The Interpreters' Newsletter
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Sezione di Studi in Lingue Moderne per Interpreti e Traduttori (SSLMIT)
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Editorial

Cynthia J. Kellett
Alessandra Riccardi

Rather than collect contributions for a special themed issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter*, as has been the norm over the past several years, Issue 23 contains seven papers covering various topics on mainly Dialogue Interpreting. It was conceived two years ago in 2016, after the International Conference *Translation and Interpreting: Convergence, Contact, Interaction* was hosted from 26th-28th May at the University of Trieste at the SSLMIT: The Translation and Interpreting Section of the Department of Legal, Language, Interpreting and Translation Studies. Because translation and interpreting scholars often attend different conferences, or different sessions within the same conference, the Trieste Organising and Scientific Committee, of which the present editors were part, chose the above conference theme in order to purposely incorporate both Interpreting and Translation Studies to offer an opportunity for contact and comparison between specialists in the two disciplines. Furthermore, translation and interpreting are ever more frequently found together in relations of overlap, hybridity and contiguity, often constituting two interlingual processes performed by the same person in the same communicative act or in different situations. Translation and interpreting were, therefore, presented at the conference as a binomial (T&I), where experts from both disciplines were able to meet to exchange opinions, discuss research and find a common space for reflection.

From the various sessions on T&I spanning across ethics, diplomacy, accessibility, law, politics, economics, medicine, television and more, the Organising and Scientific Committee decided to select papers for three distinct publications[1]. Among contributions that focused exclusively or mainly on interpreting, the seven selected for the present 2018 issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* cover three main themes: telephone interpreting; the use of comparable corpora in research or training; and interpreter training.

Telephone interpreting is the focus of Simo K. Määttä's contribution. Using authentic telephone-interpreting data, he analyses the accuracy of interpretation in an interview conducted by a Finnish law-enforcement officer and a migrant using French as a lingua franca. He explores choices made by the interpreter in great detail by merging critical discourse analysis, critical sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and systemic-functional linguistics. From the outcome of his analysis he suggests that there should be a reconsideration of Finnish deontological codes with regard to lingua-franca interpreting in the context of telephone interpreting.

A second paper on telephone interpreting (TI) is offered by Emilia Iglesias Fernández and Marc Ouellet. In their opinion, although TI is a long-established practice, official formal training in it is not at all homogeneous, and some interpreters who work with languages of lesser diffusion receive little or no training in it at all. Their concern with the development of didactic solutions in TI and video-based remote interpreting has led to their involvement within a European Research Project *SHaping the Interpreters of the Future and of Today: SHIFT in Orality,* in order to gain first-hand knowledge of what constitutes the major challenges faced by telephone interpreters (TIs) and the specific solutions that can be used to resolve them. Through an exploratory survey they have adopted a comparative approach to the acquisition of competences by TIs of varying levels of expertise (novices, advanced and seasoned interpreters), as well as the identification of cultural differences, by comparing TI practitioners from two different geographical backgrounds: Sweden and Spain. From the results of this first survey they suggest a list of categories of challenges for TI training which can further define the contents of future curricular solutions as training progresses from less complex to more difficult TI experiences. A follow-up survey is envisioned.

Another paper related to the European Research Project *SHaping the Interpreters of the Future and of Today: SHIFT in Orality* is presented by Nicoletta Spinolo, Michela Bertozzi and Mariachiara Russo. Through their involvement in remote interpreting, specifically telephone interpreting and videoconferencing they outline the main features of the project and offer some preliminary results of the analysis of turn management in telephone interpreting between Spanish-Italian in service/tourism settings and English-Spanish in legal/police settings. The data were supplied by the two remote interpreting companies involved in the project. The data provided are simulations based on real-life situations. Numerous examples highlight the use of chunking, the role of pauses, and the management of dyadic sequences by the interpreters during interactions from which good practices for telephone interpreting are thus summarized.

1 This present issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter*; Paola Gentile and Eugenia Dal Fovo (forthcoming) *Convergence, Contact and Interaction in Translation and Interpreting Studies,* Oxford, Peter Lang; Katia Peruzzo and Gianluca Pontrandolfo (2017) *International Journal of Legal Discourse* 2/2, Special issue: *Legal translation and interpreting: between old and new theoretical, discursive and professional perspectives*.

Dialogue interpreting has evolved over the past couple of decades in numerous workplace settings normally in non-belligerent circumstances. However, with an increase world-wide of conflicts and wars and the resulting mass migrations of displaced persons and refugees, interpretation in conflict zones is a growing necessity to which far less scholarly attention has been paid compared to other forms of interpreting. Anjad A. Mahasneh and Mohammed M. Obeidat discuss the need for a revised, less European-centred, training model for conflict zone interpreters, based on their findings after interviewing interpreters working for non-governmental organisations which provide humanitarian services for refugees in Jordan.

Eugenia Dal Fovo's contribution on "The use of dialogue interpreting corpora in healthcare interpreter training" presents a model for the teaching of dialogue interpreting (DI) in healthcare settings based on a technique developed by Stokoe and then applied to healthcare interpreting by Niemants. The author replicates the experiment by Niemants and Stokoe (2017) applying their training method within her English-Italian healthcare interpreting class and verifying results during the exam session. The aim of the model is to help students to integrate within the dialogic interaction, first observing real-life interpreters in action and then discussing the solutions adopted. Trainees are asked to reflect on what kind of problems emerge from a specific passage and encouraged to suggest possible actions to solve a certain problem. They also learn the importance of the common ground shared with the interlocutors to adopt the best possible solution given in a particular context, which in many cases may be, for example, non-interpreting on a turn-by-turn basis. The application of the method proved useful for understanding the multiple facets of real-life interpreter-mediated healthcare interaction, thus developing awareness of the communication responsibility of healthcare interpreters and of the role they play.

Data drawn from comparable and parallel interpreting corpora have led Bart Defrancq to question the concept of comparability in corpus-based Interpreting Studies. He argues that the fact that groups (discourse communities) generating the oral data share the same work environment could lead to the individuals involved linguistically influencing one another as is the case of the European Parliament (EP), where most of the interpreted corpus data come from. To investigate the potential linguistic convergence that is likely to result from this mutual influence, both a theoretical and an empirical approach were taken. The theoretical approach indicated that EP interpreters and MEPs can be analysed as constituting one single discourse community. The empirical study, based on three discourse markers drawn from corpora (French>English, Spanish>English and Italian>English data sets) extracted from debates in the European and British Parliaments, showed a different picture. The EP discourse community comprising both members of parliament and interpreters as opposed to British MPs could not be confirmed for the investigated items.

The use of comparable corpora in interpreting practice and training is the topic presented by Claudio Fantinuoli, who discusses how it can be used to assist terminology research and knowledge acquisition during advance preparation for both professional and trainee interpreters. Information is provided on the software tools and on-line resources available, highlighting their advantages and disadvantages. He stresses the importance of the self discovery experience in creating and using two kinds of comparable corpora: ad hoc specialised corpora and corpora of speeches. In the case of domain-specific comparable corpora, automatic terminology extraction can be obtained or collocations. He exemplifies a corpus building method for the entry *biogas* asking students to evaluate randomly extracted texts on the topic with the aim of evaluating the perceived suitability of the texts.

We hope that this selection of seven papers will contribute to further reflection and future additions to research on these stimulating topics.

Cynthia J. Kellett and Alessandra Riccardi

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Accuracy in telephone interpreting: the case of French as a lingua franca in Finland

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Abstract

This paper analyzes accuracy in authentic telephone-interpreting data in which the migrant and the interpreter communicate in French as a lingua franca, namely a language that is not their first language. The data consists of an interview conducted by a law-enforcement officer in Finland. The analysis is based on the ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions of language theorized within systemic-functional grammar. The analysis shows that the particularities of both telephone-mediated interpreting and lingua-franca interpreting engender significant communication problems. As a result, accuracy is not achieved, and the interpreter has to use strategies that are questionable in terms of the codes of conduct of community and legal interpreters. The interpreter is an active agent in the co-construction, maintenance, and erasure of indexical meanings such as speaker identities. In addition, due to linguistic and contextual constraints, the interpreter takes a prominent role as a coordinator of turns. The paper suggests that interpreters' deontological codes are based on monolithic language ideologies and unrealistic expectations that should be reconsidered to correspond to the specific features of lingua franca and telephone interpreting.

Keywords

Community interpreting, public-service interpreting, legal interpreting, telephone interpreting, French, Finnish, systemic-functional grammar, equivalence, accuracy, lingua franca.

Introduction

Equivalence between source text and target text has been a quintessential concept in most theorizations of translation. In fact, the questioning of the concept may be regarded as an essential feature of contemporary European translation theories (Windle/Pym 2011: 15). Many theories have concerned themselves with the distinction between strict adherence to the source text compared to adaptation to the cultural and linguistic context of the target text. Pairs describing these two poles include direct and oblique translation (Vinay/Darbelnet 1958), formal and dynamic equivalence (Nida 1964: 159), textual equivalence and formal correspondence (Catford 1965: 27), and covert and overt translation (House 1997). Several theoretical models propose categorizations of types of equivalence based on linguistic units (e.g. Baker 1992). Such categorizations, with a specific emphasis on pragmatic equivalence, have been common in studies focusing on community and legal interpreting (Berg-Seligson 1990: 2; Fowler 1997: 198-199; Hale 2004, 2006, and 2007). Accuracy is a more practice-oriented aspect of the relationship between source and target text. According to Viezzi (1996: 88), an accurate interpretation means that the interpreter transmits and reformulates the informative content of the source text accurately. This requires above all that the same information content is recognized by the target text hearer and implies taking into account the speaker's communicative intention, the knowledge gap between the speaker and the hearer, the relevance of information content for the audience, and the pragmatic dimension. Hale (1996) also emphasizes the pragmatic dimension of accurate interpretation: interpreting accurately means interpreting pragmatically.

Accuracy is the cornerstone of legal and community-interpreting practice. For example, the ethical code for Finnish legal interpreters is founded on the requirement of accurate interpretation of the information content (SKTL 2016: Art. 6): "The legal interpreter shall interpret in an exhaustive manner without omitting anything nor adding anything irrelevant". The explanatory note on this Article specifies that "the task of the interpreter is to transmit the messages present in an interpreter-mediated encounter as exhaustively as possible and without changing their content" (both translations by the author). According to the preamble to this code, the interpreter may intervene in the flow of discourse, if this is necessary, in order to guarantee "exhaustive and accurate interpretation". In addition, the code (Art. 5) considers accurate interpretation to result from adequate preparation for an assignment: the interpreter should ensure that s/he receives all background material in order to guarantee accurate interpretation.

Experienced community and legal interpreters know how difficult it is to achieve accuracy. Such problems are salient in telephone-based interpreting, which has become increasingly common and a multimillion-dollar business worldwide (Azarmina/Wallace 2005; Ozolins 2011: 34-36). Telephone interpreting is cheaper, and when interpreting is urgently needed, it is easier to find a telephone interpreter than an interpreter who is physically present in the same location. The development of mobile telephony and the decreased price of telephony in general largely explain the rise of this mode of interpreting (Ozolins 2011: 34). Telephone interpreting is particularly common in situations in which it is difficult to find an interpreter of a language of lesser diffusion (Torres 2014: 404).

However, telephone interpreting is also quite common when the interpreter and the migrant communicate in a language of wider diffusion, including global languages such as Spanish (Rosenberg 2007).

Existing scholarship has repeatedly identified the need to conduct more research on telephone interpreting in order to analyze the very nature of telephone-interpreted discourse (Wadensjö 1999: 261) and to explore the theoretical basis of telephone interpreting research (Ozolins 2011: 43). Other suggested research areas include the impact of extra-linguistic and situational demands, lack of a shared frame of reference, the interpreter's physical distance, and the contingency of accuracy upon the semantic field (Rosenberg 2007: 75).

This paper attempts to contribute to telephone interpreting scholarship through an analysis inspired by critical discourse analysis and critical sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and systemic-functional linguistics. The paper explores choices made by the interpreter during an interview conducted in Finland by a law-enforcement officer, in which the interpreter and the interviewee were both second-language speakers of French, a global lingua franca, and communicated via telephone. The choice of this data aims at drawing attention to the fact that at least in Finland, telephone interpreting is quite common in the legal field and especially in police, border-control, and customs interviews. Furthermore, the data choice emphasizes the interplay between two sources of constraints: the use of a lingua franca as a language of communication and the use of the telephone as a channel of communication. In a critical sociolinguistic and discourse-analytical framework, the paper addresses the *reasons* why constraints present in telephone and lingua-franca interpreting engender specific problems in interaction and the *consequences* of these constraints, materialized in linguistic *choices* visible in the data. These linguistic choices are related to accuracy in the sense of the accurate transmission and reformulation of source-text information content (Viezzi 1996: 88). Data transcription and micro-level analysis are based on tools borrowed from conversation analysis. On a more general and macro level, the analysis is inspired by systemic-functional grammar, which also emphasizes choice and observes meaning through the prism of the *functions* of language. These functions have shaped the categories, structures, and constructions inherent in languages. Hence, the analysis is based on the co-construction of meaning in interaction inasmuch as it relates to the ways in which language is used to: 1) construe experience, make sense of the world, and create coherent meanings (*ideational* metafunction and meaning); 2) create, maintain, and break bonds between speakers (*interpersonal* metafunction and meaning); and 3) create meaningful and cohesive discourse (*textual* metafunction and meaning). These categories are called metafunctions because they are not merely types of function but also of meaning, purported to serve as meaningful categories for the actual analysis of language use. Any spoken, written, or multimodal text can be analyzed from the perspective of all metafunctions as they operate simultaneously (Halliday/Matthiessen 2004: 29-31). Choice is a central idea in functional grammar: using language means choosing from among infinite meaning-making resources (*ibid.*: 4). Thus, translating is a process in which the translator simultaneously chooses from among different metafunctional systems (Matthiessen 2014: 277). In Translation Studies, systemic-functional theory has been used previously for example in House's (1997) translation-quality assessment model and in Munday's (2015) study of engagement and graduation resources as signs of translator and interpreter positioning.

1. Data and methods of analysis

The data consists of an interview in which the interviewee was a person suspected of committing an offense. The interview lasted for approximately 27 minutes. The transcript contains 6,046 words and 38,018 characters, including spaces. This interview was preceded and followed by other meetings and interviews. All were telephone-interpreted by the same interpreter: the duration of the interpreting assignment, including a lunch break, was five hours. An officer, a lawyer, and the interviewee were present in the room in which the interview was conducted. The participants used a speakerphone with a microphone and a loudspeaker separate from the handset in order to allow several people to participate in one conversation. The physical distance between the interview room and the interpreter was several hundred kilometers. The interpreter, working from home, used a cellular phone. The data was obtained through personal contacts in the interpreter and interpreting-service communities. The voice-recording application on the cellular phone was used. The tape was transcribed by an assistant who used Praat software for phonetic analysis, after which the author verified and corrected the transcript.

In order to make the excerpts of the transcript more accessible, I have numbered the turns (rather than lines as is customary in conversation analysis), capitalized the participants' names, and italicized the English translations of Finnish and French utterances. Pauses are reproduced in the translation in order to make it easier to follow the transcript. Unlike French and English, Finnish makes abundant usage of word and constituent-order variation in the creation of ideational, interpersonal, and textual meaning. As a result, full-fledged literalness is not possible. However, since the goal is not to analyze grammatical equivalence between languages that are quite different structurally (French and English are Indo-European languages, whereas Finnish is a Uralic language), I have not glossed grammatical features. I have used the following transcription conventions, adapted from Seppänen (1997):

?	Rising intonation at the end of a prosodic group (question mark)
documents.	Descending intonation at the end of a prosodic group (period)
↗payé	Pitch prominence in the following word (arrow)
combien	Increased loudness (italics)
Payé	Increased intensity of a plosive (capitalization)
c:es	Lengthened vowel (colon)
annott-	False start (hyphen)
(.)	Micropause shorter than 0.2 seconds (period in parentheses)
(1.4)	Pause longer than 0.2 seconds
tout=ce	Elements merging without clear distinction
>ouais ouais<	Passage pronounced faster than neighboring words
<dollaria>	Passage pronounced more slowly than neighboring words
dollars	Minor change in voice quality

dollars	Significant change in voice quality
(---)	Inaudible
(yé)	Significantly non-normative pronunciation or ungrammatical usage (also in parentheses in the translation if applicable, eventually with two alternative equivalents)
((in French))	Transcriber's and translator's comments
[ouais ouais]	Turn overlapping with the previous turn

First, I will analyze one extract from the perspective of ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. Second, I will analyze another extract from the viewpoint of the textual metafunction. These extracts were chosen because they illustrate recurrent communication problems that emerge from the data. While they do not contain elements that would allow for the identification of the persons involved, certain details that are not crucial for the analysis have been changed and the gender of the participants is not disclosed in order to ensure privacy. As a result, it is impossible to identify the persons involved.

2. Ideational and interpersonal meaning

The extract analyzed below starts about 12 minutes into the interview. Prior to the interview, a meeting had been held between the interviewee and his/her counsel. Hence, the telephone interpretation had been ongoing for almost 40 minutes by the beginning of this sample:

1)
1 OFFICER ↗paljon nämä asiakirjat ↗maksoivat sinulle
how much did these documents cost you
2 INTERPRETER combien est-ce que tu as ↗payé pour ce:s documents?
how much did you pay for these documents
3 INTERVIEWEE pardon?
4 INTERPRETER combien est-ce que tu as ↗payé (1.4) ça t'a coûté combien?
how much did you pay (1.4) how much did it cost you
5 INTERVIEWEE (yé) ↗n'entends pas
(I) cannot hear
6 INTERPRETER *combien* est-ce que ça t'a coûté ? (1.3) tu as ↗*Payé* combien?
how much did it cost you (1.3) how much did you pay
7 INTERVIEWEE (4.2) répétez >(per) moi ces questions< s'il vous plaît
(4.2) could you please repeat these questions (for) me
8 INTERPRETER hän pyytää mua ↗toistamaan ↗*combien* est-ce que tu as ↗*Payé* pour ces documents (.) tu comprends?
he wants me to repeat ((in Finnish)) *how much did you pay for these documents (.) do you understand* ((in French))
9 INTERVIEWEE ah (.) l'argent que je paie?
oh (.) the money I pay
10 INTERPRETER [>ouais ouais< ↗*l'argent*] ((annoyance)) (.) oui (.) combien
yeah yeah the money (.) yes (.) how much
11 INTERVIEWEE ah l'argent (qui) m'avait demandé donc éh j'avai:s? (.) j'avai:s éeeh (le le le) somme-là donc eh (0.3) il ↗m'a demandé que eh de (dé) donner? (.) eeh (1.0) deux mille dollars

oh the money (who/he) asked me for so er I had (.) I had erm the the the that sum so er (0.3) he asked me that er to (to) give (.) erm (1.0) two thousand dollars
12 INTERPRETER ↗deux mille dollars
two thousand dollars
13 INTERVIEWEE oui
yes
14 INTERPRETER hän pyysi minulta ↗kaksituhatta dollaria
he asked me for two thousand dollars
15 OFFICER *>eli< maksoit ↗kaksituhatta dollaria näistä asiakirjoista* ((annoyance))
so you paid two thousand dollars for these documents
16 INTERPRETER et tu as ↗Payé deux mille ↗dollars alors
and so you paid two thousand dollars
17 INTERVIEWEE pardon?
18 INTERPRETER et tu *as ↗payé* deux mille dollars
and you paid two thousand dollars
19 INTERVIEWEE (2.8) (yé) ↗n'entends pas
(2.8) (I) cannot hear
20 INTERPRETER est-ce que tu *as ↗payé* deux mille dollars
did you pay two thousand dollars
21 INTERVIEWEE la personne m'a dit (qui) non non que pour <*m'aider*> pour m'aider là
the person told me (who/that) no no that to help me help me there
22 INTERPRETER (6.6) donc tu n'as ↗*pas* payé. (2.3) la question c'était est-ce que tu as ↗payé deux mille dollars
(6.6) so you did not pay (2.3) the question was did you pay two thousand dollars
23 (4.5) ((It is not clear whether someone speaks here.))
24 INTERPRETER hän ↗sanoo ö ö öh pyytää ö ↗toistamaan kysymyksen (8.8) donc ↗ce monsieur qui t'a donné ces documents. est-ce que tu lui as ↗payé deux mille dollars ↗est-ce que tu lui as ↗donné (.) ↗deux mille dollars (.) d'argent
he says er er erm asks me er to repeat the question (8.8) ((in Finnish)) *so this man who gave you these documents did you pay him two thousand dollars did you give him (.) two thousand dollars (.) of money* ((in French))
25 INTERVIEWEE (---)
26 INTERPRETER ↗kyllä (.) mulla ↗oli kaksituhatta dollaria
yes (.) I had two thousand dollars
27 OFFICER (5.5) **↗*maksoitkos* <sen kaksituhatta dollaria tälle henkilölle>** ((annoyance/impatience))
did you pay two thousand dollars to this person
28 INTERPRETER >donc ↗encore une fois< (.) ↗est-ce que tu as donné (.) deux mille dollars (.) à ce monsieur
so one more time (.) did you give (.) two thousand dollars (.) to this man
29 INTERVIEWEE (y) ↗*m'ont* pris deux mille dollars
(they) took two thousand dollars from me.
30 INTERPRETER he ö (0.3) h-he: >↗ottivat minulta< kaksituhatta dollaria
they er t-they took from me two thousand dollars
31 OFFICER (4.9) *(j)joo* ((disbelief/resilience))
okay.

2.1 Ideational meaning

At first sight, the fact that the interviewee does not hear and/or understand the interpreter's questions seems to be the main problem in this passage: the same question has to be repeated five times (turns 2 through 10) before an answer emerges. The interpreter uses different techniques to ensure understanding: reformulation, repetition, and prosodic strategies such as pitch prominence and increased loudness affecting the verbs *payer* and *coûter* ('cost') and the adverb *combien* ('how much'). These strategies suggest that the interpreter deems the problem to reside in divergent linguistic resources between the interpreter and the interviewee: the interviewee does not recognize or know the verbs *payer* and *coûter*, although they are common verbs in French. Starting from turn 16, the interpreter seems to assume that the verb *payer* is now familiar to the interviewee. The interpreter uses similar prosodic strategies as in previous turns to emphasize this key word. However, it is only in turn 24, in which the interpreter reformulates the question by using one of the most frequent French verbs *donner* ('give') and the noun *argent* ('money') in an unidiomatic construction *(deux mille dollars d'argent*, 'two thousand dollars of money'), that the interviewee appears to understand the question.

While lexical problems seem to constitute a major issue in this exchange, there are also interesting phenomena related to transitivity, namely process types and participant roles. Many analyses of experiential metafunction and ideational meaning have concentrated on these phenomena (Eggins 1996: 76-77; Caffarel 2006: 14; Halliday/Matthiessen 2004: 301). In turn 1, the officer inquires how much the documents cost, presenting the process as relational, namely a process of being. The interpreter (turn 2) uses the verb *payer*, describing the process as material, namely a process of doing (*ibid*.: 179). While relational processes describe a relation of being or having between two entities, material processes imply an active doer. In turn 4, the interpreter reformulates the question by using both verbs *payer* and *coûter*, thereby presenting the process as both material, with an active doer, and relational, with a passive participant.

At least two hypotheses can be ventured as to the reason why the interpreter mixes relational and material processes. First, the interpreter may have regarded the material process as simpler and more explicit both semantically and syntactically and, therefore, easier to understand. In fact, the relational process implies that since the person has the documents now, a price has been paid. The fact that the officer emphasizes both the word *paljon* ('how much') and *maksoi* ('cost', simple past) in turn 1 with a higher pitch may have triggered this interpretation. Second, the interpreter may have neglected the fact that active participation or the lack thereof could be important, although the distinction is essential from the viewpoint of judicial consequences.

Subsequently, it becomes clear that the officer actually wanted to know both the price of the false documents and whether the interviewee was an active doer in the process (turn 15). In the turns that follow, the interpreter no longer mixes process types and repeats the question three times (turns 16, 18, and 20). In turn 21, the interviewee's speech is incoherent and ungrammatical, which clearly confuses the interpreter (turn 22). First, there is a long pause (6.6 seconds) followed by a request for confirmation that the interviewee had actually not paid anything (triggered by the negation word *no*, repeated twice in the interviewee's seemingly incoherent turn). After a short pause (2.3 seconds), the interpreter decides to reiterate the question. It is not clear whether the interviewee reacts to this or whether there is another rather long pause (turn 23) before the interpreter chooses to inform the officer about an explicit repair initiation. At this point, the exchange between the interpreter and the interviewee has lasted 33 seconds and covered 3 adjacency pairs without the officer's intervention. Judging from the interpreter's turn 26, the interviewee presumably answers "Yes, I had 2,000 dollars", thus using a relational process describing possession (turn 25 is inaudible). When the officer reiterates the question (turn 27), the interviewee finally answers with a material process in which the active doer is someone else: the interviewee is represented as a passive participant who suffers from the action. The interpreter's hesitation sounds and pause in turn 28 suggest discomfort with the word-for-word translation of the construction, as the verb *ottaa*, 'take', connotes a violent exchange of money in this particular context in Finnish.

2.2 Interpersonal meaning

While the analysis above initially indicates that the problem is mainly lexical, scrutiny of transitivity patterns suggests otherwise: the interviewee may not want to be represented as an active participant in the process. Marking oneself as knowledgeable or uninformed is part of the construction of speaker identity, which links the analysis to interpersonal meaning. In this section, I will analyze speaker identity in connection with stance, mood (interrogatives), and turn-taking.

In reformulations and prosodic strategies highlighting key words, the interpreter's intentions are certainly good: the necessary information needs to be extracted. At the same time, the interpreter's speech is represented as more precise and more adequate than the migrant's speech (cf. Kurhila 2001: 179), which may convey an implicitly negative stance towards the migrant: the interpreter categorizes the interlocutor as a lingua-franca speaker of French with deficient linguistic resources.

Initially, the interpreter does not demonstrate an explicitly negative stance towards the interviewee: while key words are stressed, the general tone remains neutral. However, in turn 10, the interpreter shows overt annoyance by starting the turn before the interviewee has finished and by repeating the colloquial *ouais* ('yeah') as a sign of impatience. Subsequently, the interpreter quickly switches back to the more polite form *oui* ('yes') and a neutral tone, and continues doing this throughout the rest of this extract.

According to the code of conduct for Finnish legal interpreters, the interpreter's own opinions and attitude should not be heard. At the same time, the interpreter should use the same tone as the original speaker (SKTL 2016: Art. 6 and 7). However, it is not in the interpreter's interest to adopt a negative stance: the communication setting is quite fragile due to mismatching linguistic resources, poor quality of sound, and lack of non-verbal communication. The way in which the interpreter treats the officer's negative stance is quite illustrative in this respect.

The officer's frustration and annoyance are audible throughout the encounter (especially in turns 15 and 27). There are no attempts on the part of the interpreter to convey this dimension in any of the encounters constituting the interpreting assignment from which the data is extracted. In fact, the perlocutionary effect of interpreting such a stance would be quite perilous. There is no direct indication as to the object of the officer's negative stance: the interviewee, the situation, the story, or the interpreter. In an interpretation provided over the phone, the interviewee would clearly become the target of such a stance, which could have a negative impact on the rapport between the migrant and the interpreter. In addition, this pattern of neutralizing negative affect is consistent with previous research according to which interpreters and translators have a tendency to downscale attitudinal and engagement values in the target text (Munday 2015: 419).

In addition to stance and identity, mood is an interpersonal phenomenon worth analyzing. In an interview conducted by a law-enforcement official, question-answer adjacency pairs dominate the encounter. In telephone interpreting, it is particularly important to convey mood-related information, as devices used in face-to-face situations, such as gaze and gesture, are not available. In lingua-franca interpreting, the situation is even more complicated, especially in languages in which various strategies can be used to form questions.

In French, questions can be produced either by reversing the order of the main constituents, by adding the interrogative morpheme *est-ce que*, or by using rising intonation. In the extract above, the interpreter uses both intonation and the morpheme *est-ce que*, namely informal and neutral question-formation techniques. Rising intonation is clear in three turns (4, 6, and 8) whereas in five turns (4, 10, 16, 18, 20, and 22), this feature is not clear. The morpheme *est-ce que* is used in seven turns (2, 4, 6, 8, 22, 24, and 28). On two occasions (turns 2 and 6), *est-ce que* is accompanied by rising intonation at the end of the turn, which is optional in French. (Turn 16 is not really a question.) Thus, one may argue that since the interpreter does not mark all turns as interrogatives by using clearly rising intonation, the interviewee may not have interpreted such turns as questions. In addition, while the interpreter may have favored questions formed by *est-ce que* because that morpheme clearly marks the clause as a question even in poor hearing conditions, the morpheme also adds morphological complexity, which may constitute a problem in a lingua-franca situation. Throughout the encounter, the interviewee uses only rising intonation in questions. At the same time, the fact that the interpreter uses rising intonation consistently at the beginning of this extract appears to favor the hypothesis that the problem is represented mainly as a lexical one. Indeed, in turn 7 the interviewee clearly indicates that the mood of the interpreter's questions is not a problem. However, the plural in *ces questions* ('these questions') suggests that the interpreter's strategy of reformulation may not have been felicitous: the interviewee may have perceived different formulations of the same question as different questions altogether.

