ “capacity of adaptation” to distance modalities (Braun/Davitti 2018b: 41). We were pleased to learn that our students were satisfied with the choice of alternating asynchronous and synchronous lessons, especially since we thought that the latter might help students continue their learning path despite the difficulties of the moment.

As for the students’ interest in CAI, despite the questionnaire results, we agree with Tripepi Winteringham’s (2010: 91) worries about the potential for distraction implicit in consulting online terminological resources while interpreting speeches in a triadic context. Our course is intended as a first approach to DI and should consequently aim to provide the basis of the profession and develop the fundamental capacity of assuming the role of “coordinator and gatekeeper of the interaction” (Wadensjö 2002: 93). However, we believe that virtual learning environments may offer many advantages to future dialogue interpreters, especially since both online and face-to-face courses do not allow for much time for student practice, notably in large classrooms. As Kohn outlined in a 2014 interview on some 3D virtual worlds developed by the IVY and EVIVA project partners, these environments offer “locations for business and community interpreting, including a reception area, meeting and conference rooms, a hospital ward, and a courtroom”. Thus, they can provide “controlled practice with prepared material and role play including live encounters with interpreting clients” (Kohn 2014). We look forward to the addition of the French-Italian combination, which is currently missing.

We will finally add that the questionnaire results led us to confirm our “learning community” model for our second ERT experience (January-March 2021). Nevertheless, we introduced some adjustments: given the students’ dissatisfaction with OpenOlat, all the asynchronous materials were uploaded on Microsoft Teams. Most importantly, students were asked to turn their cameras on when they participated in the role-plays. This decision was primarily a strategy for implementing the “social” component by overcoming the “complications of anonymity” (Anderson/Elloumi 2004: 51) and by promoting constructive discussion in our group; besides, it also allowed us to strengthen our “teaching presence” by giving the students effective feedback on their interpretations, as we will see in the following Section.

4.2. Observation sheets and transcriptions of role-play performances (January-March 2021)

In January-March 2021, role-play performances were audio-recorded and transcribed with the aim of identifying features and problems which seemed directly connected to the distance mode of teaching DI. Renditions were classified according to Wadensjö's (1998: 108-110) taxonomy. Furthermore, the observation sheets we filled in during the performances permitted us to make an initial distinction between three main categories (see Appendix): "additions", "substitutions" and "omissions" (Merlini/Favarone 2003: 216-217), the latter being referred, in our case, to both "deliberate strategies" and "translation errors" (*Ibid.*: 219). A special attention was paid to kinesics. As the observation sheets show, excessive gesticulation or inappropriate posture were observed only four times, which is rather unusual for a beginner class. It is reasonable to think that being in front of a camera made the students behave less naturally and that they tended to control their movements more than they would in a face-to-face situation. This seems to suggest that distance teaching may help the students manage the kinesic aspects of their interpretation and acquire an adequate posture from the early stages of their training; nevertheless, some of them declared that they felt inhibited and that lack of closeness was a factor of stress for them.

Apart from kinesics, other peculiarities in the students' interpretations could be ascribed to the fact that our course was being delivered online. In fact, two types of difficulties caught our attention. Firstly, problems of Internet connection often affected the performances. Requests for clarification and for repetitions that were attributed to "bad connection" appear in 20 out of the 28 performances transcribed, and amount to 17 out of the 56 "non-renditions" with "coordinating functions" we could detect. On the other hand, only 8 out of the 42 inappropriate omissions and zero renditions we identified were attributed to poor network quality, the other 34 being due to insufficient capacity to memorise and to reformulate the speakers' utterances or to poor linguistic knowledge, as recognised by the students during the retrospective thinking-aloud moments. In such cases, the only suggestions we could give them were either trying to guess the missing parts by considering the overall message, as indicated by Gile (1995: 45), or asking to stop interpreting and try later, since the repetition of utterances such as "I can't hear" or "Internet is not working" can be very annoying.

However, the most interesting phenomenon which could be observed was the confusion caused by the loss of gaze direction. As Mason points out, "gaze direction is an important device for showing attention and for the distribution of turns", since it "regulates patterns of participation" by allowing "all participants" to "position themselves and others within the exchange" (Mason 2012: 177-178). The following excerpts are representative of this situation and of the disorientation it engenders in the student. In the first excerpt, an Italian television personality (TP) is interviewing a female French virologist about the COVID-19 pandemic: the interpreter (I) mistakes the name of the virus for the

name of the disease, thus generating an embarrassing misunderstanding. The television personality asks the interpreter if she is sure of her translation, thus eliciting a non-*rendition* in order to clarify the misunderstanding. Nevertheless, the interpreter does not seize the meaning of the television personality's question and, instead of giving her an answer, translates the question to the virologist, who is offended:

Turn number	Speaker	Speaking turn
1	TP	a proposito, il nome ufficiale del virus è SARS-CoV-2 e: quello della malattia è COVID-19 (.) giusto? - <i>by the way, the official name of the virus is SARS-CoV-2 and the name of the disease is COVID-19, right?</i>
2	I	le nom officiel de la maladie est SARS-CoV-2 (.) et le nom du virus est COVID-19 (.) c'est ça?
3	V	<u>non</u> (.) c'est justement le contraire
4	I	no (.) è il contrario - <i>no, it's the opposite</i>
5	TP	veramente (.) io sapevo così (.) è sicura di quello che sta dicendo? - <i>actually, that was what I knew, are you sure of what you are saying?</i>
6	I	mais: je sais que c'est comme ça (.) vous êtes sûre?
7	V	<u>écoutez</u> , si vous m'avez invitée (.) pour me contredire!
8	I	<u>beh</u> : se mi ha invitata per contraddirmi! - <i>well, if you invited me to contradict me!</i>
9	TP	<u>io</u> contraddico il dottore? scusi ma prima stavo parlando con lei (.) mica con il dottore - <i>me? contradicting the doctor? excuse me, but I was talking to you before, not to the doctor</i>

Excerpt n. 1

The misunderstanding was fundamentally due to the student's poor knowledge of the subject and her inexperience in managing the turns. Nevertheless, the loss of eye contact was at the origin of the *quid pro quo*, which ended in an embarrassing "face-threatening act": the interpreter had no elements indicating that the television personality was looking at her. So, she missed an important clue to clarify the reply, which she recognised only during the retrospective think-aloud moment.