As for turn organization, there are 31 turns in the extract. The officer asks four questions (turns 1, 15, 27, and 31). There are two long passages in which the officer does not take part (turns 2 through 10, and 16 through 26). In turn 8, the interpreter informs the officer that the interviewee wants the question to be repeated after the interviewee has explicitly requested this. In turn 24, it is not clear whether the interpreter's informing the officer is preceded by a repair initiation on the part of the interviewee, as turn 23 is inaudible.

According to the code of conduct for legal interpreters in Finland (SKTL 2016: Art. 6), the interpreter should not have taken the initiative for turn-taking without informing the speaker: "If needed, the interpreter informs clearly that s/he is speaking on his or her own behalf". However, responsibility for the organization of discourse is permitted in certain cases in order to ensure "exhaustive and accurate interpretation" (*ibid.*: Preamble).

Several hypotheses can be put forward to explain the interpreter's strategy. First, the analysis of ideational meaning indicates that the interpreter has identified lexical problems as the main issue. Therefore, one could argue that the interpreter is following the turn-taking exception permitted by the ethical code, taking responsibility for turn organization in order to assure quality interpreting. In fact, the officer does not know French and cannot distinguish between different varieties of French, identify potential linguistic issues, or help to reformulate the questions in a form that the interviewee understands. Second, the interpreter's strategy may have been triggered by basic characteristics of repair organization in a conversation. While the interviewee initiates the repair, the interpreter adopts the position of the origin of the problem. Repairs performed by the originator of the problem constitute the preferred repair pattern in conversation (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977; Sorjonen 1997). Third, informing the officer about the repair entails using two languages in the same turn. There are several cases elsewhere in the data where such code-switching techniques create additional problems: when the turn starts in a language, the interviewee does not understand and active listening stops. Code-switching is especially problematic in telephone interpreting because there are no non-verbal means by which code-switching can be linked to recipient-switching. Fourth, throughout this interpreting assignment, the interviewee shows alignment mainly with the interpreter, the primary interlocutor. Thus, repair initiations referring to a hearing problem either implicitly (*Pardon?*) or explicitly (*I cannot hear*), are logically directed to the interpreter, and the interpreter informs the officer only when the request for repair does not imply hearing problems (e.g. turn 8). Rosenberg (2007: 67) has identified these phenomena, indicating unfamiliarity with the particularities of telephone-based interpreting and resulting in the interpreter becoming a full-fledged conversational participant, as being typical features of telephone interpreting. In such a situation, using the third person could help to make the communication smoother (*ibid.*: 73).

3. Textual meaning

While the interviewee expresses failure to understand or hear the interpreter's rather short questions, the interpreter expresses perfect understanding of the interviewee's long answers in most cases. Therefore, the interpreter processes the interviewee's answers as unproblematic (see Gavioli/Baraldi 2011: 214) and erases the identity of the interviewee as a lingua-franca speaker with idiosyncratic language resources. This phenomenon emerges clearly from a textual analysis of the second sample. This extract is a passage interpreted eight minutes prior to the first excerpt. The question asked by the officer preceding the excerpt is: "Who gave you this passport or these false documents?".

2)
INTERVIEWEE les documents là donc eh >je ne connais< ↗même pas ça donc éh (.) un quelqu'un=un ↗*gars* comme ça donc >un ↗blanc comme ça< (0.6) (yé) eu donc ééh (.) ↗même moi je ne connai- je n'ai: jamais (*vi*) (0.6) comme j'étais venu donc je cherchais là où je peux aller? (0.8) donc ééh (0.9) avec ces messieux=je n'ai jamais vu< le ce (messieu) non me remet donc e:t puis que *voilà* et puis eh (1.6) ↗tout=ce qu'ils ont fait là-bas donc je n'étais ↗*pas* comment ils ont fait tout ça je ne sais même pas
those documents er so I don't even know it er (.) a someone a guy like that so a white guy like that (0.6) (I) got so erm (.) even me I don't know I never saw (0.6) since I had come so I looked for a place to go (0.8) so erm (0.9) with these gentlemen I never saw the this (gentleman) no hands me so and then that here you are and then er (1.6) all they did there so I was not how they did all that I don't even know
INTERPRETER (2.9) no minä en edes tiedä ↗kuka ↗kuka ne on (0.5) ↗*kuka* sen on tehnyt että tota mulle (annott-) anto tän ↗passin joku ↗*tyyppi*? joku ↗valkoihonen? (0.7) ja mä en ees ↗tunne sitä et mä en ↗tiedä kuka ne on tehny
(2.9) well, I don't even know who who has them (0.5) who has done it like I was (gave) given this passport by some guy some white person (0.7) and I don't even know him[1] *like I don't know who made them*

The interviewee pronounces certain sounds idiosyncratically, *yé* [je] instead of *je* [ʒə] for 'I', *vi* [vi] instead of *vu* [vy] for the past participle of the verb *voir* ('see'). There are no lexical difficulties, and the core message is clearly foregrounded: the answer is negative, as indicated by seven negations. Key verbs are repeated several times: *connaître* and *savoir* ('know') three times, *voir* ('see') twice. While frequent pauses and hesitation sounds in the interviewee's turn appear to indicate difficulties in finding words, these features can also be interpreted as cohesive devices organizing the turn into meaningful sequences. Intonation and word stress are clearly used to this end. Another salient feature is the abundance of lexical cohesive devices. For example, the adverb *donc* ('so' or 'like'), which is a frequent connector in French, is used seven times. In addition, the interviewee's speaking rate is relatively fast: 199 wpm. This creates an impression of fluency for a person who does not know French: prosodic and temporal factors have been identified as key features in the perception of fluency in the existing literature in the field of Linguistics and Interpreting Studies alike (Rennert 2010: 103-104).

However, the interviewee's turn is rather problematic. First, on several occasions, the rheme element of the clause is truncated (cf. Halliday/Matthiessen 2004: 64-67). Thus, at the beginning of the turn, the interviewee claims to have no knowledge of the documents. However, in previous turns the interviewee admitted being their legal owner several times. When the interviewer switches to talk about the people involved, things become even more complicated: it is not clear whether not knowing, not seeing, and never seeing refer to the documents

1 Although Finnish does not have grammatical gender in pronouns, it is clear from the context that the reference is masculine.

or to a person. As for the verb *remettre* ('hand/give'), the logical object (*documents*) is too far away to be connected with this verb. The verb *être* ('be') remains enigmatic as well: was the interviewee not "there", or rather, not aware of something? Due to these particularities, it is rather difficult to analyze the thematic progression in this turn. The fact that the cohesive connector *donc* is used idiosyncratically on several occasions aggravates the problem. All of these textual features create an idiosyncratic system of cohesion.

While it is possible to establish the content of the interviewee's turn in retrospect with some degree of probability by listening to the tape several times and analyzing textual and other linguistic features carefully, the situation must have been quite different on the spot. In fact, one may argue that according to the code of conduct for Finnish legal interpreters, the interpreter should have informed the officer that the language variety differs too much from varieties known to the interpreter (SKTL 2016: Art. 10). However, there are no interpreters familiar with this "variety": it is neither a sociolect nor a dialect. It is an idiolect.

There are pauses, hesitations, repetitions, and a false start in the interpreter's turn, which indicate that the turn is problematic. However, the interpreter manages to convey the most important elements of the interviewee's turn by raising the pitch of key words: *kuka* ('who', nominative subject case, three times), *passin* ('passport', accusative object case), *tyyppi* ('guy', nominative subject case), *valkoihonen* ('white-skinned', nominative subject case), *tiedä* ('know', 3rd pers. sg, negation), *tunne* 'know', (3rd pers. sg, negation). In addition, the words *kuka* and *tyyppi* are stressed. The connections the interpreter establishes between these words, namely who did what to whom and so forth, are probably the result of logical reasoning about the most probable scenario based on previous information about this and other interviews, as well as guesswork perhaps.

The interpreter starts the turn using a neutral or formal register, as exemplified by the pronoun *minä* ('I', nominative subject case), the adverb *edes* ('even'), and the past participle *tehnyt* ('done'). Starting from the colloquial discourse marker *että tota* ('like'), indicating explanation or reported speech, the interpreter's speech becomes colloquial. Thus, colloquial variants of personal and demonstrative pronouns appear: *mulle* ('to me', allative dative case), *tän* ('this', accusative object case), *mä* ('I', nominative subject case), *sitä* ('he/she', partitive object case)[2], and again *mä*. Verbs are also colloquial: *anto* ('give', 3rd pers. sg. pret.) and *tehny* ('make', 3rd pers. sg. pret.), as well as modal adverbs and discourse markers: *ees* ('even') and *et* ('like'). The noun *valkoihonen* ('white-skinned', nominative object case) is also pronounced colloquially, and the noun *tyyppi* ('guy', nominative object case) is typical of informal language. Furthermore, the rising intonation after these two words is a feature typical of modern informal language use, especially among young people in the greater Helsinki area. (This strange intonation pattern could also be a phenomenon of interference from French.) Overall, informal and colloquial features mark the interpreter's speech quite distinctively as modern colloquial Finnish.

The switch from a formal to a colloquial register is rather enigmatic: the discourse marker *että tota* ('like') appears to trigger a move from a stylized mode to

2 This pronoun is colloquial when the reference is to a human being.

a more literal interpretation. Therefore, one may argue that features indicating hesitation and colloquial features, as well as prosodic features that are not typical in Finnish, show that the interpreter is trying to convey the original speaker's register and style as required by the deontological code (SKTL 2016: Art. 6). However, it is rather strange to assume that modern colloquial Finnish should equate with idiosyncratic non-native French. In fact, according to another hypothesis, the interpreter renders the key message of the interviewee's turn in a neutral register and subsequently switches to a colloquial register because of the extremely high cognitive load of the situation. Indeed, research has shown that in a remote-interpreting encounter, understanding the original speaker requires massive effort on the part of the interpreter, which translates into increased and precipitate interpreter fatigue (Moser-Mercer 2005). It is extremely complex to translate a fragmentary and textually idiosyncratic turn from one language into another while constantly monitoring the other speaker's speech and making decisions about meanings. Therefore, it is less resource-consuming to use a target-language variety that comes automatically because it is used in everyday situations, rather than a formal register that requires conscious lexical, morphological, and textual adaptation.

Since the exact content of the interviewee's turn cannot be established, it is impossible to say whether the interpreter delivers an accurate interpretation. In fact, an accurate interpretation of a fragmentary, incoherent, and confusing turn, spoken very fast, is simply impossible. However, it is evident that the interpreter provides a clear and cohesive turn, duly erasing problems present in the interviewee's turn. Fluency in the interpreter's turn (according to textual norms of spoken language) may be a means of saving face: by sounding fluent, the interpreter conveys the image of a professional interpreter. Such techniques of processing face-threatening acts are typical of conversations in which there is a power asymmetry between the participants (Piirainen-Marsh 1995). Moreover, the interpreter is probably influenced by recipient design (Goodwin 1981: 149-166) and by the goal-oriented nature of the encounter, which is a characteristic feature of institutional conversations (Drew/Heritage 1992). Thus, the interpreter delivers a turn that is appropriate for the officer, who will inevitably modify "authentic" and stylistic features of the interviewee's speech in the written record (Pöllabauer 2004: 154; Gallez/Maryns 2014).

4. Conclusions

Previous research (e.g. Braun 2013) has shown that in remote interpreting, the quality of the interpretation is jeopardized because the interpreter both adds and removes information compared to the source text. As a result, interpreting is less accurate and lacks coherence. Content added by the interpreter may result from an attempt to build rapport with the interlocutor (Braun 2014: 170). Indeed, the lack of rapport has been identified as a major problem impeding quality in remote interpreting (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004).

In the data analyzed in this paper, the interpreter omits items from the interviewee's speech because the source language is incoherent and confusing, and adds items to the officer's speech in the form of reformulations because the interviewee does not seem to hear and/or understand the questions. These particularities of lingua-franca interpreting are accentuated by features related to telephone interpreting: while the interlocutors do not share the same linguistic resources, they are also unable to monitor and assess each other's resources correctly due to the lack of non-verbal resources such as gaze, body position, and gesture. These constraints add to the interpreter's responsibility for every aspect of the encounter: understanding an idiosyncratic source language, interpreting messages accurately, coherently, and cohesively, and coordinating turns. In addition, the interpreter has to erase indexical information that could be detrimental to effective communication, such as a negative stance. Thus, the interpreter conveys a neutral image of the officer on the interpersonal level, and a fluent image of the lingua-franca speaking interviewee on a textual level, erasing negative affect in the officer's speech and idiosyncratic features in the interviewee's speech. In such a situation, it is not possible to "transmit the messages [...] as exhaustively as possible without changing their content" (SKTL 2016: Art. 6) or to transmit and reformulate source-text information content accurately, including speaker intention, knowledge divide between the speaker and the hearer, relevance of information, and pragmatic information (Viezzi 1996: 88; Hale 1996). In fact, telephone-based lingua-franca interpreting constitutes a challenge to the theories of equivalence and accuracy alike. Furthermore, the issue of accuracy creates a problem of linguistic injustice: there is no guarantee that the foreign-language speaking person is able to exercise his or her rights in spite of interpretation.

Telephone interpreters and interpreters of lingua francas certainly aim at accuracy and want to follow the guidelines of codes of ethics. However, the code of conduct for Finnish legal interpreters (SKTL 2016) depicts the interpreter as having two contradictory roles. The interpreter is a conduit that translates information accurately without interfering in the coordination of the discourse. The interpreter is also a magical converter of dialects, registers, tones, and speaking styles, conveying indexical meanings such as speaker identity. Therefore, the code reflects monolithic language ideologies and unrealistic expectations. As remote interpreting and lingua-franca interpreting are common practices, deontological codes should take into account their characteristics. First, it is necessary to acknowledge that accuracy as such cannot be achieved in lingua-franca telephone interpreting, and to accept this reality. Second, solutions aimed at guaranteeing as much accuracy as possible must be envisioned by analyzing the linguistic, structural, and technical constraints from the perspective of the *raison d'être* of community and legal interpreting: linguistic justice. Third, based on this critical reflection, guidelines must be elaborated for a standardized interactional-sociolinguistic briefing session including all participants at the onset of each encounter.

In this paper, I have combined three theoretical frameworks. First, I have approached lingua-franca telephone interpreting data from the viewpoint of critical discourse analysis and critical sociolinguistics. One of the most important elements of such a framework is to identify the constraints that govern language use in a particular situation and the consequences of such constraints. Choice is the opposite of constraint. The data analysis was based on systemic-functional grammar, a theory of language which emphasizes that using language means choosing from among an unlimited number of possible words, structures, and constructions in order to perform functions that are meaningful to language users. Third, insights from conversation and interaction analysis were used in the transcription and interpretation of the data. The results of this multi-layered analysis show that lingua-franca and telephone interpreting can entail major problems of linguistic justice, and hence there is clearly a need for more research into such unwanted outcomes of community interpreting. In order to conduct such analyses, Interpreting Studies would benefit from more critical reflection on what is meant by language.

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From the phone to the classroom: categories of problems for telephone interpreting training

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Abstract

Telephone Interpreting (TI) is a long established professional practice, however there is a paucity of observational studies aimed at eliciting challenges and limitations as experienced by telephone interpreters, which could contribute to the development of effective interpreter education. There is a popular belief that training in dialogue interpreting can be applied to TI. The focus of this study is to gain an understanding of the specific features and situations that make TI trouble-free or challenging. We have elicited the various ways in which they have learned to grapple with difficult interactions over the years: from novices to advanced practitioners to seasoned interpreters. Responses from telephone interpreters from two different countries (Spain and Sweden) were also used to identify challenges that are culture-specific from the ones that seem to be universal. Our findings point to challenges that go far beyond the ones described in the TI literature, such as the lack of visual cues or complex and lengthy exchanges. Rather, navigating the client's emotions, providers' lack of awareness of interpreting needs and technical issues seem to be more central to an effective practice. The differences linked to levels of expertise and cultural backgrounds are analyzed and implications for training are extracted.

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Keywords

Telephone interpreting, TI difficulties, educational implications, survey research, Spanish and Swedish telephone interpreters.

Introduction

Telephone Interpreting (TI) is already a long-established professional practice employing thousands of interpreters throughout the world. TI environments present their own challenges and limitations (Oviatt/Cohen 1992; Ko 2006; Rosenberg 2007; Lee 2007; Kelly 2008; Ozolins 2011; Kelly/Pöchhacker 2015), and they contribute to the production of a particular type of remote dialogue. According to Rosenberg, most challenges in TI are related to the "situational factors and the lack of a shared frame of reference" (2007: 75). However, the findings from our preliminary study point to challenges stemming from various different sources, including those put forward by Rosenberg.

Notwithstanding TI is a long-established practice, official formal training in it is lacking. This does not mean that TI is not taught, but it is often down to the initiative of trainers to invite experienced telephone interpreters (TIs) to give talks or organize seminars on this practice, or down to remote communication companies to provide specific courses for their own interpreting staff. Consequently, TIs receive a heterogeneous training and, more often than not, TIs who work with languages of lesser diffusion receive little or no training and have to tap into their intuition or have to rely on their conference or public service interpreting skills to tackle TI challenges.

Some "practisearchers" have embarked on a mission to develop TI training modules to strike a balance between existing professional needs and limitations of the interpreting curriculum (González Rodriguez/Spinolo 2017). However, we believe that prior to the study of the acquisition of such competences, the features and challenges that characterize TI practice should be brought to light. One step in this direction is to tap into TIs' own accounts of their daily practice and the most challenging situations they encounter when interpreting over-the-phone, as well as their over-the-phone experience when it occurs at its smoothest, i.e. their narratives.

The present study is part of a larger research initiative concerned with the development of a didactic solution to TI and video-based remote interpreting. The European Research Project *SHaping the Interpreters of the Future and of Today: SHIFT in Orality* takes an observational approach to a corpus of simulated instances of TI to extract information on major features and challenges of this type of remote interpreting. It combines the work of researchers from four European Union universities and the material provided by two remote interpreting companies.

Along with the empirical literature in the field, we have consulted Kelly's (2008) seminal work, which describes TI practice, as well as Kelly/Pöchhacker's (2015) review of the state-of-the-art research in this emerging field. With certain exceptions, very little empirical research has been conducted on the practice of TI itself, although there is an abundance of studies regarding user preferences (Locatis *et al.* 2010), providers' satisfaction (Oviatt/Cohen 1992; Azarmina/Wallace 2005; Price *et al.* 2012), or the lack of quality of TI (Lee/Newman 1997; Hornberger *et al.* 1996). The aim of the current study is to make a contribution to the SHIFT project by gaining first-hand knowledge of what constitutes the major challenges faced by TIs and the specific solutions that they can use to resolve them.

When analyzing problematic issues in TI we should bear in mind that interpreting is considered to be a profession of specialists (Ericsson 2000: 202), which means that, as with doctors or computer programmers, professional interpreters and TIs must have acquired considerable hands-on experience before becoming professionals. Since the TIs that overcome the challenges associated with their profession gradually develop specific competencies and skills, we were interested in exploring the acquisition of such competencies and skills and in identifying the difficulties faced by novices in order to compare them to those of more experienced TIs. Consequently, we have adopted a comparative approach to the acquisition of competences by TIs of varying levels of expertise. This approach has provided a useful insight into the skills involved and the difficulties encountered by TIs. It is, therefore, a study on "relative expertise" (Tiselius 2015) in TI and, as such, it does not require us to establish a benchmark or absolute definition of expertise (Moser-Mercer 2015). Furthermore, exploring expertise by comparing its different levels provides a finer-grained insight into the progression of the acquisition of the skills required to become an accomplished telephone interpreter. Findings from these comparisons can prove very beneficial for the implementation of TI training modules at different levels on the expertise scale. This would allow a closer look into the stages involved in the development of expertise in the face of specific difficulties.

It is also important to note that the knowledge base of experts is organized rather differently if compared with that of less experienced interpreters (Künzli/Moser-Mercer 1995). According to studies in developmental psychology (Murphy/Wright 1984), expertise in a particular skill presents a more cohesive structure in memory, enabling the expert to use the information related to that particular skill in different contexts or to use information related to other skills in the context of that expertise. In the case of TIs, this means that experts would be more likely to use knowledge from other interpreting domains when conducting TI tasks. Access to knowledge about the transversal skills used by expert TIs would shed light on the specific skills from other interpreting domains that can be beneficial in TI training modules.

This study also aims at identifying cultural differences by comparing the results of TI practitioners from two different geographical backgrounds: Sweden and Spain. Identifying cultural differences would help to adapt the content of the curriculum to better fit the specific needs of TIs from particular cultures. Additionally, knowledge of shared similarities in TIs' practices would also help to design more universal curriculum contents.

1. Methodology

Since the remit of the SHIFT research project is to shape the practice of the interpreters of today and tomorrow in telephone interpreting through a corpus-based observation[1], an online survey was used in this study to bring an additional edge to the project by including TIs' own accounts of the challenges they face in their daily practice. This combination of research methods aims to strengthen SHIFT's efforts in the advancement of training material and codes of best practice.

We strongly believe that the input from TIs is necessary, as we can gain an enormous amount of knowledge from these practitioners who have been too often overlooked. Their input is invaluable if we wish to shed light on the particular skills required to deal with specific problems in TI.

1.1. Method

1.1.1. Participants

The sample consisted of a total of 52 TIs from two large providers of remote interpreting services, one in Sweden and the other in Spain. In Sweden, 33 TIs from SEMANTIX (the largest provider of translation and interpreting services (both on-site) and TI in the Nordic countries) responded to the questionnaire. In Spain, 19 over-the-phone interpreters from DUALIA (one of the largest TI companies in Spain) responded to the online survey. The results from three Spanish and 15 Swedish TIs were discarded from the analysis because they did not complete the questionnaire. The mother tongue(s) and foreign languages of the remaining interpreters are detailed in Figure 1.

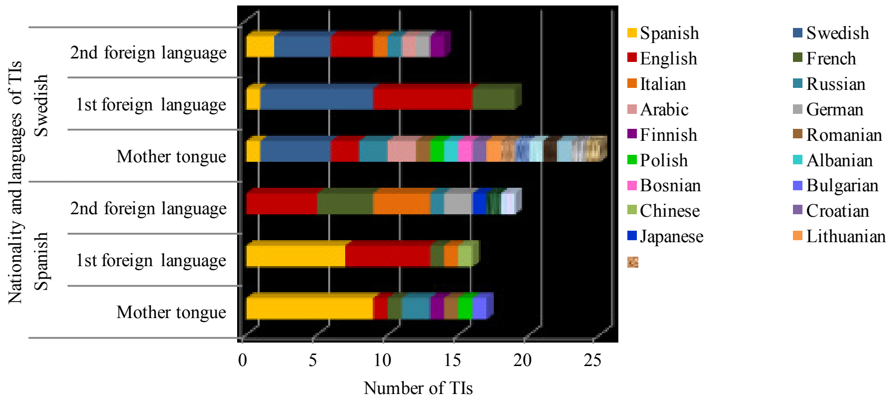

Figure 1. The mother tongue(s) and foreign languages of the Spanish and Swedish TIs.

1 See SHIFT's website (http://www.shiftinorality.eu/)

In order to establish a benchmark against which to measure the experience of the TIs, we asked participants how many years they had been working over-the-phone, if they worked on a regular basis, sometimes or seldom, and how many hours they worked per month.

The sheer variety in number of years of experience when tallied to the number of hours per month gave rise to a very complex picture. We therefore decided to count the total TI hours as a benchmark of expertise. It is important to mention at this point that the number of hours of practice is the standard measure of expertise in many fields (Ericsson 2000). The Spanish ISO/DIS18841 *Interpreting Service – General Requirements and Recommendations* also establishes 180 as the number of hours of work that are needed to grant experience to an interpreter. This number of hours means the individual is ready to enter the professional market, but is not a measure of expertise.

Three distinct groups emerged from both the Spanish and Swedish samples (see Table 1):

- seasoned TIs (more than 5,000 hours of experience);
- advanced TIs (between 3,000 and 5,000 hours of experience);
- novice TIs (less than 3,000 hours of experience).

Countries	Experience Category of TIs	Number of TIs	Years of Experience	Hours of Experience
Spain	Seasoned	5	7 (2)	17,460 (8,678)
	Advanced	4	10 (2.5)	1,635 (321)
	Novice	7	3.4 (0.9)	291 (118)
Sweden	Seasoned	3	21 (1)	28,720 (6,998)
	Advanced	5	8.2 (1.9)	4,044 (327)
	Novice	10	4.7 (1.8)	1,088 (215)

Table 1. Number of TIs, mean of Years of TI Experience, and mean Hours of TI Experience as a function of the Seasoned, Advanced and Novice Experience Category of TIs from the countries of Spain and Sweden. Note that the Standard Errors (SE) are in brackets.

It is worth mentioning that a large number of the TIs in our sample had reported having had previous experience working as public service interpreters.

1.1.2. Materials and procedure

Quantitative data were obtained by means of an online questionnaire, which elicited information regarding participants' socio-personal, educational, and professional background. These findings were then tallied with the participants' qualitative narratives of their experiences of difficulty (factors and situations that result in more problematic TI), and how they learned to cope and navigate these difficulties.

Narrative research provides a useful tool to make sense of the more complex contexts in which TIs navigate new technical and professional challenges, while describing the way in which they acquire professional expertise over time. Useful information can be obtained with regard to the degree to which the interpreter's performance is impinged upon by the telephone environment, and/or by pragmatic, nonverbal and/or cultural considerations.

The questionnaire was designed with decisions on categories of questions and specific items that emerge from the literature on TI, and the additional contribution of the head of the Quality Department of DUALIA[2], who is also a member of the SHIFT project (see Annex 1). A pilot questionnaire was administered to a small sample of interpreters working for DUALIA before the final questionnaire was uploaded onto the online server. All of the participants' contributions were received online.

Narrative responses to each question were used to form new categories and each response was then converted into one of these new categories (e.g. if the participants wrote "quality of the phone line, I couldn't hear the voice clearly" when responding about her/his worst experience, this response was converted into the category "*technical problem*").

1.1.3. Statistics

According to the nature of the data, different statistical tests were used. Numerical data (number of hours of experience) in § *2.1. Experience in TI* was analyzed using a 2 (Country: Spain or Sweden) X 3 (Experience group: Seasoned TIs, Advanced TIs or Novice TIs) ANOVA. This analysis was used to confirm the differences between the various expertise groups and the similarities between the groups of different cultural backgrounds. Cramer's V statistical tests were used to analyze the categorical data of the remaining sections where possible. When the minimum criteria required to conduct a Cramer's V statistical test were not met, only descriptive statistics were employed.

2. Results

2.1. Experience in TI

The total number of hours (see Table 1) for Spanish and Swedish respondents was very similar (the difference between the respondents of both countries was not significant, $F(1, 28) = 2.643$, $p > 0.1$). Of central interest was the difference between the expertise groups in terms of number of hours of experience, which was significant ($F(2, 28) = 21.207$, $p < 0.001$). This effect was not modulated by the

2 We would like to express our gratitude to Gabriel Cabrera Méndez and Nicoletta Spinolo for their invaluable suggestions for the questionnaire, and involvement in the pilot questionnaire.

participant's country of origin ($F(1, 28) = 1.127$, $p > 0.1$), meaning that the level of expertise for each category between both countries was similar.

2.2. TI settings and geographical background

One area of interest in this study was to explore differences and/or similarities amongst TIs from different geographical backgrounds when it came to describing the challenges they encountered while interpreting over-the-phone in specific settings. We aimed to identify commonalities that could be further explored to extract possible universals. Before more closely scrutinising the differences in difficulty according to setting, it is worth mentioning that although both Swedish and Spanish TIs shared certain interpreting environments, there are some settings exclusive to each group of participants. For instance, interpreting for *tourism* seemed to be a task performed largely by Spanish TIs but somewhat less so by their Swedish counterparts. Swedish participants referred to interpreting services for *schools, courts, asylum seekers* and *dental care*, none of which were mentioned by the other group of participants (see Figure 2).

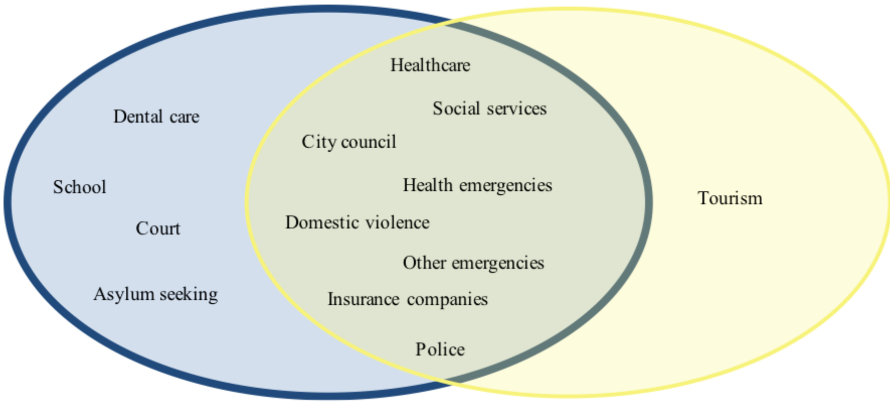

Figure 2. Different and common settings for Swedish TIs (in blue) and Spanish TIs (in yellow)

2.3. Most problematic settings

It is important to note that from now on, social services and asylum seeking have been grouped into only one category (Social services and immigration). Although immigration is a legal procedure that is distinct from social services, the scarcity of responses from both settings and the need to group answers together for a meaningful statistical analysis supported this decision. In addition, the fact that the contents of the immigration services provided by the TIs were similar to those elicited for the social services led to their being grouped under one heading.

We asked participants to disclose which of the settings they usually worked for was the most challenging, and which created the most difficulty for interpreting on the phone. They were allowed to select more than one setting. If we compare seasoned TIs and advanced TIs with novice TIs for this item, we find beginners encountering problems in almost all settings, whereas the more experienced TIs seemed to have identified areas of difficulty in particular settings (see Figure 3).

Seasoned TIs found *health emergencies* (30%), *social services and immigration* (20%) and *domestic violence* services (20%) the most challenging settings. These were followed by *city council* services (10%), the *court* (10%) and *healthcare* (10%).

For advanced TIs, the most difficult settings to interpret over-the-phone were *healthcare* (23%) and *police* (22%), and, to a lesser extent, *social services and immigration* (11%), *health emergencies* (11%), *city council* (11%) and the *court* (11%) (see Figure 3).

Novice TIs seemed to have encountered difficulties in a higher number of settings. Their most problematic settings were interpreting for *health emergencies* (27%) and *healthcare* (23%). Interpreting over-the-phone for *social services and immigration* (11%), the *court* (8%), *school* (8%), *dental care* (8%) and the *police* (7%) seemed significantly less challenging than the former two settings. The least difficult settings were emergencies other than medical (*other emergencies*) and *insurance companies* (both 4%) (see Figure 3).

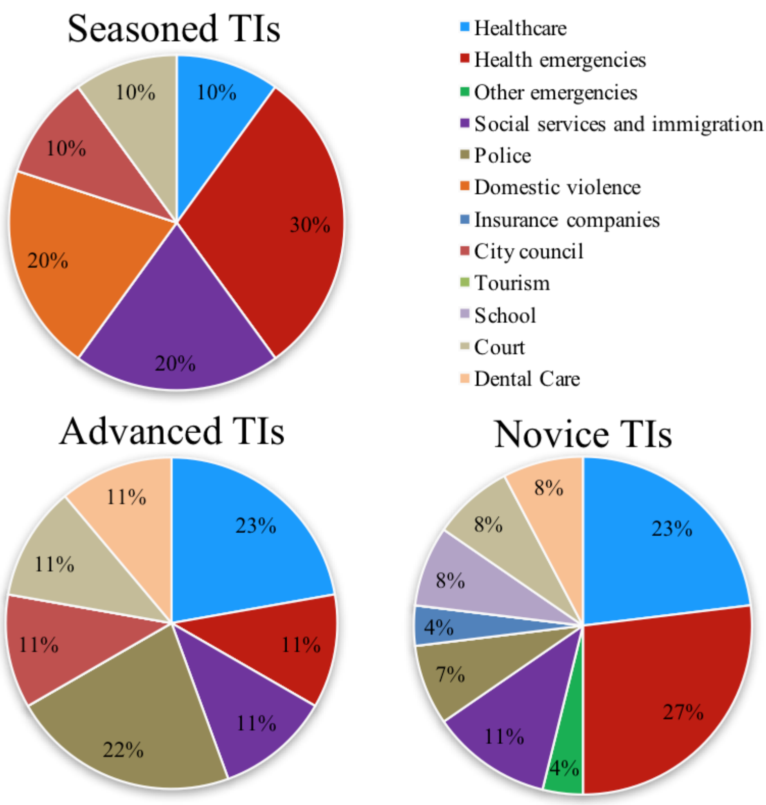

Figure 3. Most difficult settings for seasoned, advanced and novice TIs

When we compare TIs across geographical origin, a less homogenous pattern emerges, since certain settings such as *dental care*, *school* and the *court* were exclusive to the group of Swedish interpreters. For the Swedes, *healthcare* is the most challenging service (19%), followed by the *court* (15%), the *social services and immigration* (15%) and the *police* (15%). Then comes *dental care* (12%) followed by *health emergencies* (8%) and *school* (8%) and finally *other emergencies* (4%) and *city council* (4%). By a wide margin, Spanish TIs consider *health emergencies* to be the most difficult setting to interpret over-the-phone (47%) and *healthcare* as very difficult (21%). Relatively less challenging appear to be *social services and immigration* (11%) and *domestic violence* services (11%), followed by *insurance companies* (5%) and *city council* (5%).

Taken together, it appears that the most problematic settings when comparing the data from all the interpreters were *health emergencies* (24%) and *healthcare* (20%) (see Figure 4).

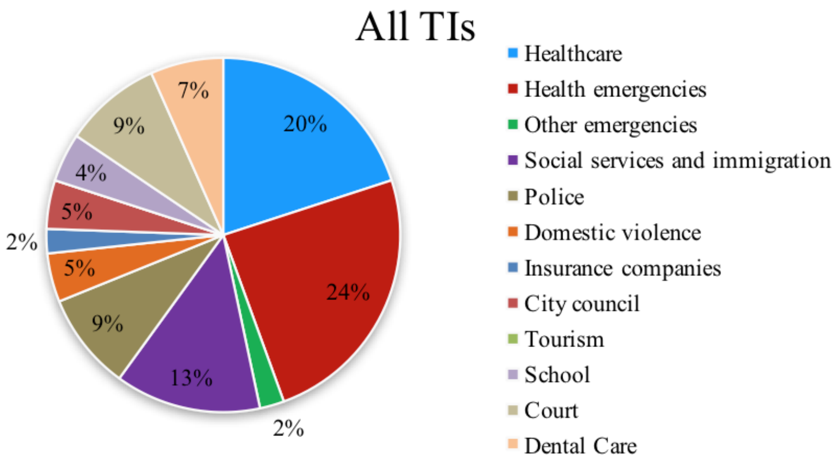

Figure 4. Most difficult settings for Spanish and Swedish TIs

2.4. Least problematic settings

Conversely, we set about identifying the least problematic settings encountered by TIs (see Figure 5). For seasoned TIs, interpreting for the *police* (23%) and the *city council* (23%) were the two least challenging settings. *Tourism*, *insurance companies*, some types of *healthcare* and *social services and immigration* (all 12%) took second position in the ranking. Only 6% of seasoned TIs responses referred to *domestic violence* services as being a smooth encounter.

Similarly, a large number of advanced TIs also concurred with seasoned TIs on finding interpreting for the *police* as unproblematic (31%). A relatively smaller number found working in *tourism* and certain *social services and immigration* settings as less challenging (both 15%). Only a few responses by advanced TIs referred to *health emergencies* (8%), *school* (8%), *city council* (8%), *insurance companies* (8%) and *healthcare* (7%) as being less difficult than other settings.

Novice TIs from both countries found that interpreting for *social services and immigration* (30%) and the *police* (25%) were the least challenging settings, followed by *insurance companies*, *healthcare* and *domestic violence* settings (all 10%). Finally, other settings mentioned as least difficult by novice TIs were the *city council, the court* and *health emergencies* (all 5%).

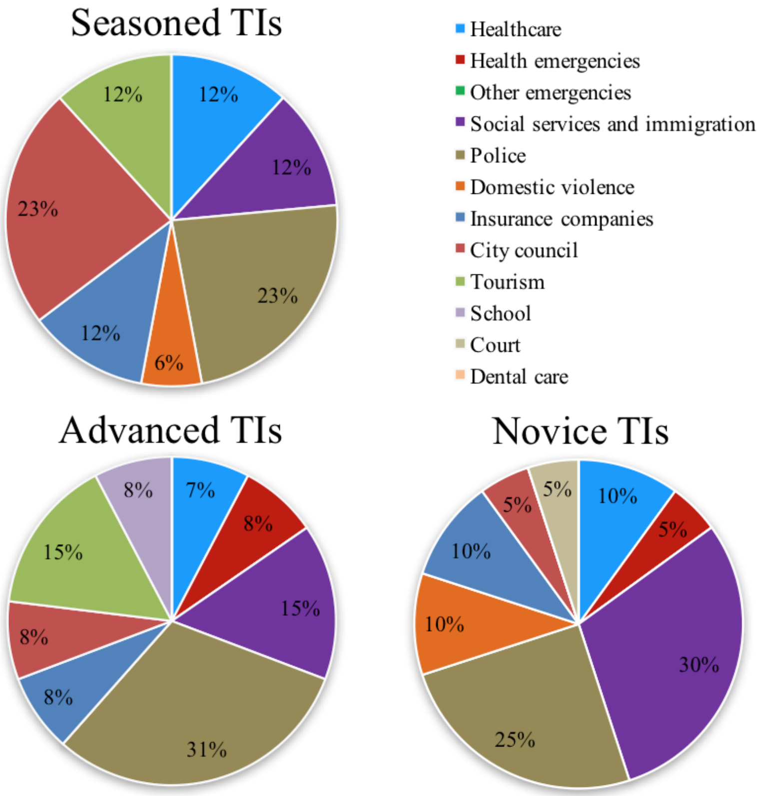

Figure 5. Least difficult settings for seasoned, advanced and novice TIs

Slight differences can be found when comparing the responses of Swedish and Spanish TIs. Almost less than half of the responses by Swedish TIs (41%) indicate that interpreting for the *police* is the least challenging task, followed by *social services and immigration* (23%) and *health emergencies* (9%). Finally, the settings that were most unlikely to be regarded as the least challenging were those such as *domestic violence*, *city council*, *insurance companies*, *school*, *court* and certain types of *healthcare* (between them amounting to only 4 and 5 %). Responses by Spanish TIs are more evenly distributed: 18% of responses involved the *city council* and another 18% the *social services and immigration,* such as the Red Cross. These responses were followed by *healthcare* (15%), the *police* (14%), *tourism* (14%), *insurance companies* (14%), and *domestic violence* (7%).

When looking at the data from all the practitioners together, interpreting for the *police* (26%) and some types of *social services and immigration* (20%) seem to be less challenging for the participants in this study (see Figure 6).

In order to test whether the responses for the least and most problematic settings truly differed from each other, a Cramer's V statistical test was conducted to compare the number of least and most problematic responses regarding the two least problematic settings (*police* and *social services and immigration*) and the two most problematic environments (*health emergencies* and *healthcare*) by all TIs. The differences between the least and most problematic settings were statistically different ($\varphi_c = 0.468$, $p < 0.01$), confirming that some settings are more prone to being considered as problematic than others.

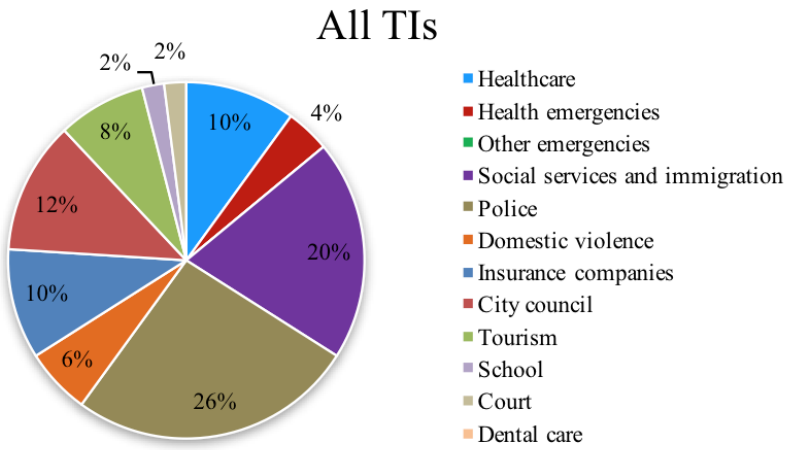

Figure 6. Least difficult settings for all TIs

2.5. Worst TI experiences

Participants were asked to remember and write down their worst experiences when interpreting over-the-phone. The use of open questions eliciting their expansive narratives of problems they believe impeded effective performance has allowed us to identify a set of neat categories of problems. One of the major concerns was linked to the fact that clients and/or providers did not respect turns, and interrupted and overlapped in speech. Similarly, side conversations between providers and operators or doctors and nurses hindered clear understanding and had a negative impact on performance. TIs complained that providers, operators, and clients still showed relatively poor awareness of their professional needs. There were recurring reports of clients not being alone in the room and various other voices being heard in the background at the time at which the client was addressing the interpreter. We have categorized this group of problems under the label "*lack of provider's/client's awareness*".

The category "*emotional state of the client*" involved answers related to TIs handling highly-strung clients (either grieving, irritated, or furious). Some of the situations related to the *client's emotional state* involved the disclosure of bad diagnoses/prognosis, abused women crying on the phone, suicidal patients rattling on, incoherent talk and sobbing clients deciding whether to put a pet down, amongst others. All these situations show how clear comprehension can be seriously compromised when interlocutors are highly distressed. Likewise, clients venting their frustration with interpreters, voicing heated complaints against providers, or interlocutors engaged in heated discussions, made clear understanding extremely difficult. Considerably fewer TIs alluded to the other categories of problems.

Responses by seasoned TIs for this item were highly homogeneous. In particular, the more experienced the interpreter, the lesser the number of common problems encountered, a pattern of results that was independent of geographical background. In contrast, responses were more numerous and heterogeneous at the lower end of the expertise scale. Responses by each group of TIs (Swedish and Spanish) were also similar but distinct in their granularity.

Nearly half of the responses by seasoned TIs linked their worst experiences to "*lack of provider's/client's awareness*" (40%). A slightly smaller number of experts' responses corresponded to the category we have termed "*emotional state of the client*" (30%). The third problematic experience mentioned by the more experienced TIs was related to poor telephone lines and to TIs listening to their own voice, which was disquieting and made understanding problematic. These inconveniences were categorized as "*technical problems*" (20%). Only 10% of responses linked the worst experience to *billing* issues, like getting a low pay (see Figure 7).

A substantial number of responses by advanced TIs (39%) shows that *clients distressed emotional state* (*emotional state of the client*) is highly problematic for TIs. Almost the same number of responses by advanced participants (38%) blamed the *lack of provider's or client's awareness* of their needs, by interrupting or overlapping while they were interpreting. A third issue that seemed to problematize interpreting over-the-phone was due to lack of sound acuity related to *technical problems*, but it was reported significantly less often (15%). A much smaller group of responses (8%) was related to the *emotional state of the interpreter* vis-à-vis distressful situations, which negatively affected the interpreters' performance (8%).

According to novice TIs, the first hurdle when interpreting over-the-phone was the *client's or provider's lack of awareness* of the interpreter's professional needs (34%). This category involved problems encountered when managing the flow of conversation and controlling the taking of the turns. The *interpreter's own emotional distress* (*emotional state of the interpreter*) in the face of grieving or angered clients constituted 17% of the responses by less experienced TIs. *Technical problems* and the *emotional state of the client* were mentioned, each with 13% of the responses. These problems were followed by practitioners' *lack of access to visual information* (10%) in some particular situations, and by the frail *physical state of the client's* health (7%). A very small number of responses by novice TIs (3%) were related to poor terminological knowledge (*terminology*), and the same number of responses was related to *billing* issues (3%).

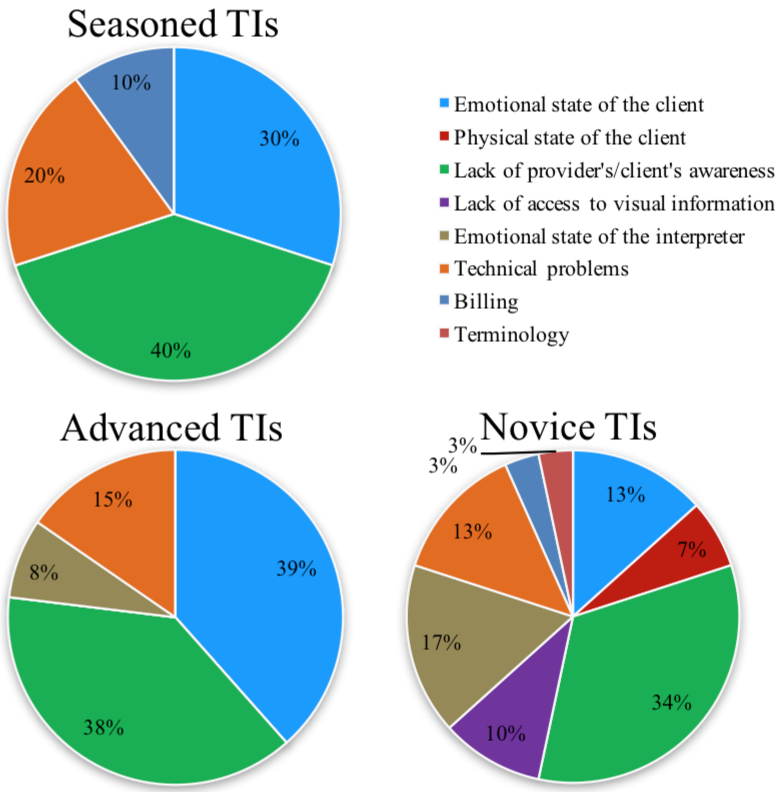

Figure 7. Worst over-the-phone interpreting experiences for seasoned, advanced and novice TIs

Although both Swedish and Spanish TIs concurred on three types of hurdles in their daily practice, the weight each group gave to these problems varied substantially. More than one third of the responses by Spanish TIs (36%) showed that they seemed to be highly affected by the *emotional state of the client*, and nearly one third of the responses (32%) were related to the *lack of provider's/client's awareness* of their professional needs, which rendered their performance problematic. A significantly lower number of TIs' responses (12%) acknowledged difficulty in handling their own emotions (*emotional state of the interpreter*), as they felt deeply upset by the client's anguish and distress. Less than ten per cent of responses (8%) pointed to *technical problems* as a source of difficulty in over-the-phone interpreting. The least frequent responses involved terminological issues (*terminology*), the *lack of access to visual information*, and difficulties related to the *physical state of the client* (4% each) (see Figure 8).

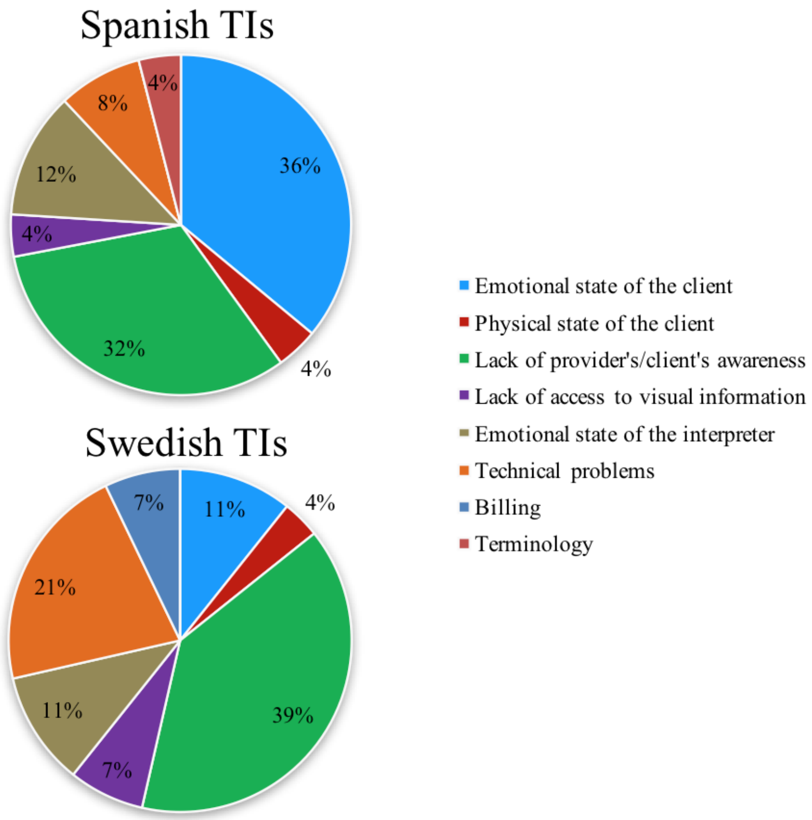

Figure 8. Worst over-the-phone interpreting experiences for Spanish and Swedish TIs

Nearly four out of ten Swedish TIs' responses (39%) were concerned with the *lack of provider's/client's awareness* about interpreters' professional needs, particularly their role as turn managers (*overlapping*, *interruptions*, etc.) (see Figure 9). This hurdle was followed by *technical problems* (21%). The third and fourth difficulties experienced by Swedish TIs were related to emotions, both the *emotional state of the client* (11%) and the *emotional state of the interpreter* (11%). A smaller group of responses (7%) highlighted that some interpreters felt underpaid or experienced *problems in getting paid for their services* (*billing*). Another 7% of responses were related to *lack of visual information*. Finally, only 4% of responses blamed the frail voices of ill clients (*physical state of the client*) for difficulty in performance.

In total terms (see Figure 9), participants referred primarily to the difficulty of interpreting over-the-phone when providers or clients did *not respect their professional needs* (*lack of provider's/client's awareness*) by interfering in the flow of conversation in various ways (36% of responses). The second position on the challenges scale was the *emotional state of the client*, which impeded comprehension (22%). Persistent *technical problems* (15%) and the *emotional state of the interpreter* (11%) seemed to limit performance to a lesser extent than the two former issues. A minority of the responses (6%) referred to the *lack of access to visual information*, and interpreting over-the-phone for *clients suffering from frail health and weak voices* (*physical state of the client* – 4%). Only 2% of the reported problems were related to insufficient terminological background (*terminology*).

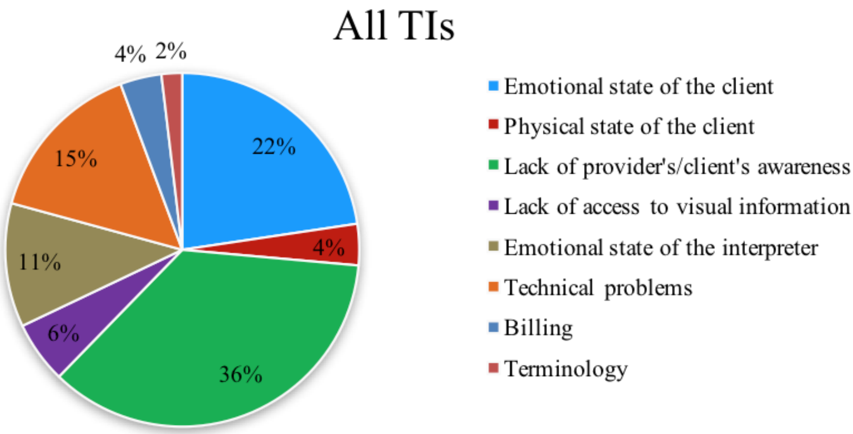

Figure 9. Worst TI experiences of all respondents

2.6. Smoothest TI experiences

This question should have been worded differently, and this methodological shortcoming impedes the analysis of some responses, and justifies the reason why we present here the results of all TIs without commenting on the differences between the different groups. It appears that the wording of the item focused more on the rather subjective "rewarding experience" and less on the "smoothest" process. As a result, many answers elicited subjective, emotional memories of rewarding TI sessions (26% of the responses) (see Figure 10). Nonetheless, when we looked at the total number of the responses that did refer to a smooth telephone interaction, we realized that these smooth over-the-phone situations could be clearly divided into five categories.

One category was related to *provider's/client's awareness* of telephone interpreter's needs (37%). This was shown in narratives containing key expressions such as "short turns", "turns with sufficient pauses", "respect for turns", "no overlapping", "no interruptions", and "speaker's talking loudly and clearly". Another category involved the *absence of technical problems* (29%), such as "good phone lines", and "acuity of sound". A third category was related to the *positive emotional state of the client* (4%), that is, "calm conversation", and "not heated discussions". The fourth and fifth categories involved the *positive emotional state of the interpreter* (2%), who managed to "keep calm in a complicated situation". Finally, a respondent also mentioned "good pay" as being part of the process (2%).

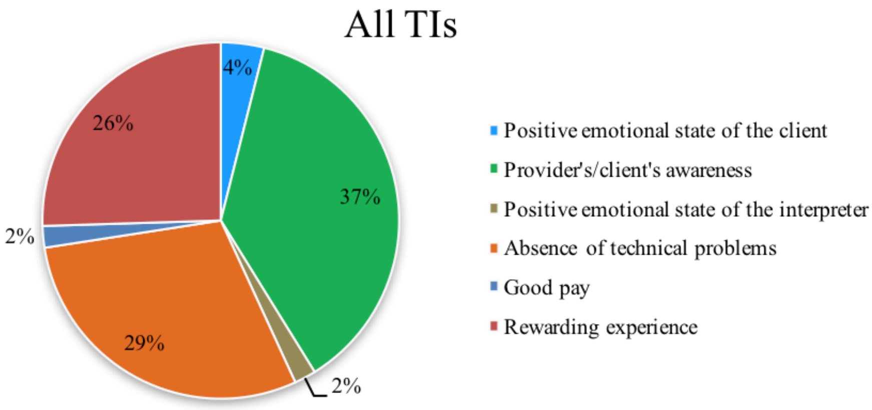

Figure 10. Smoothest TI experiences of all respondents

2.7. Need for visual cues

When looking at the data from both countries grouped together, nearly half of the sample of seasoned TIs (43%) stated that they did not feel the need for visual input to perform accurately (see Figure 11), but the same number of practitioners (43%) felt it would have been useful *sometimes*. A much smaller number of seasoned respondents (14%) stated they felt the need for visual cues when interpreting over-the-phone.

Regarding the advanced group of respondents (see Figure 11), over half of this sample (56%) felt they needed visual information *sometimes*, and a much smaller number of respondents (22%) had experienced *no need* for visual cues to interpret over-the-phone, while the same number of practitioners (22%) had missed not having *access to visual data.*

The percentage of novice TIs (see Figure 11) who felt they *needed visual access* to perform was higher (37%) than the two former groups of TIs (14% more responses than seasoned TIs and 22% more than advanced TIs). Additionally, a number of novice TIs (50%) mentioned that it would have been useful to rely on visual information *sometimes* in a similar proportion to both advanced (56%) and seasoned TIs (43%). The percentage of novices who stated that they could dispense with visual cues was considerably lower (13%) than advanced TIs (22%) and seasoned TIs (43%).

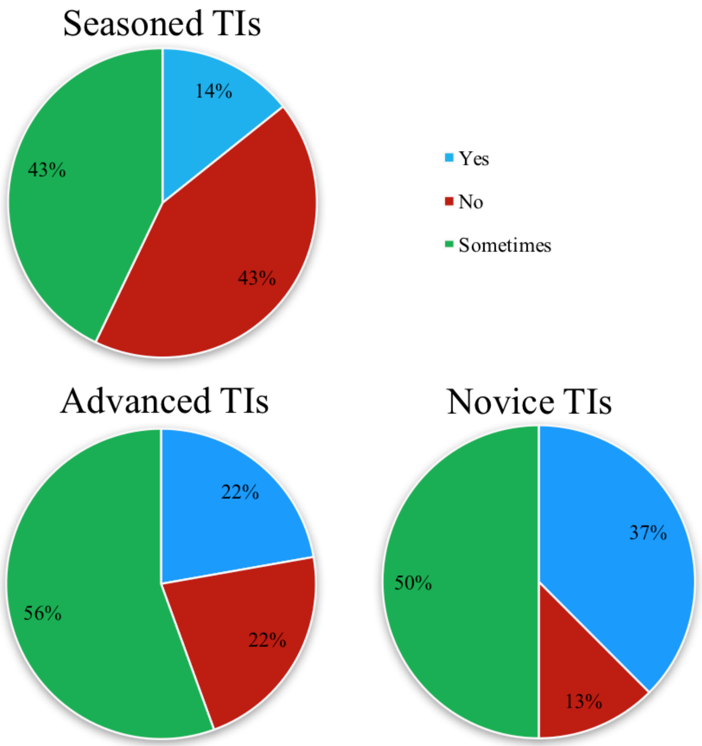

Figure 11. Need for visual cues by seasoned, advanced and novice TIs

In order to test the statistical significance of the decrease in the need for visual cues with higher level of experience, a Cramer's V statistical test was conducted to compare the number of *yes*, *no*, and *sometimes* responses between the groups of seasoned, advanced and novice TIs. The association between the responses of the participants and their level of expertise did not reach statistical significance ($\varphi_c = 0.226$, $p > 0.1$).