Excerpt n. 2 provides another example of this kind of situation. Here, an elderly Italian woman (W) has taken her niece Alessia to a medical doctor (D). The woman has recently moved to France with her family, and she is asking for information about mandatory vaccination for school. However, she is not aware of the procedure concerning vaccines, and she supposes that the doctor can give her Alessia's vaccination records:

Turn number	Speaker	Speaking turn
1	W	mi scusi: ma non ho capito (.) me lo <u>da'</u> (.) il libretto vaccinale? - <i>sorry but I don't understand. are you giving me the vaccination record?</i>
2	I	pouvez-vous me donner le carnet de vaccination?
3	D	pas du tout (.) il faut que vous demandiez au pédiatre qui a suivi Alessia (.) ou au centre de santé
4	I	deve chiedere al pediatra di Alessia (.) o andare in un apposito centro - <i>you must ask Alessia's pediatrician or go to a specific center</i>
5	W	io mica lo <u>capisco</u> (.) come funziona qui in Francia (.) e lei? - <i>I don't understand how it works here in France (.) do you?</i>
6	I	moi je n'ai pas compris comment ça marche en France (.) et vous?
7	D	oui: bien sûr (.) je suis Français

Excerpt n. 2

Here, the woman thinks the doctor is offering to prepare the child's vaccine booklet, whereas he is merely saying that he needs this document. As the following utterances show, the interpreter's attitude remains merely passive, and he uses no strategies to coordinate or check the dialogue. As a result, the conversation becomes more and more confused: the interpreter's rendition of "au centre de santé" as "a un apposito centro" (turn 4, "to a specific centre") increases the woman's disorientation, thus provoking her exclamation in turn 5. The woman is simply expressing her perplexity to the interpreter and seeking support in him, as her question "e lei" ("do you?") indicates. Nevertheless, the impossibility of meeting the speaker's gaze becomes a complicating factor for the student, who misses an important clue to correctly decipher the question and translate it to the doctor.

These examples show both the need for the students to be highly attentive to the situation in which they were fictitiously projected and the necessity for us to help them develop a meta-cognitive competence. To this end, we proposed some exercises that made them reflect on those linguistic elements which can generate more ambiguity in interpreting from Italian. In excerpt 1, the source of the error is the form "è sicura?" ("are you sure?"), which in Italian can either refer to the person directly addressed by the speaker (i.e. the interpreter, who is addressed in a courtesy form) or to a third female person (in fact, female gender in Italian is generally designated through the ending in "-a" of a noun or an adjective). We also proposed a brainstorming exercise for developing the students' ability to decode some hints that their interlocutors could give them: their suggestions, which included discourse markers like "dunque?", "giusto?", "è così?" ("right?", "is it true?"), were collected in a specific glossary which was added to the glossaries we had offered during the lessons. Finally, we asked them to think of some alternative translations for "è sicura?", which sounds rather aggressive in the context of an interview, and to make some comments on the reasons which originated the *quid pro quo*. Their answers included some good solutions like "je ne sais pas si j'ai bien compris" and some expedients

to “avoid the trap”, like “je ne sais pas si vous êtes en train de vous adresser à moi”. Furthermore, the students all recognised that the absence or the reduced effectiveness of non-verbal elements had a negative repercussion on the interpreter’s ability to decode the original message, and a general need to learn strategies to compensate this loss was expressed.

5. Conclusions

In recognising the advantages of remote interpreting and videoconferencing communication, Braun and Davitti (2018c: 107) stressed that they inevitably lead to an intense “cognitive effort to recreate a sense of togetherness” in the “fractured ecology” typical of remote forms of interpreting. The authors’ analysis seems to summarise the central issue of our ERT experiences. As evidenced by both our questionnaire and our first ERT course, if our pedagogical proposal (and, in particular, our choice of alternating synchronous and asynchronous mode) substantially met the need for flexible learning in such “a time of disruption” (Hodges *et al.* 2020: NA), implementing the students’ participation was a challenge which we initially lost. The outburst of the COVID-19 pandemic, the sudden passage to ERT, the lack of experience with Microsoft Teams and OpenOlat had a traumatic impact on our students, and we realised that our “teaching presence” was not sufficiently effective in creating a collaborative learning environment. Initiatives such as providing the students with spaces in Microsoft Teams for meeting in autonomous forms could possibly offer them a space for sharing documents and assessing “their own learning in virtual groups” (Anderson/Elloumi 2004: 50). Furthermore, the use of chat logs during our synchronous lessons could promote both discussion and effective interaction: as demonstrated by Skaaden (2017: 323), this tool may allow students to “discuss dilemmas of practice, while the facilitators reflect on the students’ ability to articulate knowledge through action in role-played exercises”. All these actions could also develop the “social” component, which is vital in a community-centred environment. As for the content of our course, the recordings of the lessons highlighted the need to pay special attention to some factors that inevitably affect DI when this is done by distance mode: students should be guided to develop strategies to compensate for the loss of eye contact and avoid annoying repetitions when the connection is bad.

It should be finally remembered that the COVID-19 pandemic has involved a dramatic growth in the demand for video remote interpreting services, as evidenced by the Italian Association of Interpreters and Translator (AITI). After publishing a set of recommendations for organizations needing to operate as DI hubs with their staff and accredited freelance interpreters in response to the COVID-19 pandemic (March 2020), this association organised a “Taskforce on Distance Interpreting”, which was followed by a conference called “Interpreting and translating skills/competencies: recognizing and enhanc-

ing them in a changing market” (30 January 2021)¹. Thus, after being a lifeline in the COVID-19 crisis, the shift to videoconferencing seems to be the new future for dialogue interpreters. In the light of these events, we think there would have been some undeniable advantages in transforming our course into a course for videoconference DI. The online delivery modality would have been perfect for this purpose, and our students would have benefited from training aligned with the market’s demands. On the other hand, we also believe that a module intended for beginners should aim to develop this profession’s fundamental skills before dealing with “one of the most difficult forms of interpreting”, as Tripepi Winteringham says (2010: 90). Strategies to compensate for this big drawback should be found, especially if we think that there are many reasons why remote training could be a great resource not only for practitioners who have already started their careers as interpreters, but also for beginners.