The contrast in responses by Swedish TIs and Spanish TIs (of all expertise levels) for this item was considerable. More than a third of the Spanish TIs felt *no need* for visual information (38%), and only a very small number of Swedish interpreters (6%) shared that experience. Responses for the *occasional need* for visual input were broadly similar in both groups (56% of Spanish vs. 44% of Swedish TIs). The most striking difference between the two groups of respondents affected those TIs who expressed a *need for visual input* to perform (50% of Swedish TIs vs. 6% of Spanish TIs) (see Figure 12).

These differences between Spanish and Swedish respondents were statistically significant, as revealed by a Cramer's V statistical test ($\varphi_c = 0.538$, $p < 0.05$) looking at the association between the country of origin of the participants (Spain or Sweden) and their responses about the need for visual cues (*yes*, *no*, or *sometimes*).

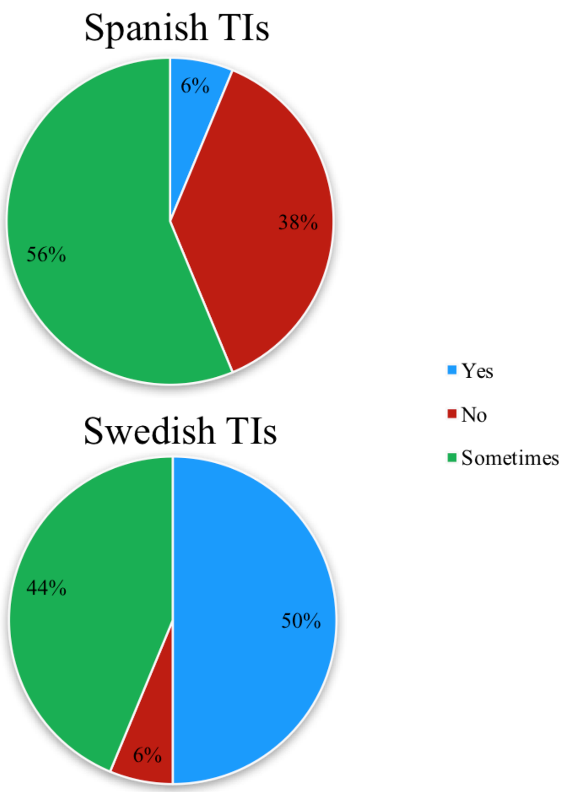

Figure 12. Need for visual cues for Spanish and Swedish TIs

3. Discussion

3.1. Most problematic setting and least problematic setting

When presenting the data from challenges related to the setting in TI, it is necessary to draw the reader's attention to the fact that there were far more novice TIs in the sample than both seasoned and advanced TIs (see Table 1). As a consequence, it is important to outline the findings from the three groups along the expertise scale before looking at the data from all of the interpreters as a whole, since the data from the novices could draw the results in one direction or the other. In the same vein, it is important to bear in mind that the data from the Swedish TIs and the Spanish TIs for the most and least problematic settings cannot be compared across all settings, since certain services are only assigned to TIs in Sweden (e.g. *schools*).

For Spanish TIs, *health emergencies* represent the most problematic setting, probably because novice TIs and advanced TIs are exposed to these scenarios without prior instruction or experience. This contrasts with responses by Swedish TIs, who placed *health emergencies* very low in the ranking of difficult settings.

The majority of Swedish participants were novices and had probably not had considerable exposure to this type of service. The second challenging setting for Spanish participants was *healthcare*. The Swedish respondents concurred on this setting being problematic with almost the same number of responses allocated to this setting. For both Spanish TIs and Swedish TIs, *social services and immigration* represented the third setting in terms of difficulty.

The statistical test conducted for this item revealed a significant difference between the two most problematic settings (*health emergencies* and *healthcare*) and the two least problematic settings (*police* and *social services and immigration*).

3.2. Worst TI experience

Unsurprisingly, responses by seasoned TIs converged more homogeneously on the challenges of their practice. Their major concerns were also shared by advanced and novice TIs, but seasoned practitioners did not encounter difficulties in areas that were mentioned by the latter. Seasoned TIs cited three types of problems leading to difficulty in performance. For nearly half the group of seasoned respondents, challenges occurred first and foremost when there was a *lack of provider's/client's awareness* of the interpreter's needs. All the interferences resulting from this lack of awareness impeded TIs' clear understanding of information, which led to them missing essential information and not being able to follow instructions. These difficulties in turn-management and lack of respect for turns were also mentioned by advanced TIs but to a lesser extent than novices.

In second position on the difficulty scale comes the category related to the *emotional state of the client* with the concurrent strain in understanding. Clients' "sobbing, crying or behaving hysterically", jeopardized a clear understanding of the message. In the same vein, *technical problems* represented the third major hurdle. This was followed by deep frustration at the enormous effort seasoned interpreters put into TI compared with the "low pay" they received. According to TIs, low pay and long hours led to lack of motivation, which, in turn, undermined the quality of their performance.

Advanced TIs concurred with seasoned TIs in the first three categories, but advanced TIs assigned a slightly higher priority to the problem related to the *emotional state of the client* than seasoned TIs, and a slightly lower priority to *lack of provider's/client's awareness*. However, it is worth noting that both types of problems occupied a similar position on the difficulty scale. The second largest concern of advanced TIs was related to difficulties "managing the taking of turns", coping with "interruptions", "overlapping speech", and sub-dialogues between interactants. The third issue that hindered interpreting over-the-phone for less experienced interpreters was related to *technical problems* such as the "lack of sound acuity". Despite some development and improvements in telephone lines and equipment, *technical problems* seemed to persist. More seasoned TIs and advanced TIs complained about "hearing their own voices", or "hearing an echo" and "poor lines" than novice TIs. Unlike seasoned TIs, in the face of emotionally charged situations, advanced TIs were troubled by their own negative emotions (*emotional state of the interpreter*) interfering with interpreting over-the-phone. However, this kind of challenge was only reported by less than ten per cent of the sample of advanced practitioners and occupied fourth position on the difficulty scale.

As previously observed in the patterns of responses of novice TIs, answers elicited regarding their worst experiences on the phone were much more numerous and scattered across many more domains. Less experienced TIs concurred with seasoned and advanced practitioners in placing the *lack of provider's/client's awareness* of their professional needs in the first position along the difficulty scale. But double the number of novice TIs than advanced TIs counted their *own* emotional disquiet (*emotional state of the interpreter*) in the face of the client's suffering, anger or exasperation with the service and/or with them as the second source of problems that could hinder performance. This seemed to affect novice TIs more than advanced TIs, but it did not seem to impact the performance of seasoned practitioners.

Another situation where the less experienced practitioners encountered difficulty in handling their emotions was related to dealing with "clients suffering from mental health issues". They claimed that they had not been trained to deal with these clients' "incoherent talk", "strong language" and use of "slang words", which proved hard to make sense of.

The third position on the most challenging experience scale was only reported by slightly over ten per cent of novice practitioners, and it involved *technical problems* such as poor sound quality, poor lines, and the client's inexperience with phones. The same number of novice respondents alluded to difficulty in understanding messages or instructions when the *emotional state of the client* was highly altered.

Unlike their seasoned and advanced counterparts, only novice TIs reported having an issue with *lack of visual information*, a problem that occupied fourth position in their difficulty ranking. Only less experienced TIs mentioned having experienced problems when trying to make sense of the talk of physically ill patients (*physical state of the client*), whose voice was extremely weak.

Novices were also the only group of participants who had encountered problems with *terminology*. They mentioned fields of medicine that were unknown to them, such as neurology and neuropsychiatry. Like their seasoned counterparts but in much smaller numbers, novice practitioners were not happy with the economic reward or pay for their services (*billing*).

Although both Swedish TIs and Spanish TIs agreed on four major types of hurdles in their daily practice, the weight each group gave to them varied in granularity. For instance, both groups of respondents considered the *lack of provider's/client's awareness* of their needs a significant obstacle to their performance. However, Swedish TIs were slightly more concerned with this issue and with *technical problems* whereas Spanish TIs seemed to find emotional issues (both the *emotional state of client* and to a lesser extent the *emotional state of interpreter*), and *lack of provider's/client's awareness* more problematic. *Technical problems* were found to be less troublesome for Spanish practitioners. For their Swedish counterparts, the *billing* issues (getting a low pay or problems related to getting paid) seemed to affect motivation and performance considerably more than in the case of the Spanish TIs.

3.3. Smoothest over-the-phone experiences

When we examined the total number of the responses that related to a smooth telephone interaction, it became clear that they were the opposite of the answers to the most challenging experience, irrespective of level of expertise and geographical origin. More precisely, respondents mentioned *positive emotional state of the client*, the *provider's/client's awareness* of TIs' needs, the *positive emotional state of the interpreter*, the *absence of technical problems* and *good pay*.

3.4. Need for visual cues

Some authors (Moser-Mercer 2005; Mouzourakis 2006) have reported lack of visual cues as a strong case against the practice of remote conference interpreting, as it seems to undermine the quality of the service. It was therefore essential that this issue be explored in our survey. It was interesting and surprising to observe that the *need for visual information* seemed to decrease the wider the TIs' experience. Seasoned practitioners expressed no need to access visual data in much higher numbers than advanced interpreters, and these, in turn, felt no need or little need for visual cues in higher rates than novices. The finding is not statistically significant, perhaps due to the higher number of novice TIs than seasoned TIs in the sample. A possible explanation for the large difference in Swedish and Spanish TIs' need for visual cues could lie in the attitude to this issue by the Spanish company's in-house trainer, who strongly advocates that TI can be effectively performed without access to visual information[3]. This issue merits a study with a larger number of participants from both groups of respondents.

4. Conclusions

We launched an exploratory survey of TIs from two different geographical origins at different levels of expertise with the aim of identifying concurrent patterns of challenges and issues that could provide neat categories for a more ambitious study involving a much larger sample of TI practitioners. The ultimate objective of this larger study is to complement the findings from the *SHIFT European Research Project* and provide a source of information that could feed into training modules at different levels of difficulty. The patterns of responses to these issues have provided us with working categories for creating a final questionnaire. This questionnaire will provide quantitative data regarding specific challenges so that they can be placed and ranked along a scale of difficulty. Such granular information will help us to further define the contents of future curricular solutions in training as it progresses from less complex to more difficult TI experiences.

One revealing result involves the absence of *visual information*. Our findings suggest that the more experienced the telephone interpreter the less the need for

3 Private conversation with Gabriel Cabrera, head of the training department at DUALIA S.L.

visual information. Further research with more respondents will allow for testing the statistical significance of this effect. The major differences observed between Swedish and Spanish TIs for this item could lie in the Spanish company's strong position on this issue suggesting that effective performance of TIs can be achieved without the need to access visual cues, which is instilled in the whole instruction process. Further and finer grained research would also be necessary to investigate the cultural differences affecting the responses to this particular item.

Another interesting finding emerged from the most challenging experience in TI. The participants' responses converged on the *provider's or client's lack of awareness* of their professional needs, particularly with interferences in the management of turns, interruptions, and side conversations. Equally, *emotions* played a greater role than anticipated in generating difficulty in remote encounters, with the more experienced interpreters (seasoned and advanced TIs) acknowledging that the client's grief and irritation had a profound effect on their performance. High emotional distress of the clients led to muddled talk, which impeded comprehension. In contrast, novice practitioners seemed to be more affected by their *own negative emotions* in the face of the client's suffering and/or exasperation than by the *emotional state of the client*. Consequently, the greater the experience in interpreting over-the-phone, the lesser the problem of controlling emotions when encountering distressed clients. More experienced interpreters seemed to have learnt to distance themselves from the client's negative emotions.

Despite great developments in communication technologies, TIs still face poor lines, poor sound acuity, and echoes of their own voices. The perceived intensity of this problem grew with level of expertise, with few novices being disturbed by this issue and seasoned practitioners being most affected.

In the light of these findings, we appear to hold a different view to that of Rosenberg (2007: 75), as most challenges in TI reported by the participants in this study are related to the *lack of provider's/client's awareness* when working with TIs, the *emotional state of the client, the emotional state of the interpreter*, and *technical problems*.

Implications for training can be extracted from our data for the benefit of interpreter trainers, less experienced TIs and/or interpreters with no background in this setting. With the assistance of the input from Swedish and Spanish TIs, we would like to put forward a list of categories of challenges for training in TI (a more precise and quantitative proposal will follow the results of the second questionnaire).

A training module should involve recording simulated material containing any of the following hurdles to remote communication, a combination of some of these, and, at a more advanced level, the presence of a substantial number of the features that seriously impede fluent communication such as:

- side conversations between the provider and the client;
- the provider's or client's interruptions towards the interpreter;
- the provider's or client's long turns without pauses;
- the client's sobbing, shouting or venting his/her anger on the telephone interpreter in accordance with the setting;
- the client's incoherent talk due to emotional distress in various settings or due to mental problems;

- interpreting a client with frail health and a weak voice;
- a suicidal client attempting to take his/her life;
- TIs listening to their own voices, poor lines, and poor sound acuity, amongst others.

Another challenge that should be addressed in the educational context is the presence of deictic information in clients' descriptions of problems, and visual references thereof. Contents of a training module in the classroom should be reviewed by TIs to further benefit from their experiences when navigating challenging TI situations.

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Dear interpreter! Thank you for your attention in the first place. We are currently conducting a study about professional practices in telephone interpreting. We would very much appreciate your cooperation, and will be pleased to share the results with you. Remember all your answers will be kept anonymous!

1. Type of interpreter training education e.g., conference interpreting, community interpreting; no specific training in interpreting (on-the-job competence); training in other disciplines; telephone interpreter training provided by the company.

2. Nationality and language combinations:

- Mother tongue (A language);
- First foreign language (B language);
- Second foreign language (C language);
- Nationality.

3. How many years have you been working as:

- Conference interpreter;
- Community interpreter;
- Telephone interpreter.

4. Regarding your work as a telephone interpreter:

- If you work on an occasional basis, how many hours per month?
- If you work on a regular basis, how many hours per month?
- If you work full time or nearly full time, how many hours per month?

5. In which of the following services do you work more often, in terms of hours per month? For each field, please rate with "never", "sometimes", "often", "always":

- Health (healthcare in hospitals, health centres, clinics, etc.);
- Health emergency;
- Emergency units (other than health);
- Social services and social care;
- Police;
- Domestic violence;
- Insurance companies;
- Local councils / municipalities;
- Tourism;
- Other (please specify).

6. Regarding the services mentioned in the previous question (health, health emergency, other emergencies, social services and care, police, domestic violence, insurance companies, local councils, tourism, other-specify-):

– Which of these is more challenging, and more difficult for interpreting on the phone? (you can mention more than one);
– Could you explain why?
– Which factors make interpreting the interaction more difficult in that service?

7. Regarding your personal experience with telephone interpreting:

– Could you share with us your worst work experience, when telephone interpreting was at its most difficult? (You can mention more than one experience);
– Could you explain what made interpreting so difficult?

8. Regarding your personal experience with telephone interpreting:

– Could you share with us your most rewarding telephone interpreting experience, when interpreting was at its smoothest? (You can mention more than one experience of smooth interaction);
– Could you explain what made telephone interpreting smoother and easier?

9. In your experience, do you find it essential to have access to visual information related to the interactants?

– No, I do not find it helps my interpreting performance;
– Yes, it would certainly make my interpreting performance better;
– Sometimes it can help my interpreting performance (please specify).

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Shaping the Interpreters of the Future and of Today: Preliminary results of the SHIFT Project

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Abstract

As a result of globalization and of the continuous developments of ICTs, spoken language travels through new devices and media. Similar trends can be observed in the field of spoken-language interpreting where, alongside traditional onsite interpreting, remote interpreting is spreading through the use of telephone and videoconferencing. Therefore, the need arises for updating existing theoretical models of oral discourse, interpreter-mediated communication and approaches to interpreter education.

Against this backdrop, the SHIFT in Orality - Shaping the Interpreters of the Future and of Today Project was launched by a Consortium including four Higher Education Institutions providing interpreter training and two remote-interpreting service providers with the aim to develop a comprehensive pedagogical solution for the training of remote dialogue interpreters at HEI level and for Lifelong Learning.

This paper presents the main features of the SHIFT Project, a Spanish-English-Italian 3-year Erasmus+ project, and some preliminary results, focusing on turn management in telephone interpreting between Spanish-Italian in service/tourism and English-Spanish in legal/police settings.

* Although the overall conception and organization of the paper was a joint effort, section 1 was drafted by Bertozzi and Russo, sections 2, 2.1 and 3 were drafted by Spinolo and section 1.1 and 2.2 were drafted by Russo.

Keywords

Remote interpreting, telephone interpreting, dialogue interpreting, turn management.

1. Rationale of the SHIFT Project

SHIFT in Orality (*Shaping the Interpreters of the Future and of Today*)[1] is an Erasmus+ three-year project approved by the European Commission in 2015 to develop a comprehensive pedagogical solution in the field of remote (telephone and videoconference) interpreting. The Project is being developed by a European network of academic and non-academic partners. The former includes the University of Bologna (project coordinator), the University of Granada, the Pablo de Olavide University of Seville and the University of Surrey; the latter include two remote interpreting service providers, Dualia – Spain (telephone interpreting) and VEASYT – Italy (videoconference interpreting).

As a result of the unprecedented development and spread of ICTs over the last few years at a global level, spoken language is increasingly related to the use of new digital devices and media that are completely re-framing the traditional paradigm of face-to-face interaction (Bercelli/Pallotti 2002; Thüne/Leonardi 2003), thus resulting in new trends and patterns in oral communication. This 'shift' inevitably goes hand in hand with rapid changes in the field of spoken-language interpreting: if the interpreter and the speaker(s) do not share the same setting (Angelelli 2000) or space allocation, a strong need to re-negotiate the existing theoretical models of oral monolingual and interpreter-mediated discourse emerges. The growing spread of remote interpreting systems (via telephone or via videoconferencing devices) clearly confirms this assumption: interpreters, just like any other communication professional, cannot neglect this change in paradigm.

The main pillars of the European Digital Agenda[2] make this need even more evident, since remote communication (and interpreting) can contribute to reducing travel costs and energy consumption, making public services more efficient and enhancing social inclusion through telephone/videoconferencing systems, which are paving the way to new opportunities to gain access to qualified interpreting services for multilingual remote communication. These emerging trends require a consistent, shared approach: hence the need for the transnational SHIFT Project involving both the academia with interpreter training curricula and market leaders providing remote interpreting services, based in Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom.

1 For further information, see <http://www.shiftinorality.eu>

2 Including, among others, enhancing digital literacy, skills and inclusion as well as generating benefits for society through the use of ICTs to reduce energy consumption, support ageing citizens' lives, revolutionize health services and deliver better public services (for further references see <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN-IT/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM:si0016&from=IT>).

1.1 Objectives

As already anticipated, the ultimate goal of the SHIFT Project is the creation of pedagogical models and materials for remote interpreting training at Higher Education and LifeLong Learning levels. In order to do so, a novel approach to remote communication through the study of orality (San Vicente/Morillas 2014) and the use of ICTs was adopted. In particular, the development of language-independent methodologies and language-pair dependent deliverables (Italian<>English, Spanish<>English, Spanish<>Italian) are specific objectives of the project. In order to achieve these goals, the project was divided into two main lines of research, whose common denominator is identifying the basic requirement of remote interpreters' training.

The first stage is based on an in-depth analysis of orality in face-to-face and remote monolingual communication on the one hand and, on the other, in bilingual onsite and remote interpreter-mediated communication for the following language pairs: Italian<>Spanish, English<>Spanish and Italian<>English. Recent studies on orality applied to Interpreting Studies (San Vicente/Morillas 2014; Calvo Rigual/Spinolo 2016) shed light on specific features relevant also for the SHIFT Project which aims at developing a theoretical and methodological framework for the analysis of interpreter-mediated oral discourse in telephone and video-based interpreting. So far, two main intellectual outputs have been produced. The first concerns the analysis of monolingual onsite and remote communication (San Vicente 2017), with special reference to the use of speech markers (Flores Acuña 2017), and specific communicative settings: health (Amato 2017), legal (Russo 2017; González Rodríguez 2017) and service (Tonin 2017). The second intellectual output concerns interpreter-mediated onsite and remote interpreting in these same three settings, with a proposal of a multidisciplinary theoretical framework for the study of telephone interpreting (Russo/Iglesias Fernández 2017), focusing also on paralinguistic features (Iglesias Fernández/Muñoz López 2017) and the study of videoconference interpreting (Braun 2012, focusing also on non-verbal communication (Braun/Davitti 2017a). Furthermore, a methodological framework has been developed providing categories for the study of telephone and video-based interpreting (Braun/Davitti 2017b), among them managing opening and closing, managing turns, managing spatial organization, managing misunderstandings and so on.

The present paper will present the results of the analysis of service and legal instances of telephone interpreting, focusing on turn management and, more specifically, on three aspects of turn management: chunking, pauses and management of dyadic sequences.

2. A glance at the data: turn management in telephone interpreting

As described in § 1.1, the first phase of the project included an analysis of the existing literature on remote monolingual interaction, as well as a qualitative analysis on data provided by the two remote interpreting companies involved in the project: Dualia SL and VEASYT Srl. The data provided by the two companies are simulations:

> […] based on real-life situations in the fields of healthcare, legal (police and court interpreting), emergencies, tourism, etc. The simulations involved interpreters who were recruited by the two SME project partners and 'clients' (role players) from among the staff of the two companies (Braun/Davitti 2017a: 42).

Despite being simulations, the data were extremely interesting to analyse because interpreters were not aware that the session was part of the study[3], therefore, their renditions can be considered and studied as genuine.

In this paper, a portion of the data will be presented to exemplify instances of turn management in telephone interpreting. Turn management is both a very complex and an extremely important issue in telephone interpreting. In remote interpreting, the interpreter's role as a "gatekeeper" and "coordinator" (Wadensjö 1993[2002]) in the interaction is all but an easy task, due to the distance between interpreter and speakers (Braun 2012) and to the complete lack of visual clues. In some cases, such task can be made even more complex by possible delays in sound transmission, which can cause involuntary overlapping in turns.

Turn-management is one of the phenomena studied within the taxonomy defined by the SHIFT partnership (especially Braun/Davitti 2017a: 41-50). The transcription conventions used are derived from conversation analysis (Sacks *et al.* 1978) and are the following:

?	rising vocal pitch or intonation
Bold	emphasis
CAPITAL	loud voice, shouting
Lo:ng	stretched sounds
°quiet°	words spoken in a low voice
>speed-up<	increased speed of delivery
<speed-down>	decreased speed of delivery
[talk]	square brackets indicate overlapping talk
=	latching, contiguous utterances or continuation of the same utterance in the next line
(.)	micro pause
(2.0)	length of pause in approximate seconds
((cough))	sound or feature of talk not easily transcribable
xxx	inaudible or doubts about hearing by the transcriber
wor-	truncated word
/	truncated utterance
O:	Operator, service provider
C:	Caller, service user
I:	Interpreter

3 The two companies asked the interpreters' authorisation to provide the data for the study before the data collection session began, so interpreters were aware of the study but not of which was the simulation among their various daily sessions.

2.1 Turn management in the ES/IT tourism setting

It is Dualia which provided the six interactions analysed for this section, all of which pertaining to the field of tourism. The phenomena discussed below were observed in all interactions, but we will only present a few paradigmatic examples. They are all three-way phone calls where the two primary participants and the interpreters are in different locations; the Spanish speaker is always the operator (Museo del Prado, Tourist Information Office, etc.), the Italian party is always a tourist (or prospective tourist) asking information.

2.1.1 Use of chunking

In face-to-face interpreting, interpreters can use a wide range of resources to point out the need to interrupt one of the primary participants during a particularly long turn or one with a great amount of information, or to point out, when they are interrupted by one of the speakers, that their turn is not concluded yet. In some cases, a glance can even be enough to signal a request for a closing or interruption of the turn.

In telephone interpreting, however, interpreters can only use their voice as a tool for chunking. In the data analysed, there are no cases in which the interpreter, in presence of a particularly long turn, is forced to interrupt one of the speakers to start their rendition. This might be due to the fact that turns are usually not very long, although some of them can contain quite a significant amount of information. All interpreters in the sessions analysed preferred to wait until the end of the turn to collect all the relevant information and then deliver it to the other party. This appears to be, as a matter of fact, an effective strategy for telephone interpreting where, as mentioned above (§ 2), turn management is particularly complex and demanding. To effectively implement this approach, i.e. favouring long turns, it is of pivotal importance that telephone interpreters have a solid command of memorization and note-taking techniques to correctly and effectively deliver the information received during long or more turns.

In many cases, turns are slightly and almost imperceptibly interrupted by backchannelling signals (*mh mh*; *ok*; *yes*; etc.) uttered either by the primary participants or by the interpreters themselves to confirm that the channel is still open and they are listening and understanding. We find multiple instances of this case in Example 1 (turns 2, 4, 6, 8, 15, 17, 19, 23, 25). In this instance, the interpreter reports information she has just received from the operator to the Italian user, who is a teacher gathering information for a school trip:

Example 1

1 O: vale sí venga tenemos servicio de guía en italiano [vale]?
2 I: [sì]
3 O: por el tema de: de:l número de personas no hay problema porque nuestro servicio de guía va co:n con interfon- o sea con audífono
4 I: sí
5 O: entonces el tema del volumen de personas no es problema porque la guía va hablándole a un micrófono pequeñito y todos los asistentes del grupo llevan un audífono y van escuchando directamente la: la interpretación o sea lo que es la: la guía (.) no tiene que ir dando voces con lo cual no es un problema de vamos a llenar l- el espacio de- de ruido por eso no hay ningún problema [vale]?
6 I: [mh vale]
7 O: el servicio de guía en italiano son doce euros [vale]?
8 I: [ok sí]
9 O: y dura cuarenta y cinco minutos
10 I: mh vale doce euros por persona no?
11 O: eh: no doce euros en general en total por grupo
12 I: ah vale de- vale de acuerdo (.) eh: pronto?
13 C: sì pronto?
14 I: sì non [c'è nessun problema]
15 C: [sì sì la sento]
16 I: =perché c'è guida c'è guida in italiano eh:
17 C: [ok]
18 I: [funziona] con audifono allora che non c'è un problema po- per un gruppo così grande perché con l'audifono po- può parlare normale e non c'è nessun problema per gli
[altri visitatori] il prezzo è dodici euro
19 C:[ah ho capito]
20 I: =dodici euro e dura quar[antaci]nque minuti
21 C: [ok] dodici euro a testa per bambino?
22 I: no no in totale
23 C: [ah ok]
24 I: [ah vuole] sapere anche ma- questo è il prezzo del gui- della guida (1.0)
25 C: [ok]

While for good practice interpreters are, as explained above in this same paragraph, recommended to limit chunking to reduce overlapping to a minimum, these little backchannelling signals are somehow a substitute for nodding in face-to-face interactions, and are extremely useful to reassure participants on the fact that the audio channel is open and that there are no comprehension problems.

2.1.2 Pauses

The presence and management of pauses in speech acquires particular importance in telephone interpreting. In absence of visual clues, a pause, and especially a long one, can be ambiguous and misleading for listeners, as it might signal a technical problem, the end of a turn, or that one party is waiting for the other interlocutor's turn to begin.

Our data included multiple cases of the latter, in which a pause, although not very long, was interpreted as the end of a turn. An instance is that of Example 2, where the interaction occurs between an Italian prospective tourist and the Madrid Tourist Information Office:

Example 2

1 C: tren- trenta euro? Mah allora c'è anche un autobus
turistico incluso che mi faccia fare un giro de: delle cose
principali o no?
2 I: eh: un [attimo] (1.0)
3 C: =[o trenta] euro soltanto il: sì
4 I: eh: compañera

In this case, the caller interprets a pause in the interpreter's speech (turn 2) as a comprehension or a technical problem, and therefore starts another turn to reformulate what she has just said (turn 3). The interpreter's pause, on the other hand, is placed exactly in the moment when directionality changes, which might, in this case, have involved a short pause for thinking; immediately after, the interpreter starts speaking to the operator (turn 4).

2.1.3 Presence and management of dyadic sequences

As already mentioned in § 2, dialogue interpreters play a double role in interaction (Wadensjö 1993[2002]). On the one hand, as Wadensjö points out, they are *relayers*, and report the contents of the conversation with their renditions; on the other, they are *coordinators* or *gatekeepers*. Such role can be played either implicitly or explicitly; it is played implicitly through renditions that usually contain themselves indications on who is going to take the following turn in conversation. It is played explicitly through what Wadensjö defines as *non-renditions*, that is all those turns that do not constitute the rendition of contents expressed by primary participants. Among these explicit interventions to coordinate communication, Wadensjö describes: (a) direct replies to one of the speakers; (b) initiatives towards one of the speakers, with a request for further information the interpreter believes to be necessary or useful; and (c) meta-comments to explain, for instance, what one of the primary participants means, what they do not understand, what they are doing or are about to do. Such interventions can trigger dyadic sequences involving the interpreter and one of the primary participants. It is very important that interpreters can manage these sequences in such a way that the participant who is not involved in the dyadic exchange understands what is going on and does not feel excluded.