Appendix: observation sheet (adapted from Merlini/Favaron 2003)

OBSERVATION SHEET			
INTERPRETER:		GENDER:	
Situation:			
OBSERVATIONS ON THE VERBAL INTERACTION			
Phonology			
- tone of voice	marked	unmarked	
- speech rate	low	medium	high
Syntax			
Lexis			
Grammar and pronunciation			
Divergent Renditions:			
- Additions			
- Substitutions			
- Omissions			
OBSERVATIONS ON THE NON-VERBAL INTERACTION			
Gestures			
Facial expressions			
Posture			

1 “Le competenze dell’interprete e della/del traduttrice/tore: riconoscerle e valorizzarle in un mercato che cambia”, <<https://aiti.org/it/news-formazione-eventi/corsi-eventi/le-competenze-dellinterprete-e-delladel-traduttricitore>>.

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Integrating interpreting into institutional practice: sign language interpreting in the Police and National Health Service in Scotland

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Abstract

This paper describes the operation and outcomes of the Promoting Equal Access to Services project, which had two aims. The first was to reduce the gap between training and work for sign language interpreters by offering a six-month structured internship, including placements in the Police and National Health Service, alongside mentoring, supervision and coaching. The second aim was to further the integration of interpreting into the institutional practice of the Police and National Health Service. The paper describes the background of the project and the organisationally-centred theoretical framework, based on the work of Dong (Dong 2016; Dong/Turner 2016) and Downie (2016), before outlining the support package offered and examining intern experience and the effects on each of the organisations, before discussing the relevance of the results for future similar projects and for the theorisation of interpreting. It concludes by arguing that, to ease the transition between interpreting and work and to create environments conducive to excellent interpreting, close co-operation between training providers and organisations that use interpreting regularly will be needed.

Keywords

Sign language interpreting, police interpreting, medical interpreting, interpreter training, public service interpreting, interpreting profession.

While interpreter training has been a subject of intense research, much of this work is focused on the classroom and activities for students. Yet the development of interpreters does not cease with the conclusion of their university training. This paper reports on a trial of an experimental form of transition between formative training and entry to the sign language interpreting profession. The approach used was co-constructed with the providers of public services (health and policing) in Scotland to explore the integration of interpreting into professional ecologies of practice. While the *Promoting Equal Access to Services* (PEAS) project took place within a very specific political, linguistic and cultural context, feedback from project partners, including the interpreters involved, provides important theoretical and practical knowledge that contributes to our understanding of the role of different stakeholders in interpreter development. Such knowledge also shows the importance of the theorisation of organisational aspects of interpreting. We conclude by arguing that understanding organisations better is likely to lead to improvements in the transition of newly qualified interpreters into the workplace and to greater efficiency in interpreting services and, correspondingly, in public service outcomes.

Given the unique nature of this project, this paper will first discuss the political and legal context in which the project took place, with emphasis on the importance and effects of the British Sign Language (Scotland) Act 2015. We will then explain the organisation-centred theoretical framework used, which draws upon research by Dong (2016) and Downie (2016). The paper will then outline the support package offered to interns and how the effectiveness of this support was evaluated. The experience of the interns in the Police and National Health Service is then examined and an account of the effectiveness of the support package is provided. The experience of the interns, effects on the organisations and effectiveness of the support package will then be the subject of the discussion, which links these back to the theoretical framework and offers practical suggestions for future projects of this type. The paper ends with a summary of the project and lessons learned. Some may consider this an example of action research: as that term is heavily contested (Hinchey 2016), readers will reach their own conclusions on its applicability in this case.

1. Project background: political and legal context of the project

At the culmination of a lengthy process (see De Meulder 2015, 2017), on 17 September 2015, Members of the Scottish Parliament voted unanimously in favour of a Bill whose approval created the British Sign Language (Scotland) Act 2015. Scotland thus became the first country within the United Kingdom to afford legal status to British Sign Language (BSL) on its own terms as a language.

The 2015 Act required the production of a National Plan for BSL, to be reviewed and renewed on a cyclical basis, showing how public bodies will promote and support BSL. The first National Plan (Scottish Government 2017) included among its 70 actions a commitment to consider any further work needed to ensure the

development of a strong pool of BSL/English interpreters (action 9), while fostering the creation of training programmes to support BSL/English interpreters working in the Health sector (action 47) and in the Police (action 62).

The Scottish Government's Equality Unit therefore initiated the PEAS project, originally to secure the retention of new graduate interpreters within the Scottish workforce after the Scottish Funding Council pump-primed the establishment of a Master of Arts in BSL/English Interpreting at Heriot-Watt University in Edinburgh in 2011. The programme was designed to bring graduates through to eligibility for registration within the national professional frameworks as trainee or qualified interpreters.

During 2015, Heriot-Watt University and partners developed a pilot scheme whereby qualified graduating interpreters could apply to be placed as interns with an appropriate support package in public service facilities for a designated period. This support package included three areas. The first was mentoring, which involves working with an established interpreter with personal knowledge of the contexts in which the interpreters will work to develop the practical, organisational and interpersonal communication skills required to work in partnership with others in the same organisation. The second was professional supervision, which aims to improve emotional resilience and ethical decision-making during the interpreted event. The third area is technical coaching, which targets the development of techniques such as summarising, public speaking and switching between languages.