In the case of telephone interpreting, the management of dyadic sequences becomes even more complex and important, given the lack of visual input. While operators who are used to working with telephone interpreters are mostly aware that dyadic sequences are frequent, in some cases, the interpreter might decide to inform users, who may be first-timers with telephone interpreting, explicitly that they are going to address the operator in what might become a dyadic sequence. An instance can be found in Example 3:

Example 3

1 C: eh: sì allora io eh: mi trovo a Siviglia e dovrei
arrivare al Patronato del eh: Turismo eh: mi trovo vicino alla
piazza de Toros
2 I: mh mh va bene un attimo solo un attimo solo che devo
tradurre per il mio collega
3 C: [va bene]
4 I: [eh compañero?]
5 O: (xxx)
6 I: compañero? Me escucha?
7 O: sí dígame le escucho
8 I: mire esta esta persona se encuentra en Sevilla tiene
que llegar al al Patronato de Turismo y en este momento se
encuentra al lado de la Plaza de Toros quisiera saber si le
podemos dar indicaciones sobre cómo llegar al patronato de
turismo
9 O: a: bien dígale a ver el patronato de turismo se
encuentra en la calle Reyes Huertas [número] veinte vale?
10 I: [mh mh]
11 O: =Eso para para
empezar (1.0) entonces para llegar hasta aquí ella está en la
Plaza de Toros [verdad]?
13 I: [mh mh]
14 O: bien de la Plaza de Toros entonces tiene que eh: como
situarse en la puerta princi[pal]
15 I: [mh mh]
16 O: =y a la derecha verá una calle que desciende y es la
calle Oviedo [bien]?

18 I: [mh mh]
19 O: entonces que siga la calle Oviedo hasta llegar a una
plaza que es la plaza de Capuchinos y ahí en esa plaza a mano
derecha está la calle Reyes Huertas
20 I: mh mh ok Reyes Huertas gracias (.) ok eh: signora mi
sente?
21 C: [sì]
22 I:[signo-]
23 C: sí
24 I: eh: per arrivare al Patronato di Turismo da dove da
dove lei sé da dove lei è devi prendere vue- eh vabbeh il
Patronato de Turismo è si trova alla- alla strada Reyes Huertas numero venti

The interaction involves an Italian tourist calling a Tourist Information Office to get directions on how to get there. The interpreter, probably sensing that getting the directions might lead to a dyadic sequence, warns the Italian user before beginning her rendition towards Spanish (turn 2), so that she will not feel excluded and will be aware of what is going on. In the same way, and following a procedure indicated by the company (Dualia SL)[4], the interpreter marks the beginning of the renditions to the Spanish party (*compañero?*), to make sure that she has his attention; due to an overlapping in turns, however, the operator's attention is not caught immediately. Only after receiving confirmation that the operator is listening, does the interpreter start the rendition (turn 8). This turn is followed by a long dyadic sequence (turns 8-19) in which the operator provides the directions requested, making sure that the interpreter is following through frequent interrogative utterances (turns 9, 11, 16). Once the dyadic sequence is concluded, the interpreter goes back to the Italian party and draws her attention (turn 20). Once more, the rendition starts only after the Italian user has confirmed that she is listening (turns 20-24).

The data also show instances of the interpreter asking questions to one of the primary participants although such questions have not been asked directly by the other party, as she believes they might be useful to complete the information required (Wadensjo 1993[2002]). An instance is that of Example 4, where an Italian teacher is gathering information for a school trip to the Museo del Prado in Madrid:

Example 4

1 C: ok dieci euro me lo segno e un'altra domanda allora eh:
noi veniamo con un pullman della scuola
2 I: [sì]
3 C: [c'è] un parcheggio privato nel museo? Dobbiamo pagarlo
oppure possiamo lasciare il pullman fuori in modo che ci aspetti
mentre noi facciamo la visita?
5 I: ok (.) y otra cosa es que vienen con un auto[car]
6 O: [mh mh]
7 I: entonces hay un sitio donde pueden aparcar o cómo
funciona?
8 O: sí sí no tiene más que seguir las indicaciones cuando
estén llegando al Museo del Prado ya van apareciendo los carteles
de: de aparcamiento y hay aparcamiento para autobuses eso no hay problema
9 I: No hay proble- y y tienen que reservarlo antes o:?
10 O: eh: no una vez que hacen la reserva del- de la guía ya
viene también hecha la reserva de- en ese momento se reserva todo
11 I: de acue[rdo]
12 O: [vamos] que el aparcamiento es bastante amplio y
no hay ningún problema con el tema de los autobuses

4 Dualia SL, personal communication.

13 I: de acuerdo y eso tiene precio? O está incluido?
14 O: el- eso está incluido o sea va n- en el tema de- del
precio por grupo
16 I: entiendo ok

As already discussed above in this same paragraph, it is very important that, at the end of a dyadic sequence or a particularly long turn, the interpreter draws the attention of the participant who was in standby before starting the rendition.

Dualia instructs its interpreters to carry out the task of drawing the other party's attention by using *Sir/Madam* ("signore/signora" in the case of Italian; Example 3, turns 20-24) when addressing the Italian user and "compañero" (*colleague*; Example 5 below, turn 1) when they are addressing the Spanish speaking operator:

Example 5

1 I: un? Un parcheggio? eh: un attimo che che chiedo un
attimo solo attenda in linea (.) compañero?
2 O: sí?
3 I: mira me pregunta si hay un parking cerca de: del
Patronato

2.2 Turn management in legal settings

Monolingual and bilingual remote interactions in legal settings can be video-based or telephone-based depending on the judiciary activity. Interpreted-mediated videoconferencing is increasingly used in criminal settings for questioning and court hearings (Russo 2017; Braun/Davitti 2017b) for reasons of security, public order and utility. Telephone interpreting (TI) is commonly used for police calls through the emergency line 112 or, less frequently, when a law enforcement official needs to interact with a foreigner outside police stations (in the event, for example, of road accidents). While the use of these novel interpreting modes is generally welcomed by institutions because of economic convenience and immediate availability of the language/interpreter, they are received with mixed feelings by researchers and professional associations of interpreters, with concerns about stressful working conditions, performance quality and lack of visual and non-verbal information.

The legal TI provided by Dualia includes 4 calls to the police through the emergency line 112: 3 calls involve Spanish-Italian and 1 Spanish-English. What follows is a brief overview of the cases. In the first Spanish-Italian call, a woman reports the disappearance of her child on a Valencian beach. It lasts 7 minutes and 57 seconds and includes 87 speaking turns. The second and third Spanish-Italian calls concern a case of bag-snatching in Barcelona (part one and part two of the same call) where a lady asks for help from the police. The first part of the call lasts 3 minutes and 38 seconds and includes 32 speaking turns. The second part lasts 6 minutes and 26 seconds and includes 51 speaking turns. The fourth call is made by a Romanian lady who reports the disappearance of her female friend. She speaks English and the 112 operator speaks Spanish. The call lasts 4 minutes and 57 seconds and includes 80 speaking turns. In all cases the interpreter was a woman.

This small sample shows the variety of topics, durations, quantity and speed of speaking turns among the calls in the legal/police setting that a remote interpreter is likely to receive. In all cases the sound quality was excellent, a feature that cannot be always taken for granted, thus adding to TI difficulties.

In this section we will focus on some peculiar features detected in the Spanish-English call which occur also in the Spanish-Italian calls: chunking, pauses and turn management (for a detailed analysis of these calls, see González Rodríguez 2017).

2.2.1 Use of chunking

The call structure is that of a typical emergency call in six phases (Zimmermann 1992): a) Pre-opening; b) Opening/identification/acknowledgement; c) Request; d) Interrogative series; e) Response; f) Closing.

In the case of TI, the pre-opening is the telephone ring which projects a "virtual emergency" (Zorzi/Monzoni 2003): the incoming call for the interpreter in stand-by can be anything from a routine case to a life-threatening situation. The unforeseeability of both cases and interlocutors in TI is a very stressful condition that demands quick reflexes and self-control, skills that prospective telephone interpreters must learn to master.

The opening/identification/acknowledgement phase is very quick: in turn 1 the call-taker (i.e. the Dualia interpreter) provides a professional identification first (the name of the Company), then a personal identification (her name), followed by the offer to help to discover "the reason for call" or "request":

Example 6

1 I: Dualia mi nombre es Inés ¿en qué puedo ayudarle?
2 O: Hola buenos días mire llamo del 112 e: ¿es usted es usted la
intérprete de inglés?
3 I: De acuerdo?
4 O: Sì::   le voy a pasar con una señorita
5 I: De acuerdo

In this quick exchange, the interpreter's wrong ascending intonation in reply to the operator (*de acuerdo?*) causes a slight uncertainty in the latter (turn 4). The interpreter's turn was supposed to be a confirmation of the caller's assumption and, therefore, it required a descending tone. The interpreter's phonopragmatic competence would favour conversation flow towards the rapid identification of the service required.

In TI, the interpreter's identification turn usually occurs in two stages: first with the caller (the Spanish speaking 112 operator, see turns 1-2) and then with the client (the Romanian lady calling for help and needing interpretation). In this latter case, however, the interpreter did not introduce/identify herself, but only signalled the opening of the communication channel by greeting the client (see turns 6-7), probably assuming that the client was aware that she would communicate through an interpreter and wishing to jump to the reason of the call as soon as possible, as recommended by Dualia (personal communication). The interpreter's request turn, on the other hand, does occur in two stages: first with the caller (*¿en qué puedo ayudarle?*) and then with the client (*how can I help you?*).

2.2.2 Pauses

In this telephone conversation, there are not many pauses within or between turns. This favours a smooth and efficient exchange of information, and prevents turn overlaps between the interpreter and the caller which may occur due to involuntary pauses, as shown in § 2.1.2 on account of the interpreter's long pause.

The only relevant case occurs at the beginning of the dyadic exchange between the interpreter and the Romanian lady. A slight client's hesitation, evidenced by a pause, before her self-identification (see Example 8, turn 10) is taken as a transitional relevance point by the interpreter who promptly interrupts her (by overlapping her voice) to ask for the reason for calling (see turns 8 and 9):

Example 7

6 C: Hallo good morning
7 I: Hallo good morning
8 C: Ah... [I'm
9 I: [HOW can I help you?

2.2.3 Presence and management of dyadic sequences

The next stage, the interrogation series, is mainly dyadic in TI, that is it occurs first between the interpreter and the caller in order for the former to grasp what needs to be asked to the client and then between the interpreter and the client, before referring back to the 112 operator in one single turn. This approach by the interpreter speeds up the process and allows for the quickest possible identification of the reason for calling. Furthermore, it complies with Dualia's guidelines (personal communication). The availability of protocols developed by companies or institutions for their operators and interpreters are invaluable guidelines for their work, especially because they help them to turn potentially unsettling calls (such as emergency calls) into manageable routine calls, thus optimising their daily practice (Zimmermann 1992). Finally, the interpreter's previous experience with similar calls makes him/her more autonomous in managing the interrogation phase. However, in this case it prevents the 112 operator from putting questions that he might consider more relevant.

In managing turns by selecting the next speaker through linguistic means (for instance, she uses the appellative *compañero* to signal that she will start talking with the 112 operator in the next turn, as suggested by Dualia; see above), the interpreter performs the conversational coordinating role highlighted by Wadensjö (1993[2002]), Angelelli (2004) and Straniero Sergio (2007). This role is particularly important in remote triadic exchanges, where unlike onsite interpreters, telephone interpreters can only avail themselves of linguistic and paralinguistic means to establish the duration of dyadic exchanges and start/interrupt other speakers' turns at talk (chunking).

Here are some examples. In this first dyadic exchange, the Romanian lady starts narrating the facts:

Example 8

10 C: I am from Rumania I am here in [Madrid in a hotel
11 I: [Yes
12 C: In street Gran Vía [hotel
13 I: [Yes
14 C: and yesterday evening I planned to meet with her to have breakfast in the hotel at eight o' clock in the morning
15 I: Yes
16 C: She hasn't come she isn't in the [hotel now and I don't know what it did happen
17 I: [Yes
18 I: SO you came here together on holiday she went out at [night
19 C: [yes ah at seven o' clock yesterday night

Every turn of the client, or rather, every information unit (place - hotel, moment in the day - morning) is accompanied by an interpreter's turn ("yes") to signal that the message was correctly received (acknowledgement tokens or backchanneling) and, at the same time, to invite the lady to proceed. Before translating for the Spanish speaking operator, the interpreter recapitulates what she has just heard ("SO"), in order to receive the client's confirmation but she also adds some inferences linked to the context (a foreigner calling from a hotel must be "on holiday").

The following sequence highlights the interpreter's leeway in leading the interrogation series (in italics), which should rather be in control of the 112 operator:

Example 9

20 I: *She went out and she hasn't come back.*
21 C: She hasn't come back
22 I: *Do you where she went?*
23 C: Eh … No only to see a friend of her here in Madrid but I don't know where exactly.
24 I: *Does she have a telephone?*
25 C: Eh…yes eh.. but the problem is that the telephone is here in the hotel.
26 I: I see. Compañero

Experienced telephone interpreters are usually aware of the conversation routines of the different settings they work for and, therefore, they may opt for autonomously gathering as much information as possible before referring back to the operator, thus speeding up the process to guarantee the operator's quick response to the caller's request for help.

3. Conclusions and good practices

From this glance at the data, and particularly at turn management in telephone interpreting, a few good practices and recommendations for telephone interpreters can be extracted. In the first place, although it might seem a trivial observation, professionals should be aware of the enormous difference between face-to-face and telephone interpreting, in order to prevent and/or solve any communication problems that may arise due to the lack of all inputs except the auditory one. Focusing on turn management, the feature studied in this paper, interpreters should pay special attention to chunking, pauses and the management of dyadic sequences.

The use of chunking should, if possible, be kept to a minimum to reduce the likelihood of overlapping in turns and comprehension problems; for this purpose, telephone interpreters should master memorization and note-taking techniques to manage long and dense turns. On the other hand, but without actually interrupting speakers, during the interaction, interpreters should make sure that primary participants are following them, and request confirmation in case of absence of backchannelling signals. Similarly, by using little feedback signals they can reassure primary participants on their comprehension.

As far as pauses are concerned, professionals should bear in mind that, precisely because of the absence of visual inputs, they can be misleading, and can be interpreted as a lack of understanding or even as a technical problem with the telephone line. On many occasions, when misinterpreted, they can cause overlaps with other speakers (as shown in the example from the tourism setting). For these reasons, they should be kept to a minimum and be as short as possible, at least on the interpreter's side. On the other hand, hesitation pauses by the caller could be best exploited by the interpreter to prompt the caller to reveal the reason of the call as soon as possible (see the example from the legal setting).

Dyadic sequences can occur frequently in telephone interpreting, especially when the interpreter has to take the initiative and start an exchange with one of the speakers to ask for clarifications, or for further information, or to add a meta-comment. Dyadic sequences can also occur in sequences that are very dense in information, such as transmitting personal details, for example. In the presence of dyadic sequences, it would be a good practice to reassure the participant who is not involved in the dyadic exchange about what is going on, in particular if they are not used to telephone interpreting.

Finally, it might often occur, after a dyadic sequence or a long turn, that the excluded party (that is, the party who was not involved in the dyadic sequence or long turn) becomes distracted. In this case, it is strongly recommended that interpreters draw the attention of the excluded party (e.g. "compañero", "signore", "signora") before they start their rendition.

Turn management is only one of the aspects to be taken care of in dialogue interpreting in general and, more specifically, in remote interpreting. Research carried out within the framework of the SHIFT project aims at highlighting all elements remote interpreters should be aware of and which can be specified in training.

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Conflict zones: a training model for interpreters

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Abstract

The present study aims at investigating the status of conflict zone interpreters. It sheds more light on the sufficiency of interpreting skills in conflict zones. To achieve the purpose of this study, the method employed is based on interviewing interpreters working for non-governmental organizations which provided humanitarian services for refugees in Jordan in 2017. The findings reveal that these interpreters lack adequate training relevant to this particular field of interpretation, hence encountering numerous (non)linguistic challenges. Finally, the study concludes that conflict zone interpreters are in need of a relevant model of training. Therefore, the researchers propose a competency model of training that may help them with the aim of producing plausible interpretations.

Keywords

Conflict zones, interpreters, interpreting skills, training models, NGOs.

Introduction

The present study attempts to delve into the context of interpreting for the refugees flooding from the areas of turmoil in the aftermath of the so-called Arab Spring. The paper tries to shed more light on the quality of interpretation provided and to consider the background and skills of conflict zone interpreters (henceforth CZIs). The paper argues that CZIs do not receive adequate training prior to embarking on their interpreting duties, despite the high demand for them in Jordan given the current crisis.

After the Arab Spring, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children sought refuge in several more peaceful countries, but the largest numbers of refugees flooded to conflict zone neighboring countries. Jordan, for instance, has received more than 727,000[1] refugees from Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Sudan among others. Concomitant to the movement of refugees is the presence of various bodies and organizations which provide humanitarian aid such as non-governmental organizations (henceforth NGOs). For the NGOs to provide their services efficiently, as most of them come from various non-Arabic speaking backgrounds, they rely on interpretation services to facilitate the fulfillment of NGO programs. Furthermore, the current instability in the Middle East is creating societies with poly-cultural differences. This, of course, requires linguistic mediation to bridge the communication gaps in such new societies. The people who fled their homelands require access to various statutory services including healthcare, education, legal protection, government, energy, community empowerment, durable solutions, shelter and non-food items, etc. and this can be achieved with the assistance of 'community interpreters' (Collard-Abbas 1981, cited in Roberts 1995).

Unlike conference interpreters who have traditionally received more scholarly focus, and thus a better status through training institutions and hiring bodies, community interpreters have to work in a very different environment whereby they may find themselves in close contact with both the parties which require assistance and the parties which provide this assistance (Gentile 1995). Interpreters in conflict zones are also involved in attempting to settle disagreements and allay fear, suspicion and worry. In spite of the tough and sometimes risky conditions they encounter, such interpreters usually receive little attention from their own governments who largely fail to set rules and regulations to protect them and provide them with training and support. This has been emphasized by Inghilleri (2010: 185) who propounds that "interpreters in war zones are not commanded by any institution, they are contracted to interpret, motivated by their nation, a social or a political cause or by necessity". In this regard, Zagolin (2015: 3) points out that these interpreters "put their life on the line" to perform the required tasks, hence, endangering their lives to help refugees and NGOs. What usually happens is that due to limited budgets, the organizations which need ad hoc interpreters tend to employ local civilians who most of the time lack the adequate training and/or experience to perform the required tasks professionally. If this is the case, these interpreters may lack a relevant code of ethics, hence causing grave repercussions to themselves, to the organization they work for and/or to the refugees.

Given this situation, CZIs must shoulder the responsibility for helping both the service providers and the service receivers. The role of interpreters in such heated areas is essential in three main aspects: (1) to help foreign troops and military per-

1 UNHCR Jordan fact sheet, January 2017, retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/JordanFactSheetJanuary2017-FINAL.pdf>.

sonnel in different facets and issues (Military Linguists/Interpreters); (2) to help journalists in negotiating and in arranging meetings with the fighting groups in some areas (Contract Interpreters); (3) to deliver humanitarian assistance to international organizations and bodies on the ground (Humanitarian Interpreters).

In the last few years, especially after the Syrian crisis and after hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees have sought refuge in Jordan, the need for well-trained and competent interpreters has arisen. Hence, there is growing academic and professional interest in studies related to interpreting in conflict zones, such as:

- multilingual communication in the field;
- needs and challenges;
- professional ethics in humanitarian interpreting;
- virtual and blended learning in complex contexts (InZone[2]).

However, there is no comprehensive training model *per se* for CZIs. They lack sufficient training when heading to areas of turmoil in different parts of the world, especially the Middle East, thus, this paper investigates existing training models or required qualifications.

1. Interpreting in conflict zones

'Conflict/war zone' has been defined by Merriam Webster's dictionary as "a zone in which belligerents are waging war; broadly: an area marked by extreme violence"[3]. Based on the definition quoted from the National Language Service Corps (NLSCorps), interpreting in conflict zones involves serving people affected by conflicts and may include humanitarian and military interpreting "and sometimes medical interpreting as well"[4]. The French military field hospital in the Zaatari Refugee Camp in Jordan, for example, has hired several Jordanian interpreters to be able to communicate with patients and understand their conditions in order to carry out the required procedures and prescribe proper medications. Local government bodies and institutions also need interpreters to help communicate with these international and foreign organizations.

Conflict zone interpreting requires not only language skills but also the ability to work under pressure and hard conditions, the ability to tolerate heartbreaking and harsh circumstances, besides having decision-making skills and self-confidence. Despite this, Fitchett propounds that:

> Interpreters contracted to work in conflict zones are often non-professional linguists yet play a key role in communications. Operating in high-risk environments, they are extremely vulnerable and require special protection. (Fitchett 2013: 1)

2 See InZone, University of Geneva: <http://www.unige.ch/inzone/who-we-are/>.

3 See Merriam Webster's dictionary: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/war%20zone>

4 See NLSCorps: < https://www.nlscorps.org/>

Furthermore, the role of interpreters and the organizations they work with remains blurry, i.e. the interpreters lack full awareness of their responsibilities and duties as do the hiring organizations. However, some bodies concerned with community interpreting in conflict zones have emerged.

1.1 Bodies dealing with CZIs

With the aim of regulating the profession and raising awareness on the part of interpreters, several bodies and organizations have started to enlighten conflict zone interpreters about their rights and duties and have set out to regulate their work around the world. These include:

- AIIC: Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence / The International Association of Conference Interpreters;
- INZONE: Center for Interpreting in Conflict Zones;
- NLSC: National Language Service Corps (USA);
- Red T: a nonprofit organization dedicated to the protection of translators and interpreters in conflict zones and other adversarial settings;
- FIT: La Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs / International Federation of Translators;
- TRF: The Rosetta Foundation;
- TWB: Translators without Borders.

Unfortunately, these bodies have failed to reach out to interpreters in the Middle East and in Jordan. They do not have branches in these areas of turmoil, neither do they have offices in this part of the world to help spread understanding of the nature of conflict zone interpreting. The above-mentioned bodies are mainly based in Europe and thus focus on the European context.

1.2 Interpretation competencies

The debate about translation/interpretation competencies is a thorny one. A few models have been suggested by various scholars and organizations, among which are: Campbell (1991); Schäffner/Adab (2000); Sim (2000); Pym (2003); Katsberg (2007); PACTE (2009); EMT (2009) PACTE, IATIS Yearbook (2010, 2011). According to the PACTE group (2011) model, the most important competencies include: *bilingual sub-competence, extra-linguistic sub-competence, knowledge of translation sub-competence, instrumental sub-competence, strategic sub-competence and psycho-physiological components*.

Though interpreting competencies have been covered by a limited number of models, the most important in our view is Albl-Mikasa's (2012) model which is based on Kalina's (2000) model, especially, when it comes to linguistics, culture, training workshops and interpreter training. This model (*ibid.*: 62-63) includes five main types of skills that every interpreter should have, including *para*, *pre*, *peri*, *in-process* and *post-process* skills distributed as shown in Figure 1 below:

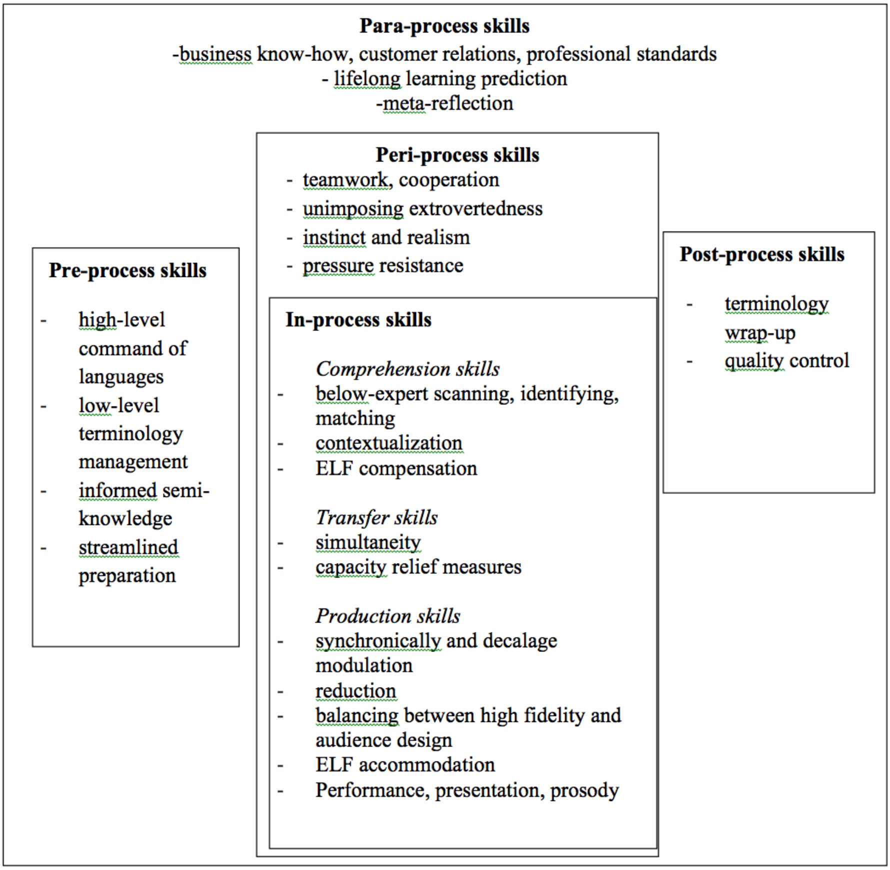

Figure 1. Albl-Mikasa's interpretation competencies (2012: 6)

The *pre-process* skills include the fundamental skills acquired by an interpreter throughout his/her life; *peri-process* skills include teamwork and a cooperative attitude, unimposing extrovertedness, professionalism between instinct and a sense of realism, pressure resistance and frustration tolerance; *in-process* skills relate to the fundamental translation processes of comprehension, transfer and production; *post-process* skills comprise terminology wrap-up, quality control; *para-process* skills encompass an important part of the interpreter's activity being of an entrepreneurial, customer relations and deontological nature (Albl-Mikasa 2012).

Albl-Mikasa's (2012) model focuses solely on conference interpreting. It is based on the experience of ten German interpreters working on the German market. It was adapted from Sylvia Kalina's (2000) model and was extended to include a new dimension; the *para-process* (Albl-Mikasa 2012: 89). This model is comprehensive when it comes to conference interpreting, because it includes competencies ranging from linguistic competencies to quality control, code of ethics, computer assisted terminology management, pressure resistance, frustration tolerance, business know-how, customer relations and professional standards or service provision competency. However, it cannot be applied as such in order to train CZIs because of the different context of conflict zone interpreting.

Regarding competencies, the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters, NAATI (2016), which is a standards organization responsible for setting, promoting and maintaining high professional standards that issues accreditation for practitioners who would like to work as interpreters in Australia, provides interpreter certification. NAATI interpretation competencies include eight different types of competencies including language, intercultural, technological, thematic, transfer, service provision and ethical. For further illustration consider Table 1 below:

Competency	Knowledge	Skills	Attributes
Language Competency (in two languages)	Vocabulary knowledge Grammar knowledge Idiomatic knowledge Language trends knowledge	Language proficiency enabling meaning transfer	Attentive-to-detail Desire-to-excel
Intercultural Competency	Cultural, historical and political knowledge	Sociolinguistic skill	Reliable
Research Competency	Research tools and methods knowledge	Terminology and information research skill Create and maintain a knowledge bank	Willing-to-learn Objective
Technological Competency	Interpreting technology knowledge	Interpreting through communication media Information and communications technology (ICT) skill	Respectful Collaborative
Thematic Competency	General knowledge Current events knowledge Subject-matter specific knowledge Institution-specific knowledge		
Transfer Competency	Interpreting modes knowledge	Discourse analysis skill Discourse management skill Meaning transfer Memory skill Rhetorical skill	Self-reflective Problem-solving Confident
	Interpreting standards knowledge	Self-assessment skill	
Service Provision Competency	Knowledge of the business of interpreting	Interpreting business skill Communication skill Interpersonal skill	
Ethical Competency	Ethics knowledge	Professional	

Table 1. NAATI Interpretation Competencies (NAATI 2016)

The NAATI model is an accreditation and certification project which started in 2011 "to ensure that translators and interpreters have the competence to engage in professional practice" (NAATI 2016: 4). Despite the fact that this model, besides language competency, covers intercultural competency, research competency, technological competency, thematic competency, transfer competency, service provision competency and ethical competency, it focuses only on a general level of competency. It provides a test taken by translators and/or interpreters who wish to become certified professionals in Australia. Yet, this type of training offered to interpreters is not specialized. Therefore, it could be modified and extended to include the competencies given in our suggested model to be used in training CZIs.

Drawing on the above examples and more, the existing models (e.g. Kalina 2000) which cover skills and competencies, do not refer to interpreting related to conflict zones. The only model related to the conflict zone interpreter context is the scalable virtual training model suggested by Moser-Mercer *et al.* (2014) which could fulfill several requirements, such as meeting the real needs of learners, being accessible, providing motivation, certification and supporting the development and maintenance of communities of practice. The model is offered by the Center for Interpreting in Conflict Zones (InZone), at Geneva University through online courses and discussions (see footnote 2).