The partners were principally Police Scotland and the National Health Service Board for Greater Glasgow & Clyde (hereafter simply NHS), along with an advisory group including the British Deaf Association, the major Deaf organisations in Scotland's Central Belt region, and the relevant professional bodies at the time: the Scottish Association of Sign Language Interpreters and the Association of Sign Language Interpreters. The resulting proposal was designed to support interpreter retention and explore aspects of a potential solution to several additional issues. It offered the prospect of assisting in bridging a perceived readiness to work gap between graduation and independent practice; it created scope for public services to start addressing a longstanding concern by securing reliable availability of well-informed, confident interpreters; and it generated circumstances within which progressive approaches to interpreting could begin to be implemented through closer collaborative engagement between practitioners and public service professionals. This political and conceptual background to the project is undergirded by pertinent theoretical developments in Interpreting Studies which will now be examined.

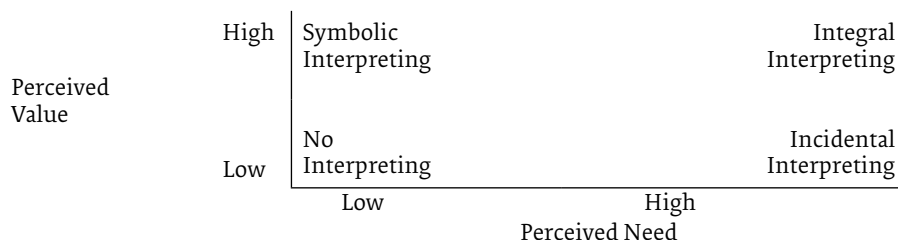
2. Theoretical underpinning: interpreting and organisations

Given the dual-role of the PEAS project in helping to bridge the "readiness to work" gap (cf. Godfrey 2010) for new graduates and addressing the concerns expressed by the National Health Service and Police Scotland, this project rests on the fledgling theorisation of interpreting within organisations. Part of the wider sociology of interpreting (Inghilleri 2003, 2005), discussions of the place of in-

interpreting within organisations seek to understand why and how organisations manage and deploy interpreting and how such management could be improved. This entails viewing research as a process by which knowledge is shared between the parties involved and in which all parties are empowered to use the research process to further their aims (Turner/Harrington 2000). Like research, interpreting itself is viewed as a collaborative process, in which meaning is created within the interpreted event and within the organisation (cf. Turner 2005).

Jiqing Dong (2016; Dong/Turner 2016) examined the work of an interpreting agency in its role as an agent of professionalisation of Public Service Interpreting. Dong pointed out the importance of the internal values of the organisation in guiding organisational behaviour. In her specific case, the determination of the leaders of the agency to prioritise the promotion of quality standards in the face of increasing commercialisation (Dong 2016: 76–77) led to a focus on ethical behaviour, service efficacy and interpreter wellbeing. This in turn prompted a deliberate decision by the agency to work with a smaller pool of interpreters, so that the management would know them personally (*Ibid.*: 62). In Dong’s case study, organisational values were therefore reflected in organisational practice. Her emphasis on the link between agency values and interpreters’ delivery of services provides theoretical insights that are important in the context of this study.

The link between organisational values and organisational practice was also posited in work by Downie (2016). His study of expectations of interpreters in two multilingual churches suggested that such expectations are determined by how valuable interpreting is seen to be for the future of the organisation and how much is deemed to be needed for current operations. Four possible positions were sketched out, giving the following diagram:



Matrix of organisational approaches to interpreting (Downie 2016: 172)

In symbolic interpreting, interpreting is a symbol of the organisation’s aim to be open to linguistic diversity, but it does not take into account the needs of speakers of other languages and so fails to fulfil a communicative function (Downie 2016: 171–172; cf. Vigouroux 2010). In incidental interpreting, interpreting is deemed to be necessary for the functioning of the organisation but not valuable for fulfilling of its mission (Downie 2016: 169). It is therefore peripheral to organisational operations and seen as a means to an end. Finally, integral interpreting takes place when it is deemed to be both necessary for organisational functioning and is understood to be valuable for the attainment of its mission (*Ibid.*: 171). It is thus viewed as central to the organisation, to the

point where the organisation adjusts its practices so that interpreting can produce the best results.

This theoretical framework suggests that interpreter development is a process of socialisation that must go beyond unidirectional interpreter programmes akin to traditional mentoring, as important as such programmes may be (Pearce/Napier 2010). Instead, it will be important to understand how organisations view interpreting and the place that it is given in organisational practice. Adjusting organisational practice includes socialisation of all users into the idea that all participants share responsibility for successful communication, an idea emphasised in the work of Kauling (2020) on the level of the individual event.

3. The PEAS project

3.1. The support package offered to interns

The PEAS project provided for supervised and coached interns to be embedded within Police Scotland for three months, with a further three-month placement within the NHS immediately after the completion of the placement in the Police. Two interns accepted placements, both recent graduates of the Heriot-Watt University undergraduate BSL interpreting programme. Interns would undertake a range of duties, from observing the structure, hierarchy, and procedures of each institution, to undertaking interpreting suited to their skills and ability at this early career stage. It was made clear from the outset that the interns would not undertake interpreting assignments where any legal process was involved and that any interpreting for patient contact would be pre-assessed and deemed appropriate and consented to by all parties. Specific types of assignments undertaken are identified in sections 4.1 and 5.1. The nature and purpose of the mentoring, supervision and coaching provided will now be described in turn.

3.1.1. Mentoring

Mentoring was provided throughout the entire project by the Project Officer, who has several years' experience as an interpreter, team leader and trainer, and has extensive, long-term knowledge of working within the deaf community as both interpreter and staff member of a deaf organisation. The aim of such mentoring was to help the interns to be supported in the practical, logistical, and political aspects of their work, such as learning to decide whether assignments were suitable, how to navigate their relationships with the Police, NHS and the deaf community and dealing with service user feedback. As such, the Project Officer was able to mentor the interns for both public service interpreting work and some community networking opportunities to increase their visibility within the deaf community. She was also able to act as a sounding board should the interpreters require advice on advocating within the Police or health sectors.

One important additional factor in enabling the interns to carry out their work in a sustainable manner was the engagement of a professional supervisor, to encourage reflective practice. The importance, role and outcomes of this supervision are detailed in the next section.