In the light of limited consideration of conflict zone interpreting, a new specially adapted model seems to be needed for training interpreters who work in conflict zones to enhance their linguistic and cultural skills and knowledge. There is a clear need to consider also the role of translation in crisis communication and to facilitate the training of translators for crisis. The approach to training interpreters and translators within a crisis and on a volunteer basis, cannot be expected to replicate what is done during professional interpreter training due to limitations of both time and resources. Moreover, interpretation in crisis communication is different from traditional interpretation because content is generally concise, and time is a highly critical factor. Nonetheless, it is important that training for volunteers equips those volunteers with the necessary competences (O'Brien 2016: 96).

1.3 Conflict Zone Field Guide

The International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) has initiated a project to help translators and interpreters in conflict zones through issuing a guide entitled *Conflict Zone Field Guide for Civilian Translators/Interpreters and Users of their Services* in collaboration with the Red T and the International Federation of Translators (FIT) to inform interpreters and translators of their duties and rights during their work in conflict zones.

Other attempts at training interpreters include: The Military Translation and Interpretation pilot program designed by the Monterey Institute of International Studies; the Translation and Interpretation Training Capabilities Project, which is a 3-week curriculum created by Cyracom International for the Defense Language Institute; and the U.S. Army's 09L linguist training program designed to train interpreters in the U.S. army.

1.4 Conflict zone interpreting qualifications

In Europe, unlike the Middle East, there are some bodies which offer certificates in humanitarian interpreting training. For instance, the InZone Center offers what is referred to as the "Certificate of Advanced Studies (CAS) in Humanitarian Interpreting" in cooperation with Red T, FIT and the AIIC. CAS is designed for field interpreters, interpreters working for humanitarian organizations and members of the Diaspora hoping to utilize their language and cultural skills. The courses offered during the training to obtain this certificate are delivered completely online. They include: Interpreting Skills, Interpreting Ethics, Core Skills for humanitarian interpreters and International Humanitarian Law for humanitarian interpreters. A specific module is relevant to the organization(s) the candidates work for (such as ICRC, UNHCR, UN, and MSF). Concerning admission requirements, the center requires candidates to have a Bachelor's degree or equivalent professional experience, basic technological skills for an online course, and a good command of English and another working language. A short phone interview may be required to verify language proficiency to ensure acceptance.

Unfortunately, our region is still lagging behind with regard to regulating this profession and equipping interpreters with more relevant and specialized skills to provide interpreting services for the parties involved. As mentioned elsewhere, most of the CZIs in Jordan were hired only because they could speak foreign languages like for example, English, French and German.

2. About this study

The present research aims at providing a comprehensive training competence model for CZIs in Jordan that can address the strenuous circumstances under which they have to work, in particular, with people fleeing torture and turmoil. To know what is required of such a training model, the study first attempts to investigate both the linguistic skills and non-linguistic competencies of community interpreters or CZIs working in Jordan and secondly, ascertain the basic training skills they already have and which ones they need.

The methodological framework consists of interviewing the community interpreters and examining some existing training models in order to propose a purpose-built competence model to train them in order to fill in any gaps.

2.1 Method

2.1.1 The participants

To achieve its purpose, the present study has attempted to interview seven CZIs working for several service providers, namely NGOs operating in Jordan in 2017 (see Table 2 below). The participants who were interviewed were four females and three males, five of them holding master's degrees (M.A.) in Translation, and one an M.A. in Conflict Resolution, while another has a bachelor's degree (B.A.) in Translation.

The participants			
Gender	No.	**Qualifications**	No.
Females	4	M.A.	6
Males	3	B.A.	1
Total	**7**		**7**

Table 2. The participants in the study

2.1.2 The interviews

The interviews were held in the Department of Translation at Yarmouk University, Irbid, in Jordan. The duration of each interview was 30 minutes. The interviewees were asked about the linguistic and non-linguistic challenges they encountered in their field work. They were asked about the nature of the topics they interpreted; whether or not they received training from their employers; whether or not they received specialized linguistic training in the subjects they were assigned to interpret; whether or not they had an idea about conflict zone interpreting models; whether or not they knew about international conflict zone training bodies; and whether or not they recognized the ethics related to privacy and confidentiality (see Appendix).

To comply with confidentiality ethics, the participants were interviewed individually and were reassured that their identities would remain undisclosed. The participants explained the tough circumstances and embarrassing situations they went through during their assigned tasks. These include: *being unable to interpret specialized information including topics related to refugees, child and women abuse, counselling, and medicine; their lacking accurate terminologies; being unable to understand the dialect of the targeted people; encountering difficulties with the accents of some foreign NGO staff; lack of tolerance towards some cultural issues and taboos*, to mention but a few.

Drawing on the participants' responses and with the aim of designing a comprehensive training model for the CZIs, the study has also surveyed and examined several existing interpreting models such as: the InZone Certificate of Advanced Studies in Humanitarian Interpreting from Geneva University; the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC); the Conflict Zone Field Guide for Interpreters; the Military Translation and Interpretation Pilot Program from the Monterey Institute; and the National Language Service Corps.

3. Findings

The interviews have shown that most of the participants (5/7) revealed that their NGOs did not provide any kind of proper training at the level of interpreter training, or at the level of administrative training. Yet, two participants stated that they had received training by their organization, one on the main services that are provided by the interpreter's organization and the other on safety and security issues. Further, one of the participants indicated that their NGOs consider working in the field as a substitute for training. The study reveals that CZIs encounter four main types of challenges including ethical, linguistic, cultural, and administrative challenges. For more illustration consider Figure 2:

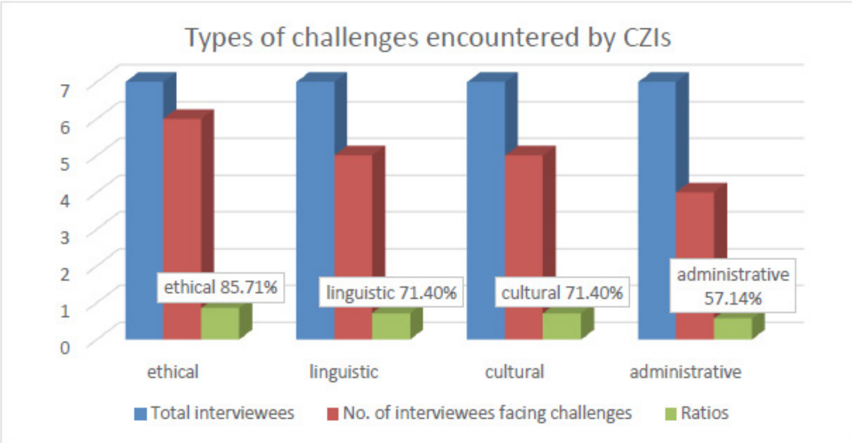

Figure 2. Types of the challenges encountered by CZIs

With regard to the issue of ethics, Figure 2 shows that 85.71% of the participants lacked awareness of interpreting ethics and were only aware of codes of ethics of the NGOs if they worked for more than one. Interestingly, 71.40% of the participants indicated that they encountered linguistic problems related to the various dialects they encountered as well as the cultural backgrounds of the refugees. Finally, 57.14% of the participants explained that they had problems with the administrative tasks they were required to undertake.

As for the strategies employed to cope with the challenges, the study reveals that in order to overcome the problem of lack of training, participants used various strategies such as: using previous work experience acquired through working for other NGOs; seeking clarification for difficult medical terminology from the medical staff as a substitute for their lack of training; searching on the internet; and reading leaflets and magazines related to the field of work.

3.1 Duties given to NGO interpreters by their organizations

Based on the interviews conducted with the participants of this study, it was revealed that the duties of the interpreters included two main categories: administrative and translation/interpreting duties. Interpreters/translators were required to undertake the following duties:

- assist in the representation and in the external communication of the organization;

– represent the organization, on request, at weekly/monthly meetings, workshops and events;
– relay the organization's messages to its partners, local authorities and other organizations in relation to the organization's mandate;
– update the organization with new policies, instructions or training courses announced or held by UNHCR or other NGOs. This is done through obtaining booklets and brochures, translating them if needed and disseminating them to the team of the organization;
– assist in the preparation of speeches and other presentations related to referral events under the Field Coordinator;
– actively participate in the practical organization of different events at base level;
– facilitate the transfer of information and documents at base level;
– translate (texts and speech) for the benefit of Program Managers and Field Coordinators which includes: translation (Arabic to English / English to Arabic) of internal or external documents and acting as interpreters during internal or external events.

3.2 Difficulties and obstacles facing CZIs

The overwhelming majority of the participants of this study had experienced some linguistic difficulties including: the use of unfamiliar colloquial terms and different Syrian dialects by some Syrian refugees; problems in understanding some of the accents of the NGOs' international staff; the use of specialized terminology, such as medical terms, which was considered one of the most difficult fields of translation due to their lack of training in this field, and the fixed technical use of some medical terms. Added to this, were the cultural difficulties faced by the interpreters/translators due to some cultural differences in the use of individual lexical items, language used in sensitive areas such as that related to religion and sex, and their unfamiliarity with some of the customs and traditions of some of the refugees, which made dealing with them more difficult.

An obstacle facing interpreters in conflict zones may be aggressive attitudes or behaviors demonstrated by some of the refugees, i.e. security threats, especially in the Zaatari refugee camp, as well as their own psychological state when meeting and dealing with refugees in their precarious situations. In this regard, Allen states that:

> Interpreters who facilitate communication in conflict zones put themselves at great physical and psychological risk, and yet are mostly unknown to other interpreters, because they work in isolation from the rest of the profession. The service they provide is vital, and it is time our profession widens its reach to officially bring them into the fold. (Allen 2012: 1)

Maybe this could be one of the main factors that adds to increased sensitivity and awareness of the nature of CZIs' assigned tasks.

3.3 Missing points

Building on the current interpreting models discussed above and on the results of the interviews with the interpreters working for NGOs, the previously cited Albl-Mikasa (2012) interpreter training model designed for more traditional tasks, covers several aspects related to those situations mentioned above. However, the model lacks the following equally important points:

- lack of cultural knowledge or difficulty in understanding the dialects of people in conflict zones;
- challenges and risks encountered in conflict zone settings, which include violent attitudes or hostility from people in conflict zones;
- ethical issues related to conflicts and humanitarian aid: interpreters must be considerate toward the refugees and show a high level of courtesy to them as well as exhibiting loyalty and honesty. In this regard, Boéri (2010), De Manuel Jerez (2010) and Gill/Guzman (2010) argue that translators and interpreters have an ethical responsibility towards humanity and the wider community, over and above their responsibility to their clients;
- the psychosocial effects of such experiences on the interpreters through witnessing the tragedies of the refugees and the traumatic effects of working in the field, and particularly in field hospitals, which may have an adverse effect on both the interpreter and his/her interpreting.

Along the same lines, InZone highlights that interpreters often get hired by relief organizations solely because they may be familiar with a local dialect and can also speak English. Therefore, the selection criteria are more often than not, not based on experience or training in interpreting skills and/or interpreting ethics. Thus, this last point and the ones listed above, pave the way towards the need for an updated model of interpreter training.

3.4 Urgent needs

Considering the above discussion of existing models or programs of training for CZIs and the constant emergence of new conflicts, we must also add to these findings the results of a survey of humanitarian workers conducted by Businario (2012). The study revealed that 98.7% of the respondents believed that language barriers negatively affect humanitarian communication and consequently compromise delivery of aid. 42.9 % of the humanitarian actors in her survey believed that problems in message transmission are due to a lack of training in the interpreting skills of those carrying out the interpreting task (Businario 2012: 47-53, cited in Moser-Mercer *et al.* 2014: 146). This may be attributed to the following factors:

- the insufficient number of interpreters in conflict zones. "There is a chronic shortage of interpreters in zones of crisis and war willing to work in the line of fire or in areas of natural disaster" (Moser Mercer/Bali 2008: 1);
- the scarcity of studies and dearth of research about interpreting in conflict zones: Baker (2006), Palmer (2007), Palmer/Fontain (2007), Baker (2010), Moser-Mercer *et al.* (2014);

- the lack of professional training and education for field interpreters;
- the insufficiency of the existing training models for conflict-zone interpreters;
- the urgent need to deliver humanitarian aid to people in conflict zones;
- the challenges and risks caused by lack of training and experience which can have critical effects on the end users. As highlighted by Moser-Mercer/Bali (2008: 1):

  > Staff deployed in the field are often unable to communicate properly with the local population [...] lack of proficiency in English, misplaced loyalties, the need to assume roles that "empower" them to pass judgment during interrogations or asylum interviews, for example, without requisite deontological training, thus inadvertently participating in human rights violations.

4. A competence model for CZIs

Some basic skills which interpreters need to master, prior to embarking on the interpreting tasks between the parties involved and to ensure better communication, include mastery of the languages involved, cultural awareness, familiarity with the context of the situation involved and familiarity with a code of ethics. However, the delicate work environment, the diverse and sometimes different cultural, religious and political backgrounds of the parties involved including the trichotomy of NGOs, CZI, and refugees may cause some misunderstanding when trying to communicate. The most important element in the above trichotomy is CZIs who are the bridge between those who need help and the ones who offer it. Therefore, the role of the CZIs is crucial and is very sensitive (Baker 2012).

This means that training models ought to highlight both the *interpreting techniques* and the *sociocultural aspects* which make the interpreter a bridge between both the senders and the receivers (Gentile 2014: 96). Thus, in addition to the mastery of the necessary linguistic skills and familiarity with specialized jargons, there is the need for a deep and full cultural acquaintance, namely of the cultures of the countries involved including "political, economic, social and ethnic differences, administrative structures, community life [...]" (Kalina 2000: 3). Though from an academic viewpoint, the previous quote is relatively old, it includes significant concepts which are applicable to the conditions of interpreting in Jordan. Unfortunately, the interviews revealed that most interpreters lack awareness of these concepts which are essential especially with the huge flux of refugees arriving from so many different countries.

Along the same lines, Cohen (2001) propounds that familiarity with the local context plays a significant role in achieving the goals intended by humanitarian organizations as the service providers do not usually speak the language of those in turmoil. This may sometimes lead to mistakes and unintended errors which may negatively affect both parties, namely in the fields of medicine and/or law where mistakes could have far reaching consequences. Therefore, equipping interpreters with the necessary skills to mainly combine both linguistic and cultural skills would create a solid basis to rely on for good communication, on the one hand, and to avoid complications as much as possible on the other.

Kalina (2000: 4) defines *competence* as "the ability to perform cognitive tasks of mediation within a bi-/multilingual communication situation at an extremely high level of expectations and quality [...]". Kalina (*ibid*.) adds requirements to this definition which include knowledge of culture and communication skills with the aim of efficiently processing the text. Along the same lines, the present paper has attempted to define competence as the multiple encompassing various types of skills of both linguistic (linguistic systems, dialect, register, context of situation, terminology, semantics, pragmatics, conveying the true meanings of the speakers etc.) and extra-linguistic nature (culture, confidentiality, punctuality, patience, tolerance, etc.), which CZIs need to master when engaging in conversations between the members of the NGOs and the refugees. Likewise, Moser-Mercer *et al*. (2014) stress the idea of knowledge of the subject and cultural competence when interpreting.

Of course, testing the mastery of these skills can be described as a rather difficult task. It requires a diligence and tireless follow-up based on the feedback from all of the parties involved in the action of interpreting, including stakeholders, NGOs and the communities which are in need of foreign assistance in various aspects of life when there is war or turmoil.

4.1 Suggested CZIs' training model

To resolve the problems caused by the gaps and omissions in the models discussed above, the present paper proposes a model for training CZIs which sheds more light on both the linguistic and extra/non-linguistic skills that CZIs need to master. These areas include the following competencies exhibited in Tables 3 and 4 respectively:

Linguistic competencies	**Know-how**	**Testing**
– English (SL/ TL)	– Listening, speaking, reading, writing – Dialect awareness	Conduct the necessary tests which guarantee that the candidate has mastered the required skills.
– Arabic (SL/ TL)	– Listening, speaking, reading, writing – Dialect awareness	
– Interpretation (English- Arabic- English)	– Accuracy, clarity, fluency, memory skills, concentration, note-taking, specialized interpretation training	
– Vocabulary	– Wide lexical repertoire in the fields of conflict zone and community interpreting	
– Terminology	– Adequate use of specialized terms	
– Handouts	– Distribution of various specialized handouts for background reading	
– Testing	– A comprehensive test for the required language skills competencies	

Table 3. CZIs' linguistic competencies model.

<table>
<tr><th>Non-Linguistic competencies</th><th>Know-how</th><th>Testing</th></tr>
<tr><td>– Culture</td><td>– Familiarity with the culture (beliefs, social classes, religion, education, ethnicity, and gender of the people in turmoil)
– Familiarity with the culture of the hiring body</td><td rowspan="4">Conduct the necessary tests which guarantee that the candidate has mastered the required skills.</td></tr>
<tr><td>– Psychology</td><td>– Cope with sensitive cases, maintain a professional level to effectively handle the situation</td></tr>
<tr><td>– Human relations</td><td>– Develop good communication skills</td></tr>
<tr><td>– Ethics</td><td>– Not breach: confidentiality, rules, regulations, equal opportunities
– Cast aside all forms of discrimination</td></tr>
<tr><td>– Patience</td><td>– Show tolerance of hard working conditions and unexpected reactions by nervous and disorderly victims</td><td rowspan="3"></td></tr>
<tr><td>– Safety and security</td><td>– Secure oneself in violent situations</td></tr>
<tr><td>– Administrative skills</td><td>– Arrange appointments, write reports, use computer assisted translation tools (CAT tools), develop time management skills.</td></tr>
</table>

Table 4. CZIs' non-linguistic competencies model.

Tables 3 and 4 show the linguistic and non-linguistic competencies that CZIs need to master prior to joining the NGOs which target people fleeing areas of turmoil. All of the items mentioned ought to be equally taken into consideration by training centers and the trainees.

Finally, in this part of the world, the field of conflict zone interpreting has suffered from marginalization and there still remains a lack of efficient and sufficient training models and programs despite the world having witnessed scores of events which have resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of refugees. Thus, the existing training programs require further evaluation and reassessment through more studies and research, in order to better understand their current status. The academic institutions which offer degrees in interpretation and translation also need to revise their study plans taking into consideration the labor market and the requirements sought by the stakeholders, as well as using authentic resources in teaching interpretation.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the difficulties faced by CZIs working for NGOs coincide with those raised by Moser-Mercer *et al*. (2014: 143) "Challenges faced by field interpreters essentially fall into three categories: language- and culture-related challenges, role-related challenges and emotional challenges". It is obvious that there is need for the preparation of a well-established training model for interpreters so that they can act effectively and professionally while working in conflict zones. Thus, a comprehensive and holistic review and reform should be undertaken to establish a new interpreter training curriculum based on feedback from practitioners in conflict zones.

Finally, the current study paves the way for other scholars, organizations or bodies to work earnestly on establishing new innovative models or to take into consideration the model recommended in this paper and adopt or adapt it if and as needed. As such, interpreting and translation departments and institutions ought to reconsider designing new study plans which equip interpreters with the necessary skills to help them better fulfil their tasks, especially in the context of conflict zone interpreting. Furthermore, based on our findings, the present paper recommends establishing an in-conflict zone center for interpreting in the Middle East to give intensive and specialized training to all kinds of interpreters and other personnel to facilitate their activities in conflict and war situations.

Last but not least, the present study proposes the following recommendations:

- to foster a specialized course related to the field of humanitarian interpretation to be taught in the departments of translation in Middle Eastern universities;
- to create collaboration and cooperation between departments of translation and NGOs to introduce translation students to the different types of translation used in such organizations;
- to build channels of communication and cooperation with the international conflict zone interpreting bodies like InZone, AIIC and Red T, for instance;
- to build a platform that will help establish a regional training center based, for example, in Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and Turkey, to train community interpreters.

The authors wish to conclude by clarifying that this is only the start of a process and the model suggested in this paper is preliminary requiring further elaboration and amendment.

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We (the researchers) would like to inform you that we are conducting this interview for academic purposes and we would like to reassure you that what you say here will remain confidential and your identities will not be revealed, and you have the right to withdraw from this interview at any time; also, you have the right to request deleting some/all of the information that you provided us with when you responded to our questions.

This interview aims at investigating the status of community interpreters to provide them with necessary assistance and training skills.

Gender: M/ F
Age:
Academic degree(s) and major:
Years of experience:
Languages:

The Questions

1. Have you ever worked as an interpreter before joining your organization? If the answer is Yes, for how long?
2. What are the missions and duties given to NGO interpreters by their organizations?
3. What are the linguistic and cultural challenges facing NGO Interpreters?
4. What are the ethics of NGO interpreters in the field of community interpreting?
5. What kind of training was provided to NGO interpreters?
6. What kind of linguistic skills training have you received from your employer?
7. What kind of non-linguistic skills training have you received from your employer?
8. What kind of administrative training have you received from your employer?
9. Which embarrassing situations have you experienced when doing your job?
10. How did you handle (non)linguistic difficulties?
11. Which challenges have you encountered regarding specialized terminologies?
12. What kind of strategies have you employed to handle the challenges encountered?

Thank you

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The use of dialogue interpreting corpora in healthcare interpreter training: taking stock

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Abstract

This paper addresses the teaching of dialogue interpreting (DI) in healthcare settings. Based on the technique developed by Stokoe (2011a) – the Conversation Analytic Role-play Method (CARM), which was applied to healthcare interpreting by Niemants (2013, 2015), – the author replicates Niemants and Stokoe's (2017) experiment within her English-Italian healthcare interpreting classroom, by adding the observation of real-life data to traditional role-playing. Data were collected within the Healthcare Interpreting Quality Corpus (HIQC) project, comprising both real-life data involving doctors, patients, and professional interpreters; and simulated interactions involving trainers and DI students. The first section of the paper is dedicated to the illustration of the methodological choices made during the real-life data selection process. It focuses on the real-life sub-corpus and recurring phenomena within it, which are discussed in relation to their relevance for DI training and their use in the classroom. The second part of the paper illustrates the results of the application of Niemants and Stokoe's training method, the validity of which was verified during the examination sessions at the end of the DI course held by the author.

Keywords

Dialogue interpreting, interpreter training, CARM, healthcare, corpus-based interpreting studies, conversation analysis.

1. Study background

This study was inspired by two contemporary authors, namely Natacha Niemants and Elizabeth Stokoe. Five years ago, the CERLIS 2012 International Conference on "Corpora in LSP research and teaching"[1] took place at the University of Bergamo, Italy. In her article based on her presentation, which was published in 2013 in the fourth volume of the CERLIS Series *Corpora in Specialized Communication* (Desoutter *et al*. 2013), and later on in her volume *L'interprétation de dialogue en milieu médical*, Niemants (2013, 2015) discusses the issue of (in)authenticity of role plays traditionally used in the training of dialogue interpreters: her contrastive analysis of two bilingual corpora of interpreter-mediated healthcare interactions, real and simulated, shows that interpreting trainees in simulated interactions tend to behave unrealistically, with respect to professional interpreters in real-life situations. Niemants (2013, 2015) observes that this seems to be due to trainers' inability of reproducing situations, within which trainees have to (re) act in their capacity of professionals in charge of communication. Trainees do not display any evidence of their feeling responsible for the understanding by primary interlocutors, and, unlike professional interpreters, limit their output to turn-by-turn translation, avoiding any action that would imply a greater involvement on their part. Having identified the problem, the author offers a solution, namely the application of the CARM model developed by Stokoe (2011a, 2011b, 2014) to the training of healthcare interpreters. The acronym stands for *Conversation Analytic Role-Play Method* (see <www.carmtraining.org> for more details). Stokoe developed the CARM model to train professionals, whose job involves spoken interaction with clients, which is why Niemants found it particularly useful for the training of dialogue interpreters[2]. On the basis of Stokoe's experience, Niemants (2013, 2015) suggests a two-pronged approach to the training of dialogue (healthcare) interpreters, which combines traditional role play and corpus analysis in the classroom. The author's approach to the analysis is qualitative, mainly due to the limited number of interactions she was able to transcribe and use in her course. In the conclusion of her paper, Niemants points out that a quantitative analysis would be the ideal next step in order to gain sufficient insight to understand "comment se déroule l'*interprétation réelle*"[3] so that "on n'aura plus d'excuses pour ne pas l'enseigner" (2013: 232).

Inspired by her article, I decided to embark on a similar project, with the aim of testing Niemants' proposed method and integrating her qualitative results by applying the quantitative approach to my data. The analysis was carried out on two sub-corpora. One is a collection of recordings of real-life interpreter-mediated doctor-patient interactions taking place in Italian hospitals and family counselling units, with foreign English- and German-speaking patients.

1 The original title of the conference read "I corpora nella ricerca e nella didattica dei linguaggi specialistici".

2 The two authors published the result of their joint efforts in the volume *Teaching Dialogue Interpreting. Research-based Proposals for Higher Education* edited by Cirillo and Niemants (2017).

3 Italics in the original.

Recordings contained in the other bilingual (English-Italian) sub-corpus are simulated interactions between two trainers and one student playing the role of Italian doctor, English-speaking patient, and interpreter, respectively. The two sub-corpora are taken from the Healthcare Interpreting Quality Corpus – HIQC (Dal Fovo 2017): it comprises both real-life interpreter-mediated doctor-patient interactions (HIQC_p, "p" indicating the real-life *professional* setting)[4] and simulations of interpreter-mediated doctor-patient interactions (HIQC_t, "t" indicating the *training* setting) that took place during the examination phase concluding the healthcare interpreting course offered at the *Sezione di Studi in Lingue Moderne per Interpreti e Traduttori* of the Dept. of Law, Language, Interpreting and Translation[5], University of Trieste (henceforth IUSLIT Dept.), over a period of three years. Niemants and Stokoe's method was applied only during the last year.

This paper is divided into two sections: the first section is dedicated to the illustration of the methodological choices made during the data selection process; it focuses on the real-life sub-corpus and recurring phenomena within it, which are discussed in relation to their relevance for dialogue interpreter training and their use in the classroom; the second part of the paper illustrates the results of the application of Niemants and Stokoe's training method, the validity of which was verified during the examination sessions at the end of the dialogue interpreting course (second sub-corpus).

1.1 State of the art on DI

Face-to-face interaction is based on activities aimed at (co-)creating and (co-)negotiating the meaning of the message. Understanding is therefore described as "the next action achieved by the co-participant, demonstrating his/her understanding" (Mondada 2011: 542). The notion of "next action" is derived from Conversation Analysis (CA) and describes the way in which interlocutors produce their behaviour and react to each other's behaviour in interaction within a specific context. According to CA scholars (Sacks *et al*. 1974), interlocutors in interaction behave according to three basic principles: sequentiality, adjacency, and relevance. Interpreter-mediated face-to-face communication makes no exception. However, when primary interlocutors do not share the same language, their actions and (re)actions are not adjacent, as their turns in conversation depend on the turns uttered by a third party, i.e. the interpreter. As a result, communication between interlocutors speaking different languages requires first and foremost understanding and interpretation of the message by the interpreter (Niemants 2015: 16). Since Wadensjö's (1998) seminal work on dialogue interpreting (DI),

4 The HIQC_p sub-corpus was collected after obtaining the written authorisation of doctors, patients and interpreters involved in each single interaction, on the condition that recordings would only be used for research purposes and within the quality study going on at the time.

5 Formerly named Advanced School of Modern Languages for Interpreters and Translators (SSLMIT).

DI scholars have reached consensus on the fact that dialogue interpreters are as much an integral part of the ongoing face-to-face interaction as the other participants, and together they co-construct said interaction. Language transfer is only one component of the dialogue interpreter's job, whose activity and professional choices are extremely context-sensitive and recipient-oriented. Moreover, when interpreter-mediated, each interlocutor's voice splits into two distinguished, and yet intertwined, professional voices: the one of the original speaker and the one of the interpreter. This bipartite nature requires an adjustment of discourse practices and configuration (Pöchhacker/Shlesinger 2007), with a shift in the distribution of power in terms of turn allocation and interaction coordination (Baraldi/Gavioli 2012) with respect to monolingual communication.

The role of dialogue interpreters in face-to-face interaction has been the topic of one of the liveliest discussions within DI studies in the past two decades (*inter alia* Bolden 2000; Davidson 2000, 2002; Niemants 2013, 2015), with recent contributions to the literature indicating an increasingly clearer tendency towards a comprehensive view of the dialogue interpreter's profile and tasks (see Valero-Garcés/Martin 2008; Merlini 2009a; Merlini/Gatti 2015). In their recent publication on the concept of *role-space* with regard to community interpreting, Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014: 144), observe that studies conducted by

> pioneering researchers [...] who have analysed what community interpreters actually do when enabling communication across language and cultural barriers, only shine a light even more intensely on the inadequacy of most of the codes of conduct/practice adopted by national interpreting organisations and public service institutions. Their emphasis on over-simplistic notions of accuracy, impartiality, never offering an opinion and only accepting work you are qualified to do only serve to mislead service users and confuse interpreting students and less-experienced interpreters.