3.1.2. Supervision

Supervision is a well-established common practice in comparable professions such as social work, counselling and palliative care fields. In the UK, for example, all doctors in postgraduate training are required by General Medical Council guidance to have an appropriately trained, named clinical supervisor for each of their placements. The need for supervision of interpreters has mainly focused on practitioners working in domains of mental health (Knodel 2018) or domestic violence (Costa 2016). There are very few academic publications specifically addressing the need for supervision for sign language interpreters (SLIs). While Hetherington (2012) was one of the first in the UK to highlight the importance of this aspect of support for practitioners.

The Professional Supervision element of the PEAS project, delivered throughout the entire project by experienced and qualified professional supervisor and sign language interpreter, Jules Dickinson, aimed to support the interns to become resilient and effective practitioners by developing the interns' skills and strategies for managing the emotional load of interpreting assignments. It was designed to encourage the interns to consider the wider contextual aspects of the interpreting process and the impact these might have on their delivery. While there are a number of models that can be applied to Professional Supervision, Proctor's (1987) widely used model of supervision was chosen in this case. It argues for three main functions of Professional Supervision, which are described as formative, normative and restorative.

The *formative* function focuses on the development of supervisees' knowledge and skills through guided reflection and exploration of their work. This function can have an educative aspect, depending on the level of the supervisee's experience and stage of their professional development. The *normative* aspect of the model provides the element of quality control. It enables the supervisor to monitor and evaluate the supervisee's professional practice, whilst also encouraging them to account for their actions. This aspect also provides the supervisee with space to explore their "human failings, blind spots and areas of vulnerability" (Hawkins/Shohet 2007). Interpreters rarely have the structured opportunity to reflect on positive and successful outcomes of their practice, yet this is essential for a practitioner to maintain confidence and self-esteem. The *restorative* function provides support to alleviate the emotional impact of the job. This function brings in to play the essential element of self-care. This is particularly important for interpreters, who are frequently exposed to highly emotional and traumatic material, with resulting responses that include fear, sadness, and shame, to mention but a few (Watson-Thomas/Darroch 2015).

3.1.3. Coaching

Coaching was carried out throughout the project by the first author, who is an experienced consultant conference interpreter and interpreting researcher, using a combination of in-person group sessions, online individual sessions, and ongoing practice exercises to create a balance between mutual support among the interns and individualised skills training.

Each coaching session comprised a review of recent interpreting, including performance challenges that the interns had faced. Discussion then moved to a review of progress with the coaching exercises from the previous session, and agreement on areas to work on and exercises for the next session. This aimed to produce cumulative targeted performance gains, while gradually handing over responsibility for technique development to the interns. At the outset, exercises on summarising and verbal fluency were used to ascertain their current skill level. Over time, the coaching exercises and practices evolved to cover areas such as public speaking, verbal fluency, understanding and interpreting humour, switching between languages, summarising, register shifts and attention switching.

The materials used for these exercises therefore moved from being general to tracking more closely the kinds of texts and topics covered in assignments on placement. All coaching sessions took place with both interns and the coach. It was not clear whether the interns met together separately to work on coaching together.

The long history of research on cognition in spoken language interpreting, especially conference interpreting and the resulting concentration of teaching resources and research on this area of practice (Djovcos/Djovcosova 2013; Gillies 2013) made this an ideal source of coaching exercises. This is especially the case as the exercises are intended to be valuable no matter the language(s) used by the interpreter.

3.2. Means of evaluation

Given the nature of the project, evaluating its success meant gathering a variety of data. These ranged from interviews with key stakeholders in the NHS and Police, feedback from the Advisory Group, data on intern deployment and front-line staff satisfaction, to records of coaching, mentoring and supervision meetings. These data offer a pragmatic view of the project's success from the point of view of all key stakeholders. A summary of the key themes from this data, in the light of the aims of the project and the themes of this paper are found in the three sections that now follow.

4. Police experience

4.1. Typical intern assignments

Interpreter deployments in Police Scotland can be usefully categorised into three broad areas. The first area involved familiarising the interpreters with the contexts and protocols of different Police settings, from Police stations and custody

suites to jails and courts. These activities did not require the interns to interpret but were created opportunities for useful conversations and exchanges of knowledge between interns and Police personnel.

A second category of assignment involved interpreting at public information, consultation and community liaison meetings between the Police and other organisations, from educational institutions to deaf associations. These visits took advantage of the interns' presence to provide an environment where the interns could practise and offer a forum for the Police to inform and consult deaf people in a way that is often hard to achieve given the aforementioned lack of resource and shortage of interpreters. At one or two events of this kind, the interpreters were able to work alongside an experienced interpreter.

The final category of assignment covers all the work that is more traditionally related to interpreting for the Police. The project's overt principle was that interns would not do any work that could have direct legal consequences, but might interpret on occasions where the Police were looking to establish the nature of an enquiry or complaint, or when information was being conveyed on progress with ongoing enquiries.

Such deployment therefore gave the interpreters access to a useful cross-section of Police work, without putting them in a position where they would be interpreting matters that would have any legal weight. This is important, given the standard practice in Scotland for newly qualified sign language interpreters to wait until they have had two years of experience, before looking to work with the Police on assignments with legal standing.

4.2. Feedback from interns

Interviews with the interns revealed vignettes that offer evidence of the outcomes of their presence embedded within the Police force. For example, both reported that their familiarisation visit to a prison allowed them to see how the prison system worked and allowed staff to see gaps in current policy. In the prison, there are glass-walled rooms that are made available for advocacy visits. Talking to the interpreters made staff aware that the use of these rooms was a direct threat to the privacy of BSL users as other prisoners who used BSL would be able to see what was being signed. Something that was presumably intended as a safety feature, so prison officers could ensure the security of visiting legal professionals, had therefore been reconsidered as a potential breach of prisoner confidentiality. Procedures therefore needed revisiting. It is not known why no prior interpreters had brought this up, but it does seem likely that the teamwork and atmosphere of mutual learning generated by the PEAS project made raising such points easier.

In short, both interns felt that their presence on the ground with Police officers afforded them useful developmental opportunities. This is mutually informative work that community interpreters are used to doing with professionals in many settings within daily working experiences. The structured opportunity in particular to engage in this dialogue away from the pressure of immediate service

provision was noted to be uniformly beneficial, with clear long-term value in terms of inter-professional co-operation. Officers would chat with the interns in preparation before assignments or would ask them questions about interpreting during familiarisation visits. One intern reported that officers would begin to ask “what if?” questions, which is a sign of greater reflection on best practice within the force. Indeed, the presence of interpreters within the force during this project may act as a catalyst for the Police revisiting how they procure and manage such services.

4.3. Feedback from Police

The impact of the project on frontline officers was measured in two ways. Pre-work and post-work surveys were sent to officers, to gauge whether working alongside the interns had affected views of interpreting. Six pre-work survey responses and five post-work survey responses were received. All of these were from front-line officers working in public-facing roles. Responses to the pre-work survey tended to reflect the idea that the interpreter was there *for* the deaf participant, rather than for the benefit of the Police. One response indicated that the interpreter was there for the member of the public by saying they were present “to communicate with the member of the public in a way that they will be able to understand” – true as far as it goes, evidently, but profoundly unilateral in its point of view.

Responses to the post-work survey tended more towards showing expectations aligned with a more collaborative view. This shift alone underlines the significant potential of the internship scheme. For example, three respondents saw interpreters as positively aiding or assisting communication in some way. These described the role of an interpreter being “to assist [in] communicating with other people”, “to aid and guide communication” and “to enable us to communicate effectively”. Interpreters’ participation is thus seen actively to help the Police to do their job.

More complex data was generated in the question where respondents were asked to tick all the answers that corresponded to the feelings they have when working with interpreters. Officers were twice as likely to agree that they can “communicate clearly with someone who speaks another language” after working with the interns despite recognising that the officer may be less in control of the situation if they are ceding in part to the professional authority of the interpreter. In terms of practicalities, officers started to learn that facilitating interpreting can ultimately increase the speed and efficiency of their procedures, whilst moving strongly towards an appreciation that consistency of standards across encounters can be expected through close inter-professional co-operation.

Beyond the survey, an interview with Stephanie Rose, Safer Communities Team, Police Scotland, revealed that there is now better understanding within the force of what it will take to dispel SLIs’ fear of Police interpreting. Work is already underway in this vein, in the form of more targeted training and in opportunities for the Police to work with interpreters during the two-year post-quali-

fication period in which interpreters are usually expected to avoid working with the Police. The object of this work would be to prepare the ground for them to provide services in Police settings once this time has elapsed.

PEAS also revealed the potential impact of working across the Justice sector to increase standards across the board. The arranged familiarisation visits testify to this potential and there is willingness within the Police to continue this. A further stage of such partnership could be for interpreting agencies or deaf organisations to arrange and manage the internships, rather than the Police trying to set up working opportunities. The aim of such working and indeed of the project itself is to increase of pool of those who are able to work with the Police. Work towards this goal is ongoing but the PEAS project has pointed to specific, tangible changes that can be made, including the aforementioned improvements in training and support. The Police experience therefore showed that exposing interns to a cross-section of Police work, while offering them enhanced support, has benefits beyond improving the interns' readiness for work. The existence of the project and the need for intentional planning, cooperation and partnerships between different stakeholders meant that the Police were made aware of practical and procedural issues that needed to be rectified to better embed interpreting into the service and to ensure that the rights of BSL users were upheld.

If the Police experience of PEAS represents an almost ideal case, with new awareness and practices percolating through the organisation, while the interns gain valuable experience, the experience of NHS represents a less universally positive set of outcomes. It is to this part of the project that the paper will now turn.

5. NHS experience

5.1. Typical intern assignments

During the NHS placement, the interns were most frequently asked to work at internal staff meetings, including their own induction meeting. Familiarisation visits were also common during the placement and tended to involve a member of staff showing the interns the geographical layouts of different hospitals and where to go if they had an assignment there. Finally, there were no opportunities to shadow experienced interpreters. This represents a much less diverse set of assignments than was on offer during deployment within the Police. This lack of diversity is reflected in the other outcomes of this part of the project.

5.2. Feedback from interns

The interns' impressions of the NHS placement reflect the differences between the frequency and variety of deployments in the NHS, compared to the Police Scotland stage of the project. Both interns noted that deployments in the NHS were not accurate reflections of the kinds of work that a typical SLI would undertake in the NHS. They reported feeling that they had been interns in the NHS Equalities Team,

rather than developing their interpreting skills. Thus, they felt that the second part of their internship achieved little in getting them ready to deliver services for the National Health Service more broadly. In an exit interview, one intern reflected that the NHS placement had at times prompted reduction in confidence and re-consideration as to whether they were suited for the profession, although reflection on earlier parts of the project was enough to resolve this.

While there was some familiarisation work, both interns felt that this work in the NHS offered very little contact with frontline staff and few opportunities for the same kinds of exchange of expertise found earlier in the project. The lack of work-shadowing opportunities was also viewed as a factor in the less favourable impression of the NHS placement. Neither intern reported feeling entirely ready for work with the National Health Service after their placement. It should be taken into account that the position of the NHS placement as coming after the more successful Police placement will have affected intern impressions, especially as they had now seen how such placements could be integrated more effectively into practice.

5.3. Feedback from NHS

As the interns were not afforded the opportunity to do clinical work and had little direct contact with frontline staff, the impact of the interns' work upon frontline staff was limited. This is borne out in the inability to repeat the same pre-work/post-work surveying that produced such interesting results during the Police part of the project as no responses were received to either survey. Some impact of the PEAS project was, however, felt at the level of management. The NHS liaison officer felt that they were in a better position to set up future internships and to improve interpreting throughout organisational practice. On the most practical level, the project foregrounded the need to pre-organise detailed inductions for interpreters and to familiarise them with the wide range of situations in which they might work. Thus, the project generated a desire within the NHS to work with medical training institutes to embed initial familiarisation into training courses.