More specifically, the notion of role is being slowly, yet steadily, set aside, in favour of concepts that may account for the multiple tasks interpreters have to take care of when co-constructing and co-negotiating conversation with their interlocutors in face-to-face interaction. Scholars are increasingly sharing their findings based on real-life interpreter-mediated interactions, which seem to converge in pointing to the fact that "interpreters do not merely transfer meaning from one language to another": they are, first and foremost, "'rounded' human beings with well-honed social skills, sensitivities and awareness", who play a vital role "in aligning with the participants, and, by extension allowing them to align with each other", and who "must be skilled in a variety of techniques to appropriately manage interactions in order to facilitate successful communication between and among participants" (Llewellyn-Jones/Lee 2014: 148). Such a flexible and dynamic interpretative framework allows for the analysts to study interpreters' conversational behaviour and professional attitude, by focussing on the latter's capacity to adopt a primary speaker's perspective – what Merlini and Gatti (2015: 155) identify as the dialogue interpreters' "empathic behaviour".

This paper aims at contributing to the ongoing debate by presenting results obtained from the two analysed sub-corpora.

1.2 Dialogue interpreter training

The teaching of dialogue interpreting has been largely influenced by the literature on conference interpreting (cf. Gile 1995; Falbo *et al.* 1999; Seleskovic/Lederer 2002) and is traditionally based on the belief that interpreting is learnt *by doing* interpreting (cf. Niemants 2013: 216). This well-established tradition, corroborated by a history of success, has been progressively applied to the teaching of DI, together with the above-mentioned notion of *learning by doing*, with the only difference lying in the kind of *doing*: DI students *do their interpreting* for two trainers speaking two different languages and pretending to not understand each other (Ballardini 2006).

This was the method applied in the healthcare interpreting course held at the IUSLIT Dept. in the first two years of recording within the study period (2014-2016). After reading about Stokoe's (2011a, 2011b) CARM model and Niemants' (2013, 2015) related efforts, however, the last year was dedicated to the testing of said method in the classroom, and to verifying its validity during the exam session. In the following paragraphs Niemants and Stokoe's (2017) method will be briefly illustrated.

1.3 A different role play

The kind of activity described here is based on the Conversation Analytic Role Play Method – CARM (Stokoe 2011a, 2011b, 2014). The CARM method was designed for the training of future professionals of oral communication. It engages trainees in active reflection by showing them video-recorded real-life interactions and by interrupting the screening at specific points in the interaction. Trainees are then asked to reflect on what kind of problems generate from that specific passage in that specific moment, and they are encouraged to suggest what kind of actions should follow in order to solve those problems. Such activity is undoubtedly suitable for the teaching of conflict mediation, but it could very well be applied to DI training too, where students need to understand what they are required to do when acting as professionals in situations they are unlikely to have found themselves in before (Niemants 2013, 2015). It is indeed the use of real-life, *authentic* data that may bridge the gap between simulation and reality. According to Niemants and Stokoe's (2017) method, while listening to a real-life interpreter-mediated doctor-patient interaction, students are asked to project the next action before listening to specific passages; subsequently, those passages are played and students are asked to consider the interpreter's (re)action in terms of its repercussions on the interaction. Niemants (2013, 2015) selected her passages for their peculiarity (qualitative approach). Conversely, excerpts for this study, used and tested during the healthcare interpreting course, were chosen for their frequency of occurrence within the corpus (quantitative approach), as illustrated in the following section.

2. Real-life data and what they can tell us

The sub-corpus of real-life data (HCIQ_p) comprises 65 recordings, of which 20 were selected for the purpose of analysis, for a total duration of 11h 37' 06"

(Table 1). Interpreters involved in the recorded interactions were Italian-native professionals with 2 to 6 years of experience as healthcare interpreters. Patients were foreign women coming from various countries, either German- or English-speaking natives (Austria, Germany, USA, and Nigeria), or spoke English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Greece), who needed healthcare assistance for one of the following situations/conditions: pregnancy, gynaecological problems, and child sickness. Doctors were Italian-speaking professionals working in the city of Trieste, Italy, and its surroundings.

N	CODE	LANGUAGES	Patient's COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	TOPIC	DURATION
1	DE_ginep_20150204	DE-IT	Germany	gynaecological visit (pregnancy)	0:25:17
2	DE_vacc_20150220	DE-IT	Germany	baby's vaccination	0:13:40
3	ELF_ginep_20150121	EN-IT	Philippines	gynaecological visit (pregnancy)	0:39:12
4	EN_gine_20150703	EN-IT	USA	gynaecological visit	0:28:28
5	EN_gine_20150729	EN-IT	Nigeria	gynaecological visit	0:40:13
6	EN_giner_20150603	EN-IT	Nigeria	gynaecological visit (post curettage)	0:37:18
7	EN_giner_20150528	EN-IT	Nigeria	gynaecological visit (post curettage)	0:23:19
8	EN_xr_20150620	EN-IT	Nigeria	uterus x-ray	0:51:02
9	EN_gine_20170128	EN-IT	Nigeria	gynaecological visit	1:02:27
10	ELF_gine_20160518	EN-IT	Philippines	gynaecological visit	0:38:09
11	ELF_gine_20160519	EN-IT	Bangladesh	gynaecological visit	0:34:46
12	ELF_eco_20150202	EN-IT	Greece	ultrasound (pregnancy)	3:18:02
13	DE_ps_20150609	DE-IT	Austria	ear infection	0:16:31
14	DE_ps_20150611	DE-IT	Austria	stomach flu	0:09:45
15	DE_ps_20150616	DE-IT	Austria	laryngopharyngitis	0:14:24
16	DE_ps_20150702	DE-IT	Austria	allergy	0:08:26
17	DE_ps_20150711	DE-IT	Germany	foot injury	0:19:38
18	DE_ps_20150724	DE-IT	Germany	eye trauma	0:12:21
19	DE_ps_20150721	DE-IT	Austria	ear infection	0:15:13
20	DE_ps_20150803	DE-IT	Germany	sunstroke	0:10:25

Table 1. HCIQ__p sub-corpus

Each interaction was audio-recorded and transcribed[6] with the ELAN software[7], a free tool created by The Language Archive team at Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics for the creation of complex annotations on video and audio resources (Wittenburg *et al*. 2006). The ELAN software was chosen because it allows the analyst to align audio- (and video-) track and transcript, save the latter in a simple text format that can be shared with and used by the rest of the scientific community (cf. Niemants 2012), and because of its intuitive interface.

The quantitative analysis was carried out manually, counting the occurrences of specific phenomena in the transcripts. More specifically, by applying the CA analysis paradigm, deviations from the *ideal* AIBIA[8] model (Wadensjö 1998; Niemants 2013, 2015) were identified and counted.

First of all, the distribution of turns among speakers[9] in each interaction was counted and the relevant percentages calculated (Figure 1):

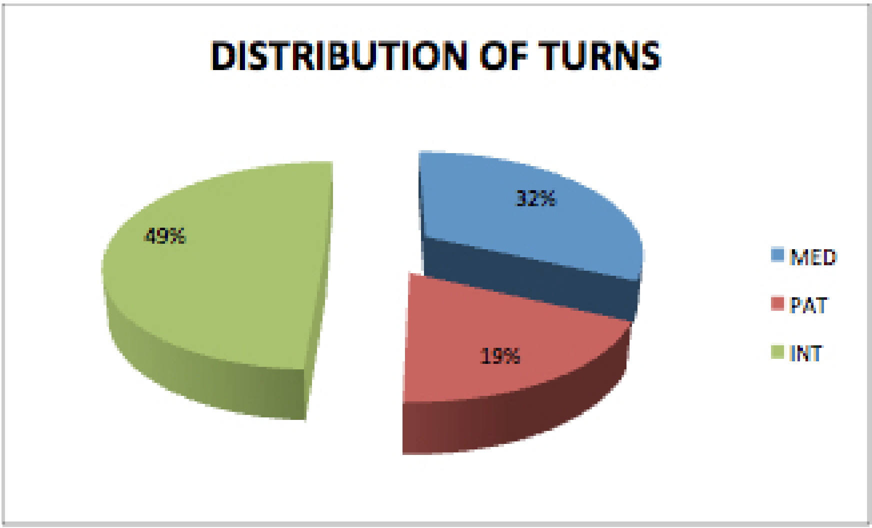

Figure 1. Distribution of turns in the corpus of analysis

6 Transcription conventions are provided at the end of the article and are based on Magno Caldognetto and Tonelli's (1993) model, later revised by Papa (2010).
7 Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, *The Language Archive*, Nijmegen, The Netherlands.
8 A = speaker of language A (e.g. Italian); B = speaker of language B (e.g. English); I = interpreter.
9 Speakers are identified as follows: doctor = MED; patient / patient's parent = PAT; interpreter = INT.

2.1 The myth of AIBIA sequences

The following chart (Figure 2) highlights first and foremost that AIBIA sequences were quite the exception in interpreter-mediated doctor-patient interactions (13%), so much so, that the AIBIA model's entire applicability in real-life could be doubted. More specifically, they tend to appear when patients are non-native English speakers (recordings no. 3, 10, 11), as the conversation seems to be slightly slower, whereas situations involving German-speaking patients or patients' parents *do not* display any occurrence of AIBIA sequences, except for one single case (Example 3).

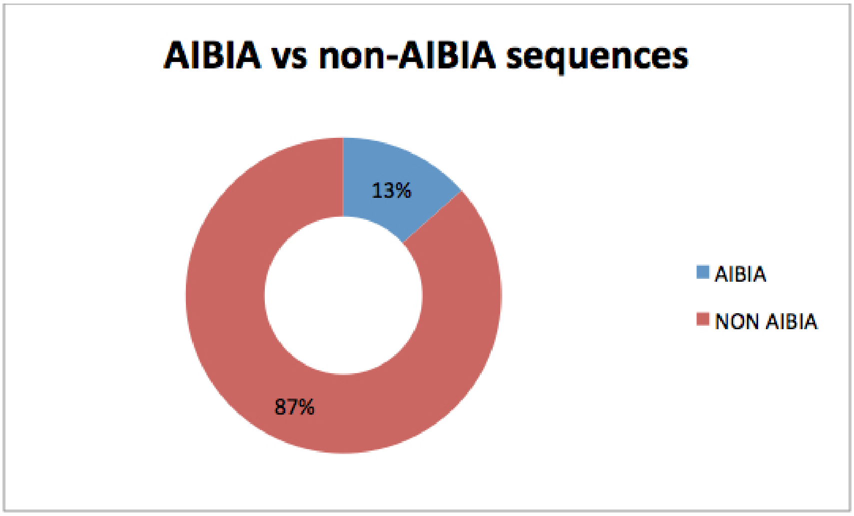

Figure 2. Frequency of AIBIA vs non-AIBIA sequences in the HIQC_p sub-corpus

Furthermore, there are AIBIA sequences that only superficially resemble the ideal AIBIA model, while their content and position within the interaction indicate that they represent passages of a slightly different nature. Consider the following example (Example 1)[10]:

10 Excerpts are taken from the transcripts of the HIQC_p corpus and are displayed as follows: the first column indicates the line number(s) in the transcript; the second column indicates the abbreviation identifying the speaker; the third column indicates the turn content and, when the original turn is in Italian or German, a glossed translation into English in *italics*. Transcription conventions are provided at the end of the article.

Example 1. - Rec. no.6 EN__giner__20150603

424-425	MED	<sì no> no noi non non le abbiamo qui non le non non è praticato non è che sia sbagliato eh ma non è praticato *<yes no> no we do not have them here they are not it is not performed here not that it is wrong eh but it is not performed*
426-427	INT	it is not very common to- I mean the doctor knows this injection but it's not very common in Italy (.) so
428	PAT	in Nigeria XXX a lot of people XXX
429	INT	perché in Nigeria invece è una delle cose che è più utilizzato insomma *because in Nigeria it is instead one of the things that is most used actually*
430	MED	le l'iniezione *the the injection*

Each speaker seems to follow the AIBIA rule in taking their turns, but, when so isolated, this sequence does not make a lot of sense: indeed, MED's first turn (lines 424-425), or A turn[11], refers to a subject that was mentioned previously in the conversation (Example 2, lines 411-423), and is repeated only in INT's turn (lines 426-427) – i.e. I turn[12]; the latter, is actually composed of a meta-communicative observation describing – rather than translating – MED's answer ("I mean the doctor knows this injection") followed by an understatement with respect to the original ("it is not very common in Italy", as opposed to "non le abbiamo qui" [we do not have them here] and "non le non non è praticato" [it is not performed]). PAT's reaction (line 428), or B turn[13], is a reiteration of her previous stance (lines 411-416), whereby she insists that the contraceptive injection is a common practice in Nigeria. At this point INT turns to MED[14], translating and expanding PAT's reply (line 429), this time leaving the subject implicit: "perché in Nigeria invece è una delle cose che è più utilizzato insomma" [because in Nigeria it is instead one of the things that is most used actually]. In the last turn in the sequence[15], MED simply repeats the subject of the exchange (line 430) to signal understanding.

The whole passage is preceded by a longer, non-AIBIA exchange, illustrated in the following excerpt (Example 2):

11 First A in AIBIA.
12 First I in AIBIA.
13 B in AIBIA.
14 Second I in AIBIA.
15 Second A in AIBIA.

Example 2. - Rec. no. 6 EN__giner__20150603

411-412	PAT	XXX in Nigeria they found kind of like injection like shot like this like six months or one year you don't get another and that's XXX
413	INT	and you don't have your bleeding either
414	PAT	you don't have the bleeding and you don't get pregnant
415	INT	okay
416	PAT	XXX I don't know if this XXX menstruation
417-418	INT	yes (.) perché appunto lei non vorrebbe che la pillola inibisse le mestruazioni perché sa ad esempio di altri sistemi in Nigeria per esempio ci sono delle ragazze che si fanno fare una piccola iniezione o *yes because indeed she wouldn't want the pill to inhibit her menstruation because she knows for example of other systems in Nigeria for instance there are girls that are given a small injection or*
419	MED	<sì> *<yes>*
420-421	INT	<una volta> l'anno e poi per tutto l'anno successivo per sei mesi ehm non rimangono incinte →però non hanno neanche le mestruazioni← *<once> a year and then for the whole following year for six months ehm they do not get pregnant but do not have their menstruation either*
422	MED	sì *yes*
423	INT	lei invece vorrebbe avercele <con la pillola> *but she would like to have them <with the pill>*
424-425	MED	<sì no> no noi non non le abbiamo qui non le non non è praticato non è che sia sbagliato eh ma non è praticato *<yes no> no we do not have them here they are not* *it is not performed here not that it is wrong eh but it is not performed*
426-427	INT	it is not very common to- I mean the doctor knows this injection but it's not very common in Italy (.) so
428	PAT	in Nigeria XXX a lot of people XXX
429	INT	perché in Nigeria invece è una delle cose che è più utilizzato insomma *because in Nigeria it is instead one of the things that is most used actually*
430	MED	le l'iniezione *the the injection*

PAT starts off by mentioning a contraceptive method particularly common in Nigeria (lines 411-412); what follows is a brief side sequence between PAT and INT, whereby INT makes sure she understands exactly what the effects of the injection are, first by asking a clarification question (line 413) and then by providing a narration continuer ("okay" line 415). After confirming her understanding ("yes" line 417), INT turns to MED, first providing a justification for what is to follow ("perché appunto lei non vorrebbe che la pillola inibisse le mestruazioni" [because indeed she wouldn't want the pill to inhibit her menstruation]), and then by explaining, rather than translating, what PAT said. Particularly interesting is the use of the third person singular to refer to the speaker INT is currently translating. This seems to be the norm in healthcare interpreting in Italy, and is probably due to the fact that the profession is neither certified nor regulated by law. By distancing themselves from the original speakers, healthcare interpreters make sure that: a) they are not associated by the patient with the healthcare provider (as patients may otherwise think that they may depend on interpreters for medical information, see Merlini 2009b), especially since healthcare providers tend to delegate some of their own tasks to the interpreter, such as collecting information or providing explanation (e.g. Hsieh 2007, 2010; Baraldi 2009); and b) that they can apply face-saving strategies whenever the interlocutors' turns require it (see Example 4). The following exchange is, once again, a side sequence, this time between INT and MED, with the latter uttering narration continuers (lines 419 and 422), prompting INT to provide further explanations, which result in an expansion of PAT's previous turns.

In the unique case of an AIBIA sequence involving a German-speaking patient too (Example 3), the exchange may be described as *non-standard*, namely a sequence where turns do not correspond to utterances and translations, despite being uttered in the AIBIA order.

Example 3. - Rec. no. 13 DE__ps__20150609

34	PAT	aber in Februar hatten wir das Ganze auch schon *but in February we had the whole thing already*
35	INT	ah ah le le è già successo anche a febbraio *ah ah it it happened to her in February already*
36	MED	mh (.) difficoltà a mangiare o a <bere> *mh difficulties in eating or drinking>*
37-38	INT	<hat> sie Schwierigkeiten beim Essen oder Trinken *<does> she have difficulties in eating or drinking*
39	PAT	gar nicht *not at all*

The passage starts quite traditionally, with PAT providing information regarding her child's conditions (line 34) and INT translating her utterance straight away. MED reacts by signalling understanding ("mh") and by asking a follow-up question, without providing any specific answer or observation with respect to PAT's utterance. INT does not press MED for answers and, instead, translates his question to PAT, who replies immediately after.

This kind of non-standard AIBIA sequences appears to be more frequent than standard ones in the entire sub-corpus, as shown in Figure 3.

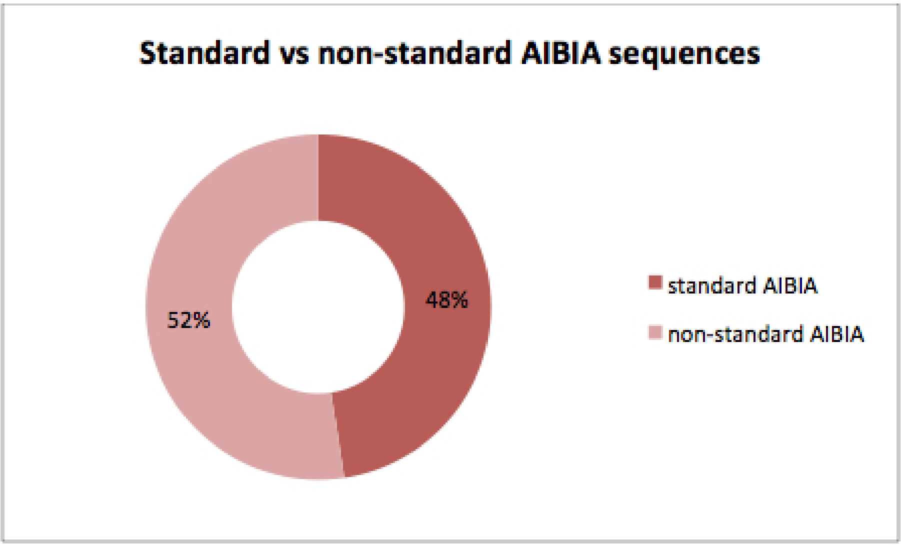

Figure 3. Frequency of standard AIBIA vs non-standard AIBIA sequences in the HIQC_p sub-corpus

2.2 The reality of non-AIBIA sequences

As far as non-AIBIA sequences are concerned, they appear to take up the following forms in the HIQC_p sub-corpus (Table 3):

TYPE	DESCRIPTION
TYPE a.	side sequences of clarification between INT and PAT;
TYPE b.	side sequences of clarification between INT and MED;
TYPE c.	prolonged INT turns interrupted by PAT's narration continuers and vice-versa;
TYPE d.	prolonged INT turns interrupted by MED's narration continuers and vice-versa;
TYPE e.	meta-communication turns uttered by INT alerting one of the parties about what has just happened or is about to happen in the conversation and/or during the medical consultation, to which interlocutors react by addressing INT's directly;
TYPE f.	instruction-giving turns by MED, which are immediately translated by INT, with no verbal reaction by PAT;
TYPE g.	mandate-like turns, whereby interlocutors ask INT to say or do something on their behalf (which INT almost invariably says/does immediately afterwards);
TYPE h.	code-switching episodes, through which MED and PAT communicate directly, without resorting to INT's translation.

Table 3. Classification of non-AIBIA sequences

It is clear, therefore, that turn-by-turn translation does not necessarily ensure understanding by all parties, and, if applied unconditionally, may even hamper communication. Interpreters involved in the passages discussed so far display awareness of their responsibility of the parties' understanding, and actively take part in the meaning negotiation process to promote such understanding. In other words, meaning negotiation, coordination of the interaction, and promotion of interlocutors' participations are all integral parts of the tasks of the dialogue interpreter, who is the real "*metteur en scène*" of the interaction, facing the responsibility of communication (Niemants 2013: 220).

The above-mentioned types of non-AIBIA sequences are distributed as follows in the sub-corpus:

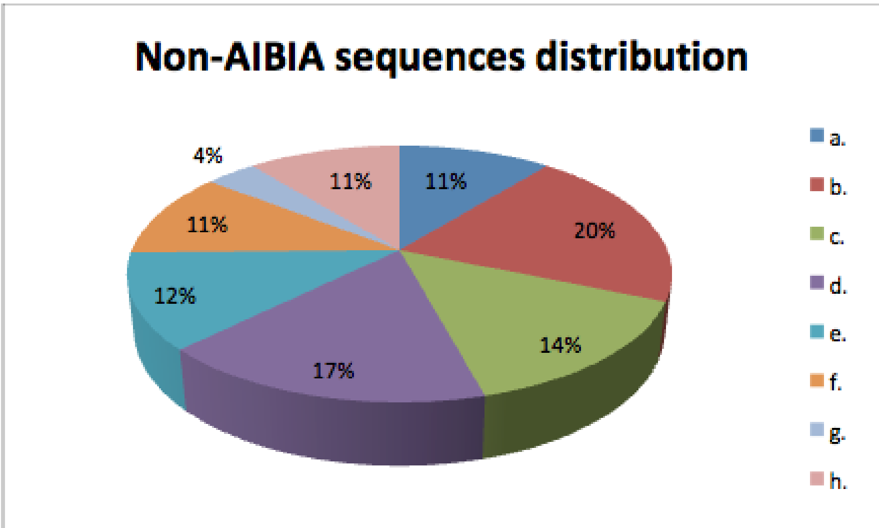

Figure 4. Distribution of types of non-AIBIA sequences in the HIQC__p sub-corpus

Given their relevance and incidence rate within the real-life data sub-corpus (HIQC__p), non-AIBIA sequences were selected for classroom discussion.

In the following sections, excerpts from the transcripts are presented, that illustrated the most frequent, a medium frequent and a least frequent type of non-AIBIA sequence, respectively, followed by a discussion on their relevance for DI training and use in the classroom.

2.2.1 Type b. non-AIBIA sequences

Description

Type b. sequences are the most frequent type of non-AIBIA exchanges (20%) in the sub-corpus and take the form of side sequences of clarification between INT and MED.

In the following excerpt (Example 4) MED starts announcing what he is going to do next to visit his little patient (line 71), but almost immediately interrupts his explanation and turns to INT, asking why the GP who referred the child's family to the E.R. did not do anything else to help them, despite the fact that he himself could have treated the child's ear infection (lines 72-74). INT does not translate MED's words for PAT (i.e. the patient's parent), but addresses the doctor directly to inform him about what the parents told her upon their arrival, before being admitted to the consultation room[16]. She concludes her explanation by suggesting that maybe the GP did not have the necessary equipment ("perché non so forse non sono attrezzati bene" [I don't know maybe they did not have the necessary equipment] line 77). MED dismisses INT's hypothesis, stating that the cost of the necessary equipment does not justify its absence from the GP's practice ("ma un otoscopio costa cento euro" [but an otoscope is just one hundred euros]); he then comments on the whole exchange, letting INT know that his words ought to be considered as thinking aloud on his part and need not be translated ("vabbè queste sono confessioni professionali" [anyway these are just confessions among professionals]); he finally resumes with the consultation and delivers the diagnosis ("ha un'otite è un'infezione e un'infiammazione insieme" [he has an ear infection it is an infection and an inflammation at the same time]).

Example 4. - Rec. no. 19 DE__ps__20150721

71-74	MED	<adesso (.)> piano piano piano piano facciamo anche qua piano piano piano mmh ma perché li ha mandati qua scusa lui non è un dottore è un'otite non poteva far qualcosa *<now> slowly slowly we will do here too really slow mmh but why did he send them here sorry but is he not a doctor it is an ear infection he could have done something*
75-77	INT	eh:: non lo so ha detto che il dottore l'ha visto e poi gli ha detto di andare in ospedale perché non so forse non sono attrezzati bene *eh I do not know she said the doctor saw him and then he said to go to the hospital because I don't know maybe they did not have the necessary equipment*
78-80	MED	ma un otoscopio costa cento euro vabbè queste sono confessioni professionali ha un'otite è un'infezione e un'infiammazione insieme *but an otoscope is just one hundred euros anyway these are just confessions among professionals he has an ear infection it is an infection and an inflammation at the same time*

16 In this particular E.R., interpreters do not work on call, but have their own desk in the waiting room, where they welcome foreign patients and collect some preliminary information to open each new patient's chart in the computer system. They wear white nurse-like scrubs and usually introduce each patient's case to the doctor before letting the patient in.

Discussion

This example is used to promote students' awareness of their status as ratified participants in the conversation. Indeed, unlike conference interpreters, they are far from being expected to act (and considered) as mere translating machines; on the contrary, and especially when they work in this particular field with the same healthcare providers for a while, they are considered almost as members of the healthcare staff, or at least of the care-giving team, able to share their daily difficulties and frustrations. Students are encouraged to reflect on their subjective perspective and its weight in the development of the interaction.

2.2.2 Type e. non-AIBIA sequences

Description

Type e. sequences include meta-communication turns uttered by INT alerting one of the parties about what has just happened or is about to happen in the conversation and/or during the medical consultation, to which interlocutors react by addressing INT's directly. In Example 5, MED is discussing the results of PAT's recent tests, starting with the ultrasound examination, that resulted negative. INT translates MED's words through an expanded rendition – replacing "negativa" [negative] with "doesn't show any problem" (line 511), probably suspecting that PAT is not sufficiently familiar with the medical jargon to appreciate the meaning of "negative". MED seems to come to the same conclusion, and in her following turn she also reformulates her words by adding "che vuol dire che è a posto" [which means it is ok] (line 512). Due to the partial transparency of English and Italian when it comes to words of Latin origin, such as "negative", INT probably fears that PAT may have caught that particular word in MED's turn, which may cause her to think that, despite INT's translation, there is something wrong with her. So, she starts explaining how doctors indicate that a test did not show any problem ("and whenever a test"), but she stops in mid-sentence to turn to MED informing her that she is going to provide PAT with a further explanation ("scusi lo lo specifico" [sorry I'll explain that] line 513). MED agrees and then shows her approval by underlining the importance of making that particular point clear ("no questo è importante" [no this is important] line 517).

Example 5. - Rec. no. 7 EN _ giner _ 20150528

510	MED	allora l'ecografia è negativa *so the ultrasound is negative*
511	INT	the ultrasound doesn't show any problem
512	MED	che vuol dire è a posto e questo è importante <perché se no> *which means it is ok and this is important <because otherwise>*
513	INT	<and whenever> a test scusi lo lo specifico *sorry I'll explain that*
514	MED	sì *yes*
515-516	INT	whenever whenever a test is ready and it is everything is okay doctors say it is negative so nothing shows so whenever you s- you hear negative in the hospital it means yay good thing okay
517-518	MED	no questo è importante per cui se ha ogni tanto questi dolori queste fitte acute che forse sono anche da non so (.) tensione muscolare i:n gabinetto di corpo va normale *no this is important so if she feels this kind of pain every once in a while these pangs that may be due to I don't know muscular tension the toilet does she go regularly*

Discussion

This kind of non-AIBIA sequence is particularly relevant for encouraging students' awareness as regards their communication responsibility: only by developing a fine-tuned sensitivity with regard to both their language combination and the interlocutors involved, can they produce effective recipient-designed renditions.

2.2.3 Type g. non-AIBIA sequences

Description

Type g. sequences are distinguished by the *mandate* mechanism, whereby interlocutors ask INT to say or do something on their behalf (which INT almost invariably says/does immediately afterwards). Mandates may be either uttered at the beginning of the sequence or reiterated throughout the entire exchange.

In the following excerpt (Example 6), MED addresses INT with her initial words in line 100 ("<ah> senti" [ah look]), selecting her as both interlocutor and collaborator. The following utterance ("malattie nella famiglia sua le solite" [diseases in her family the usual ones]) is formulated just like a regular mandate: MED does not ask INT to 'say' something, but rather to 'do' something. This hypothesis is corroborated by the use of the third person singular when referring to PAT, turning INT into MED's primary interlocutor. Diseases are referred to as "le solite" [the usual ones]. Such use of a noun adjective in its plural form indicates

MED's assumption, possibly even certainty, that INT is familiar with the context and the tasks to be carried out. In other words, MED transfers part of her competence as healthcare provider (see Angelelli 2004) to the interpreter, who accepts, thus turning into "co-interviewer" (Davidson 2000).