An unexpected additional roadblock was a lack of willingness among current interpreters to offer work-shadowing experience to the interns. While it was anticipated that some patients would exercise their right to refuse access for observation, the NHS did not foresee interpreters' resistance to providing such opportunities. It is not known why NHS interpreters did not provide shadowing opportunities. An immediate effect of the project may be that future contracts may require existing interpreters to facilitate and allow shadowing experiences for newly qualified colleagues, in the same way that medical professionals routinely learn through frontline observation.

Much like the Police part of the deployment, the NHS part of the project therefore foregrounded how the development of interpreters should not be seen as a process that only involves individuals and their personal career trajectories. The link between the types of deployments possible and readiness for work, and in-

deed the lack of access to frontline staff to facilitate expertise exchange, all point in the same direction. Organisations that will later go on to require the services of interpreters have an important part to play in their development.

While the Discussion section of this paper will discuss the organisational outcomes of the project, it is important to realise that organisations working with interpreting are not the only stakeholders whose work was evaluated in this project. Given its nature, this project also uncovered some important insights for the design of any future interpreter development projects. This paper will therefore now turn to an evaluation of the support package offered.

6. Support package evaluation

6.1. Supervision

The impact of supervision is not something that can be measured quantitatively but is best determined by the changes the interns noted in relation to their attitude, confidence and approach to interpreting. Feedback was welcomed throughout the Professional Supervision process and a formal review was conducted at the end of the two placements. Both interns found Professional Supervision to be beneficial to their practice. The process fostered a sense of being “good enough” and the interns were able to move away from the potentially damaging quest for perfection. They were better able to understand that good interpreters will need to interrupt, clarify, and work with other participants to achieve effective communication. Both interns realised the importance of stating their needs in assignments, demonstrating that they were developing good practice in terms of self-care. Importantly, Professional Supervision helped the interns to hold realistic expectations of both themselves and of others.

Supervision enabled the interns to have a more nuanced understanding of what everyone brings to the interpreted event and how those elements impinge on the interaction. The weekly scheduling of Professional Supervision provided an opportunity to “get it all out”, which stopped issues and stress building up and, as one intern noted, “keeps you sane”. Instead of the supervisee holding on to issues, both the supervisee and the issues were contained and held by the supervisor. Having someone external from the workplace meant that the interns had to explain and expand upon what happened, and this simple process of recounting helped them reach their own conclusions. At the same time, having an experienced interpreter in a supervisory role meant that the issues raised were understood with empathy.

Professional Supervision validated feelings and emotions around assignments and provided a reality check, encouraging the interns not to think about what they *should* have done but instead to look at what they *could* do differently next time. The process helped to ground expectations, encouraging the interns not to compare themselves with others.

6.2. Mentoring

Lacking daily contact and hands-on control of the interns' diaries, the Project Officer was not in a position to keep track of workload and closely regulate the nature of the work being undertaken. This left the interns with considerable challenges – despite the project team's extensive preparatory work with Police Scotland and NHS representatives – to make decisions about their own workload and the appropriateness of each assignment. As new entrants to the profession, operating in environments where respected healthcare and policing practitioners were making demands of them according to their own judgment and pressures, the interns felt the need for the steadying hand of a senior interpreter. The Project Officer's role as intermediary was valuable in that it enabled the university team to maintain an overview and gave interns and partners recourse to an advisor in moments of uncertainty.

6.3. Coaching

Unlike supervision and mentoring, coaching concentrated on the interns' technical interpreting skills. As previously mentioned, the coaching exercises were set according to the areas initially identified by the interns as their weakest. The accuracy of their assumptions was validated when, during their Police placements, they were asked to handle longer speeches on different aspects of public safety and hate crime. Following their difficult experience with this one assignment, specific attention was paid to summarising and dealing with a speaker who paused infrequently during their presentation.

The problem with this approach is that it was necessarily retrospective and the challenges of particular assignments would not often be repeated during the relatively brief project. Thus, both interns reported that the exercises were useful but not necessarily perfectly attuned to the work they would seek to do regularly. Both reported enjoying the coaching but feeling that it was somewhat disconnected from their perceived needs at this specific stage in their career. In general, they felt that they wanted to concentrate on interpreting in contexts involving conversations and dialogue, rather than longer speeches. Nevertheless, the interns reported that they would have welcomed more frequent in-person coaching sessions, perhaps even weekly, including individual and group time.

6.4. Summary evaluation

In all cases therefore, the support package offered important space for the interns to develop their practice and skills outside of the confines of specific events. There is no doubt that improvements could be made to any such support package in future. It is clear that the project allowed a holistic view of interpreter development, in which the role of the interpreters themselves, training institutions, more experienced colleagues, and organisations requiring their services were all

placed in the limelight. Given the focus of this paper, attention will now turn to what this project has demonstrated in terms of the role of organisations requiring interpreting, the aspects of a good support package and the practical and theoretical outcomes of this project for Interpreting Studies.

7. Discussion

7.1. Role of the organisation in the success of interpreter development

This project deliberately sought to involve a wide range of stakeholders in the development of interpreters and in the embedding of interpreting within two large statutory public service organisations. This offered a holistic view of what is needed to responsibly develop early-career practitioners and pragmatically embed interpreting into organisations that use it regularly. The practical applications of this are obvious: to truly bridge the gap between graduation and professionalisation, it is important that the development of interpreters is not seen to end with the completion of their university training.

It is equally vital to note that interpreters can only operate within the parameters set by the institutions they serve. Institutional learning is therefore also critical, as demonstrated by the PEAS approach. The development of interpreters is a multi-stakeholder process, in which organisations commissioning interpreting engage in self-reflection in much the same way as new interpreters do and with much the same outcomes. The contrasting results of the PEAS project in Police Scotland and the NHS suggest that all parties involved in interpreter development must learn to adjust their practices and expectations. In organisational terms, this adjustment seems to reflect a move from incidental to integral interpreting: from interpreting as a contracted service to interpreting as a structurally embedded part of organisational operations. Such a movement is not automatic. It involves understanding how excellent interpreting creates a net gain for the organisation, even as it may initially require increased financial investment and revisions to existing practices. In short, organisations gain from interpreting, and from the development of interpreters, in proportion to how much they are prepared to invest time, money and thinking into it. The long-term efficiencies from generating a consistent set of norms and procedures, co-developed by (and therefore with buy-in from) all professional participants, can be envisaged through the lens of this short-term pilot work. Clearly, adding community-wide engagement with such processes would fuel vital enhancement in promoting mutual confidence and respect.

In organisations taking an incidental approach, the embedding of training may go no further than having agreed onboarding or familiarisation procedures that allow interpreters to understand organisational expectations and internal bureaucracy. This would be similar to the integration of new staff in other roles. The mirror image can be seen in the notion of exposing health or policing trainees to interpreting during their initial education: it may be useful, but in reality, frontline staff will often never encounter an interpreter again in their work for

many years, by which time the lessons have been forgotten. Organisations using integral interpreting should instead look to form long-term partnerships with interpreter-training organisations and other relevant stakeholders to allow a consistent flow of learning and information between stakeholders, resulting not just in ongoing organisational evolution of practice but in training and support of interpreters that is attuned to changing work requirements.

Yet it would be a mistake to assume that the only organisations who need to make such shifts are those who will become regular interpreting users. The varied feedback on the support package on offer, as well as the communication issues that arose in the project, point to a need for interpreter training organisations to take on board the need for cross-sectoral partnership with the very organisations who will later be hiring or contracting their graduates. The need for training organisations to reflect on their own practices also means designing support packages for new graduates that respond to their felt needs. The next section of this discussion will therefore briefly reflect on this area.

7.2. Features of a good support package for interpreters

The support package offered in the PEAS project included supervision, mentoring and coaching. Feedback on all three shows that they are useful elements for future support but that they must respond to the needs of interpreters.

Mentoring provides a helpful protective mechanism for interpreters, but its scope is limited by the amount of access the mentor has to the interpreters' working lives. The quality of mentoring and project support on offer to interpreters is therefore largely determined by the quality of the partnership that exists between the parties involved. Similarly, supervision became an important lifeline for the interpreters, allowing them to debrief assignments and work on the emotional resilience and coping skills they would need to respond to challenges. Increasing the frequency of supervision seems to be key to increasing its effectiveness. Coaching is one area where practical improvements will be closely linked to developments in theory. The effectiveness of interpreter coaching will also be closely linked to the coach's awareness of the precise issues the interpreters are likely to face and the availability of targeted exercises. Recent calls for improved intra-disciplinary dialogue (e.g. Gile/Napier 2020; Downie 2021) can and should be answered if interpreter development is to extend beyond the classroom.

8. Theoretical & practical outcomes and conclusion

This paper discussed the PEAS project, which aimed to ease the transition between graduation and the establishment of new interpreters in the workplace while improving the integration of SLI into the Police in Scotland and the NHS in the Greater Glasgow and Clyde district. The project was understood within its unique political and historical context but was viewed as an example of ongoing research into institutions' approaches to interpreting. More projects of this kind

are encouraged in the future, with the scope for enriching institutional permeability to learning, improvements in coaching and supervision, and the deepening of cross-sectoral relationships being key areas for future work.

This project illustrated that in interpreting, there is nothing as practical as a good theory, by underlining the fundamental importance of understanding institutions' roles within the theorisation of interpreting. The experience of the interns and the results of the project seemed to depend largely on the approach taken by the two public service organisations and by the operational practices fostered by their particular cultures. This is in line with the research of Dong (2016), Dong/Turner (2016) and Downie (2016). While it is entirely possible that organisations might write guidelines describing the place of interpreting, actions speak louder than words and thus it would seem sensible to attempt to understand organisational views through their instantiation in practice.

In practical terms, such theoretical developments shadow the need for a growth in mutual understanding across all key interpreting stakeholders. Reducing the "readiness to work" gap (Godfrey 2010) and easing the transition from study to work will mean hitherto unseen partnership across services. In this study, the role of universities in forming cross-sectoral partnerships and the role of organisations that use interpreting regularly in working to integrate interpreting successfully into organisational practice has been illuminated. It is noteworthy that several recent graduates of Heriot-Watt University are now in newly created salaried posts as NHS interpreters in Scotland, evidence perhaps of institutional learning about what works in this context. While the PEAS project occurred in a unique political, historical and social environment, its achievements in fostering cross-sectoral co-operation and addressing key logistical, political and practical challenges seem applicable in many different contexts. Similar initiatives would benefit other public services. Work is needed to improve the coaching available, increase the supervision on offer, and build greater co-operation across all stakeholders before, during and after direct interventions.

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The first issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* appeared in 1988, when the scientific study of interpretation was “emerging from its infancy” (Crevatin 1988: 1) and manifesting its interdisciplinary nature. By drawing especially on general linguistics and neurosciences, that first issue set out the journal's mission to explain “the interpreter's ability to carry out extremely complicated operations requiring remarkable psycho-motor co-ordination” (*Ibidem*). Since then, “the discipline has [...] come of age” (Garzone/Viezzi 2002: 2), experiencing different turns (Pöchhacker 2008), exploring new professional contexts and harnessing innovative methodological resources to describe an increasingly diversified and constantly evolving profession.

With a view to carrying on the tradition of the first journal on Interpreting Studies, issue 27 of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* welcomes submissions that contribute to describing interpreting activity in all the situational contexts in which it is required, by using either traditional or innovative analytical methodologies.

Topics of interest

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

- The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on interpreting
- Remote interpreting practices and developments
- Interpreting didactics and training
- The role of interpreters throughout history
- Interpreting ethics
- Discourse analytical approaches to interpreting
- Corpus-based interpreting studies
- Artificial Intelligence and interpreting

Practical information and deadlines

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 and the style sheet are available at <https://www.openstarts.units.it/cris/journals/journalso0005/journalsInfoAuthor.html>. Manuscripts should be between 6,000 and 7,500 words long, including references, abstract (150-200 words) and keywords (5-10) and should be sent as Word attachments to interpretersnewsletter@units.it; Email subject: NL27 PAPER; File Name: author's name __NL27.

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