Example 6. - Rec. no. 10 ELF__gine__20160518

100	MED	<ah> senti malattie nella famiglia sua le solite ***<ah> listen diseases in her family the usual ones***
101-102	INT	mh mh are there any important diseases in your family? are mh members of your family I don't know your grandparents that suffered from any particular disease
103	PAT	my grandfather eh
104	MED	non piange per niente *she doesn't cry at all*
105	INT	<SMILES>
106	PAT	<SMILES> heart
107	INT	heart attack
108	PAT	Yes
109	INT	suo: nonno è morto d'infarto *his grandfather died of a heart attack*
110	MED	quale nonno *which one*
111	INT	eh the father of your father or your or the father of <your mo>ther
112	PAT	<mother>
113	INT	<il: nonno mate>rno *<her mother's fath>er*

Sometimes INT does not wait for an explicit mandate but acts on the common ground she shares with one of the interlocutors and on their assumptions or expectations, reacting to questions she already knows the answer to.

In Example 7, for instance, MED has just given PAT a brochure illustrating all the contraceptive methods available in Italy. The brochure has been translated into English, but MED, knowing that PAT comes from a third-world country with a very low literacy rate, asks INT if PAT can read (line 391). INT, who has known PAT for a while now, is aware that she can read, so instead of translating MED's question, she turns to PAT simply asking her to confirm that she can read ("you know how to read" line 392). Then, without waiting for PAT to verbalise her answer, but simply acting on her inquisitive gaze, INT assures her that she knew the answer to the question ("I know"), and, after brief laughter that diffuses the moment of potential embarrassment, she turns to MED, first speaking in English, to let PAT know what she is going to say ("she's very good"), and then translating her own words for MED ("è molto brava a leggere anche" [she is very good at reading too]).

Example 7. - Rec. no. 7 EN__giner__20150528

389-390	INT	<everything is explained> there and <we'll talk about it next time>
391	MED	<lei sa leggere> *<can she read>*
392	INT	**you know how to read I know LAUGHTER she's very good è molto brava a leggere anche** *she is very good at reading too*

Discussion

The recipient-design nature of INT's turn is particularly evident here: students are invited to consider the consequences of this kind of translational (re)action for their interlocutors, whose reactions must be their cue, rather than the AIBIA model, and as part of their responsibility of watching over communication.

These passages not only refute the norm, according to which turn-by-turn translation would guarantee understanding in real life; they also show how the expansion of the AIBIA model is conducive to – and sometimes essential for – efficient communication. Furthermore, the selected examples raise students' awareness on the importance of the interpreter's role as 'guardian' of communication ("*vigilants*"[17] Niemants 2013: 230): when simply monitoring interaction, interpreters need to be able to detect potential lack of understanding and intervene with repairing actions when needed (see also Niemants 2015).

Instead of having to reproduce reality, students are hereby required to react to real-life contributions to conversations, in other words to "(ré)agir plus authentiquement aux tours de vrais médecins et patients" (Niemants 2013: 230). Therein lies the real advantage that this kind of exercise seems to offer: future interpreters have the opportunity to *think* within an authentic interaction, thus acquiring the right frame of mind to be applied to the role-play simulations.

Such hypothesis is verified and discussed in the following section.

3. Testing Niemants and Stokoe's method: a contrastive analysis of examination sessions

3.1 The student sub-corpus

The sub-corpus of role plays (HIQC__t) consists of 70 recorded interactions, of which 20 were selected for the purpose of this analysis, for a total duration of 4h 24' 05" (Table 4). All recordings were simulations involving an Italian native teacher playing the role of the Italian-speaking doctor, a second English native teacher playing the role of the English-speaking patient, and third-year BA stu-

17 Italics in the original.

dents playing the role of interpreters. Recorded students were examined after completing a 30-hour healthcare interpreting course. Selected recordings were chosen in terms of representativeness of the two training methods, for a total of 20 third-year BA students (17 Italian natives, two Serbians and one Russian): ten students (recordings no. 1 to 10) had attended the course before Niemants and Stokoe's CARM-based method was applied – i.e. they were trained with the traditional role-play method; the following ten (recordings no. 11 to 20) were trained by applying the method proposed by Niemants and Stokoe (2017). The topics discussed concern pregnancy, breech presentation, and C-section.

N	CODE	Student's NATIVE LANGUAGE	Teacher/Patient's COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	TOPIC*	DURATION
1	IT_201409_6	Italian	UK/Nigeria	breech position	0:13:09
2	IT_201409_7	Italian	UK/Nigeria	breech position	0:12:50
3	IT_201409_8	Serbian	UK/Nigeria	breech position	0:12:24
4	IT_201409_9	Italian	UK/Nigeria	breech position	0:13:29
5	IT_201409_10	Italian	UK/Nigeria	breech position	0:13:06
6	IT_201502_20	Russian	USA/Nigeria	pregnancy	0:14:11
7	IT_201502_21	Italian	USA/Nigeria	pregnancy	0:11:02
8	IT_201502_22	Italian	USA/Nigeria	pregnancy	0:11:23
9	IT_201502_23	Serbian	USA/Nigeria	pregnancy	0:11:05
10	IT_201502_24	Italian	USA/Nigeria	pregnancy	0:11:17
11	IT_201606_20	Italian	USA/Nigeria	C-section	0:15:57
12	IT_201606_21	Italian	USA/Nigeria	C-section	0:15:08
13	IT_201606_22	Italian	USA/Nigeria	C-section	0:14:32
14	IT_201606_23	Italian	USA/Nigeria	C-section	0:15:02
15	IT_201606_24	Italian	USA/Nigeria	C-section	0:14:49
16	IT_201609_1	Italian	USA/Nigeria	breech position	0:13:02
17	IT_201609_2	Italian	USA/Nigeria	breech position	0:13:38
18	IT_201609_3	Italian	USA/Nigeria	breech position	0:13:00
19	IT_201609_4	Italian	USA/Nigeria	breech position	0:13:27
20	IT_201609_5	Italian	USA/Nigeria	breech position	0:14:06

* Topics are listed in groups of five: trainers recite each simulation five times (each time with a different student), basing their performance on one single script, but reacting differently according to each student's performance.

Table 4. HIQC _ t sub-corpus

Before the beginning of the simulation, each trainee was briefed on the following aspects:

- patient's clinical history that led him/her to come to the hospital and any relevant aspect of their life possibly connected with their condition (e.g. profession; reason why they were in Italy; addictions; etc.);
- shared knowledge between interlocutors (had the interpreter met the patient before? Had the interpreter met the doctor before? Had patient and doctor met before?);
- purpose of the encounter (i.e. E.R. consultation; hospital admission; in-patient consultation; surgery preparation; patient's discharge; follow-up visit; etc.).

3.2 The first two years (2014-2015)

Students that did not attend the course when Niemants and Stokoe's (2017) method was applied behaved in a way that differs from real-life professional interpreters' conduct. More specifically, they tended to translate on a turn-by-turn basis, although their activity did not necessarily ensure understanding by the primary interlocutors. Indeed, as shown below, AIBIA sequences are the majority within the corpus (86%):

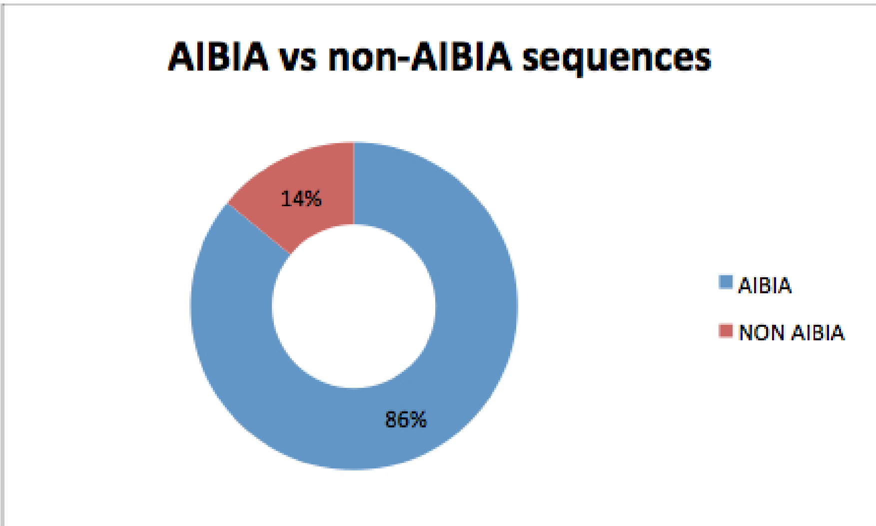

Figure 5. Frequency of AIBIA vs non-AIBIA sequences in the 2014-2015 HIQC_t sub-corpus

Students' turns suggest that they did not seem to react to the interlocutors moves but with their translation (cf. Wadensjö 1998: 104), even in cases where translation was clearly redundant and did not contribute to the functioning of communication; they did not intervene with coordinating turns, such as narration promoting questions, although they would have been beneficial; and, ultimately, they did not display any sort of awareness regarding their communicative responsibility.

Let us consider the following example, where the AIBIA model applies[18]:

Example 8. - Rec. no. 6 IT__201502__20[19]

1	tPAT	help me please I am dying
2	tINT	**aiuto la prego sto morendo**[*] ***help me please I am dying***
3	tPAT	it hurts so bad
4	tINT	**ha** bisogno di aiuto **la signora** sta malissimo ***she*** *needs help* ***the lady*** *is feeling very bad*
5	tMED	cosa sta succedendo signora si calmi *what's going on please madam calm down*
6	tINT	what's happening what's wrong
7	tPAT	OH doctor thank God you are here I am hurting please do something
8	tINT	**dottore grazie a Dio lei è qui la signora ha dolori fortissimi** ***doctor thank God you are here this lady is in great pain***

* The most relevant turns in each example are highlighted in bold.

This particular simulation takes place in the E.R., where a foreign patient has just arrived – the patient was received by a nurse, who immediately called an interpreter. Upon the latter's arrival, the doctor also joins the patient and the consultation may begin.

The patient turns immediately to the doctor asking for help and declaring that she's "dying" (line 1). tINT reacts by simply repeating tPAT's words in Italian in the first person singular (line 2), as if she was playing a part. She does not introduce herself either to the patient or the doctor, nor does she provide any sort of background information to provide some context for the other parties. tMED does not react, and tPAT insists that she is in a lot of pain (line 3). The trainee interpreter, once again, provides a turn-by-turn translation, however, this time she displays a different translational behaviour: in the first part of her turn she reformulates her previous rendition, using the third person singular to refer to the patient and telling the doctor that she needs help ("ha bisogno di aiuto" [she needs help]); she then

18 Excerpts are taken from the transcripts of the HIQC__t sub-corpus and are displayed as follows: the first column indicates the line number(s) in the transcript; the second column indicates the abbreviation identifying the speaker; the third column indicates the turn content and, when the original turn is in Italian, a glossed translation into English in *italics* is shown. Transcription conventions are provided at the end of the article.

19 Speakers are identified as follows: trainer/doctor = tMED; trainer/patient = tPAT; trainee/interpreter = tINT.

translates tPAT's second turn, by reinforcing her identity ("**la signora** sta malissimo" [**the lady** is feeling very bad]) and generalising her complaint, avoiding any reference to her pain and simply stating that she is feeling bad. This time tMED does react, but instead of offering help, he asks for further information ("cosa sta succedendo" [what is going on]) and, probably aware of the patient's visible state of distress, addresses her directly ("signora" [madam]) and suggests that she calms down. tINT turns to tPAT and translates tMED's question but omits tMED's empathic perspective-taking addition. Nevertheless, tPAT appears to be grateful for the doctor's presence, and addresses him directly, insisting that she is in pain and asking for his help. tINT refers tPAT's face-flattering comment and, finally, informs the doctor about the patient's pain. This brief passage represents an emblematic example of the problems trainees may face when interpreting during a simulated interaction. The use of the first-person singular and the word-by-word translation of the patient's first turn is inappropriate in a situation where doctor and patient meet each other for the first time, and the doctor does not know a) who the patient is and b) who the interpreter is. The doctor may, therefore, mistake one for the other, or treat the interpreter as a relative/friend of the patient. This is also problematic from the point of view of the interpreter's credibility as a professional, as her translation may appear as an attempt at mimicking the patient.

Non-AIBIA sequences are under-represented in the HIQC_t sub-corpus. This is because students tend to react to their interlocutors' turns, rather than take action on their own initiative, as can be observed in the following excerpt (Example 9). The trainer/patient plays the role of an English-speaking pregnant woman undergoing her first ultrasound examination. At this moment in the interaction the doctor is showing her the images of the fetus on the ultrasound machine monitor, indicating and naming the fetus' body parts (lines 83, 85, 87). tINT provides a turn-by-turn translation, which appears to be particularly effective, as it allows tPAT to look at the screen while the doctor is pointing at it, identifying each body part as they are named. However, this particular non-AIBIA sequence appears to be due to the absence of reactions by tPAT, rather than tINT's conscious decision. Indeed, a little further on in the passage, an example of unrealistic and inappropriate behaviour on the part of the trainee/interpreter is provided:

Example 9. - Rec. no.10 IT_201409_10

83	tMED	qui ci sono i pie<dini> *here are the little feet*
84	tINT	<that's the> feet
85	tMED	le man<ine> *its little hands*
86	tINT	<the hands>
87	tMED	la testa è que<sta qua> *the head is this one here*
88	tINT	<the head>

89-90	tMED	**però ecco UH oltretutto guardi si vede è anche un maschietto lo sapeva già la signora che è un maschietto** ***but and look you can see it's a boy did she know it the lady that it's a boy***
91	tINT	**UH it's a MH it's a male a boy did you know that**
92	tPAT	**OH (.) I didn't want to know the sex but ok**
93	tINT	**non voleva sapere il sesso** ***she didn't want to know the sex***
94	tMED	**ma io cosa ne so lei non mi ha mai detto niente** ***but what do I know you have never told me anything***

The problem arises at line 89, when the doctor says that the she can identify the sex of the baby, i.e. a boy. The trainer/doctor provides the trainee/interpreter with a cue: indeed, after giving the sex-related information, she adds "lo sapeva già la signora che è un maschietto" [did she know it the lady that it's a boy] (line 90): by addressing the interpreter directly with this question, tMED is suggesting that the woman may not know yet, and implicitly alerts tINT that she should make sure that the patient actually wants to know the sex of her baby. tINT misses this cue completely, *first* informing tPAT that she is having a boy and *then* relaying tMED's question – which was actually meant for her. The trainer/patient, knowing how she is expected to react according to the trainee/interpreter's behaviour, politely conveys her disappointment ("OH (.) I didn't want to know the sex but ok"). At this point, without apologising or admitting any kind of responsibility otherwise, tINT turns to the doctor, simply referring that the patient did not want to know the baby's sex (line 93). tMED's loses her patience, correctly pointing out that nobody – especially the interpreter – told her anything, so she could not know about the patient's wish (line 94). Translation of turns as isolated utterances means no negotiation of understanding and no interference through additional semantic units (cf. Paradis 2000) offered to A and B. In order to encourage their trainees to stay within character, trainers may use their turn to elicit a specific kind of translation/reaction by the student, as is the case in Example 9. In a way tMED's turn seems to promote the interpreter's communicative responsibility; however, by casting a closer look at the exchange, the opposite seems to apply. Within the frame of the role play, it is the trainer/doctor who coordinates interaction: tMED's turns are the ones promoting participation, eliciting actions and, ultimately, assigning each participant a position within the interaction. The very action taken by the trainer to achieve a realistic reaction is the reason why the whole exchange becomes unrealistic and the exercise misses its goal. This particular aspect confirms the results obtained by Niemants (2013: 219-220) through her qualitative analysis, bearing evidence of the validity of her intuition, and further corroborating her observations on the significance of (in) authenticity in role play.

3.3 The CARM-based role-play model trainees (2016)

After applying Niemants and Stokoe's (2017) CARM-based role-play method during the course, students were examined on the medicine-related topics dealt with in the classroom. First of all, the number of AIBIA sequences is considerably lower, as shown below (Fig. 6):

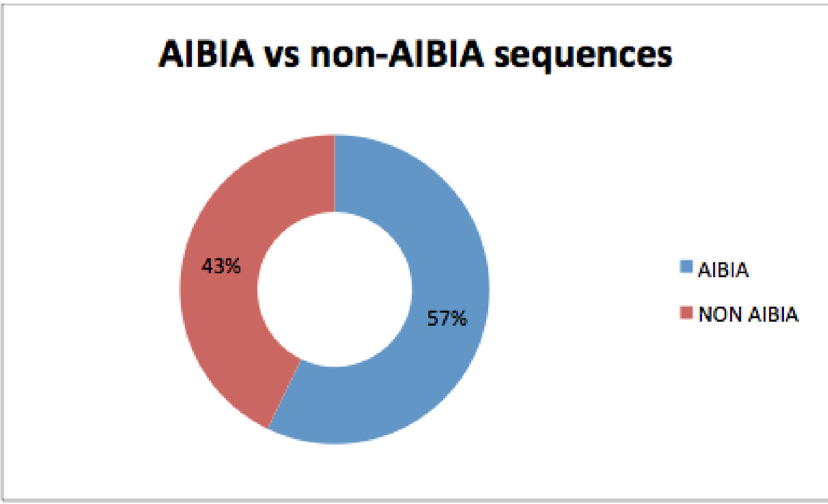

Figure 6. Frequency of AIBIA vs non-AIBIA sequences in the 2016 HIQC__t sub-corpus

Moreover, non-AIBIA sequences display an increased awareness by trainees as regards their communication responsibility, which is expressed through a greater degree of initiative on their part (Fig. 7).

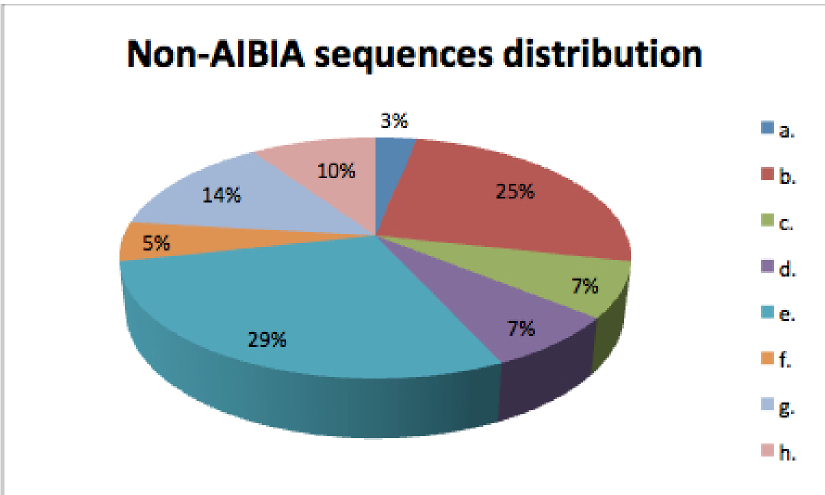

Figure 7. Distribution of types of non-AIBIA sequences in the 2016 HIQC__t sub-corpus

The following examples show the appreciable difference in their renditions during the exam simulation. As displayed in Figure 7, the three most represented types of non-AIBIA sequences are type b., type e., and type g. (cf. §2.2).

The first excerpt (Example 10) is a simulation based on the same script that was used in the previous examination group (Example 8). The trainee-interpreter in this case (Rec. no. 12 IT__201606__21) behaves very differently from the previous case (Rec. no. 6 IT__201502__20). Firstly, she starts off by always interpreting in the third person singular, making sure that: a) the doctor does not associate her with the patient; and b) she can smoothly introduce herself to both parties (lines 7-14).

Example 10. - Rec. no. 12 IT__201606__21

1	tPAT	**thank God you are here yesterday night was a real ordeal**
2-3	tINT	**EHM EHM è lieta che lei sia qui perché la scorsa notte è stata molto difficile da superare** *she is happy that you are here because last night was very hard on her*
4-5	tMED	mi dispiace davvero (.) comunque piacere sono il dottor Maurizio Cortina *I am sorry to hear that anyway nice to meet you I am doctor Maurizio Cortina*
6		(.)
7	tINT	**he is UH UH I am your interpreter and <he is the UH>**
8	tPAT	**<nice to meet you>**
9-10	tINT	**UH nice to meet you too and he is Maurizio Cortina the doctor who will visit you today**
12-13	tPAT	**I see thank you is nice to meet you doctor I am Jane Barckley please tell me what is wrong with me**
14-16	tINT	**UH lei è UH la signora Barckley piacere di conoscerla e vorrebbe sapere UH la la il disturbo UH di che tipo di disturbo soffre la causa del dolore** *she is Mrs. Barckley she is glad to meet you and she would like to know the the the disease what kind of ailment she is suffering from the cause for her pain*

Moreover, this particular passage shows tINT's use of non-AIBIA sequences, which are conducive of better communication: in line 7 she introduces herself, to which tPAT replies addressing tINT directly in an overlapping segment ("nice to meet you" line 8); before continuing with her translation, and without losing her train of thought after the overlap, tINT addresses tPAT in reply to her turn ("nice to meet you too" line 9) and then proceeds with her translation, adding that Dr. Maurizio Cortina is the physician that will visit tPAT (line 10). This addition can be identified as a type e. non-AIBIA sequence, whereby the interpreter utters meta-communication turns to alert one of the parties about what has just happened or is about to happen in the conversation and/or during the medical consultation. Finally, tINT relays tPAT's request to tMED, reformulating it and replacing tPAT's colloquial expression ("what's wrong with me") with a more medical-sounding utterance ("di che tipo di disturbo soffre" [what kind of ailment she is suffering from]) and contextualising the question (“la causa del dolore” [the cause of her pain]). By doing so, the trainee/interpreter shows awareness of her interlocutors, as she applies a significant degree of recipient-design to her rendition.

In the following excerpt (Example 11), a pregnant woman is admitted to the hospital because of a sharp pain between her chest and abdomen, and the doctor asks the interpreter to let the patient describe the pain. tINT, who has been given a mandate by the doctor (type g. non-AIBIA sequence), rephrases the question, first by formulating a polite request for information (“can you please describe this pain” line 36), and then by providing follow-up questions that may give the patient an idea of what kind of details the doctor is seeking (“if it happened before how and when” line 38) and motivating tMED’s question (“so the doctor can tell you what it is exactly” line 37).

Example 11. - Rec. no. 16 IT_201609_1

35	tMED	Che me lo descriva prima e poi mi dice se le è già capitato *so have her describe it to me first and the she’ll tell me if it happened before*
36-38	tINT	UHM::: **can you please** describe this pain with more details **so that the doctor can tell you what it is exactly** EH if it happened before how and when
39-44	tPAT	MMMH MMMH UHM I would describe it as a sharp pain uh actually to come to think about it now I have already felt this sort of pain in my chest various times actually XXX for example after jogging or if I lift heavy things uh but I never felt it so severe and it had never spread so I didn’t really bother much about it UHM I actually I thought it was due to the car accident that I had a couple of years ago
45	tMED	Mi sembra di capire che ci sia <qualche altra circostanza> *It seems there is <some other circumstance>*
46	tINT	<Sì qualcosa sì sì> *<yes something yes yes>*
47	tMED	mi può dire allora così finisco di completare <la cartella> *can you tell me then so I can finish up filling <the chart>*
48-54	tINT	**<certo>** EH: allora AH: questo dolore è stato piuttosto acuto e in effetti è già successo varie volte specialmente dopo sforzi fisici per esempio quando sollevava qualcosa però mai così forte e quindi non si è mai preoccupata EH: e non si era mai nemmeno diffuso ad altre parti del corpo all’inizio ha pensato che fosse stato dovuto all’incidente: automobilistico che ha avuto un paio di anni fa ***<sure>*** *alright so this pain is quite acute and actually it had happened before various times especially after physical exertion for instance when she was lifting something but never this intense and therefore she never worried about it and it hadn’t spread to other body parts before either she thought it was due to her car accident two years ago*
55-57	tMED	EH: incidente automobilistico qua non c’è scritto niente le chieda un po’ che cosa è successo incidente e soprattutto quando è successo *car accident there is nothing written here ask her a little what happened accident and most importantly when it happened*

58-59	tINT	**subito** EH: this accident is not on is not reported on your: med- EH on your medical report can you please describe what happened how ***right away***
60-67	tPAT	UHM:::: well two years ago:: uhm: it was the:: 11th of November two years ago uh a car ran into mine while I was waiting at a red light uh and the seatbelt hurt my chest and **I had a cracked rib** uh::: so after the accident I often had pains in my chest and I did a lot of tests and examinations and everything was ok so I never really worried very much about these pains
68-72	tINT	**Ok thanks** UHM: l'11 novembre di due anni fa ha avuto un incidente automobilistico EH: e una macchina è andata a a sbattere contro la sua e la la cintura di sicurezza le ha:: le **ha rotto leco- una costola** e ha fatto molti controlli medici e molti test quindi non si è mai comunque preoccupata ulteriormente *on Nov 11 two years ago she had a car accident and a car hit hers and the safety belt broke her broke her rib and she went through numerous check-ups and tests so she did not worry about it any further*
73	tMED	EH le ha rotto una costola:: *it broke one of her ribs*
74	tINT	**X D- During the accident EH what happened to your ribs**
75	tPAT	UHM I cracked a rib
76	tINT	Cracked EH si è incrinata *it cracked*

Another interesting aspect of this passage is the management by tINT of the side-sequence (lines 45-58) between her and the doctor (type g. non-AIBIA sequence): when the doctor intervenes to interrupt tPAT's turn, tINT reacts first with an attentive listening cue ("Sì qualcosa sì sì" [yes something yes yes] line 46), echoing tMED's words, and then by explicitly agreeing with his decision before providing her translation ("certo" [sure] line 48). tINT does this again in line 58 ("subito" [right away]) before following the doctor's mandate, and in line 68 ("ok thanks"), thanking tPAT for providing the requested piece of information. Finally, unlike trainees/interpreters in the first group, trainees/interpreters in the second group do not seem to avoid clarification requests in order to avoid bad or ambiguous translations. After listening to the translation of tPAT's turn, tMED repeats the part of the translation that tINT had rendered incorrectly ("le ha rotto una costola" [it broke her rib] instead of "I had a cracked rib" lines 63-64), acting more as a trainer and examiner rather than simple interlocutor; tINT does not confirm her translation, probably aware of her mistake, and asks tPAT to repeat what happened to her rib ("D- During the accident EH what happened to your ribs" line 74). She then confirms her understanding – both of tPAT's utterance and her mistake – and provides the correct translation ("Cracked EH si è incrinata" [Cracked EH it got cracked] line 76).

4. Conclusive remarks

Non-AIBIA sequences are pivotal in interpreter-mediated doctor-patient interaction, as they ensure mutual understanding and prevent the conversation from lingering uselessly on ambiguous pieces of information. The application of Niemants and Stokoe's (2017) CARM-based method proved useful, as it shows the multiple facets of real-life interpreter-mediated healthcare interaction. By observing real-life interpreters in action, showing initiative and providing more than turn-by-turn translations, trainees are encouraged to reflect on the many strategies they may employ during a simulated conversation that may promote streamlining of the message and the conveying of the interlocutors' pragmatic intentions. This training approach yielded significant results in this sense, combining Niemants and Stokoe's (2017) intuition and quantitative analysis. Trainees in the 2016 HIQC_t sub-corpus display an increased awareness as regards their communication responsibility, which is expressed through a greater degree of initiative on their part. Indeed, the significant presence of non-AIBIA sequences of type b., e. and g. (see Figure 7) shows that: trainees acquire a greater degree of awareness as regards their responsibility towards conveying the message correctly, which sometimes may require side sequences of clarification between interpreter and doctor, in order to be able to elicit the correct pieces of information by the patient; and trainees feel more empowered participants within the interaction, as they take up the responsibility of coordinating communication by uttering meta-communication turns that alert one of the parties about what has just happened or is about to happen in the conversation and/or during the medical consultation.

Admittedly, the analysis could be applied to a greater volume of data – the greater the sample, the more significant the results. However, I believe that the data presented here are sufficiently telling to provide evidence to the fact that there is no longer any excuse for teaching healthcare interpreting, and DI in general, using a business-as-usual approach (cf. Widdowson 1996). As Niemants (2013: 232) insightfully anticipated, research on DI has finally reached a point where the "question de l'authenticité" can no longer be ignored, as "le fait d'utiliser du matériel authentique n'assure pas l'authenticité des activités qu'on propose".

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Transcription conventions (Magno Caldognetto/Tonelli 1993 and Papa 2010)

Capital initial	Proper names of people, institutions places, etc.
(.)	Silent pause. According to the analysis requirements, pauses may be quantified by replacing "." with the relevant duration in seconds.
wor-	Truncated word.
X	Unintelligible syllable.
XXX	Unintelligible word.
(wo)rd	Unintelligible phonemes, which do not, however, prevent the intelligibility of the entire word uttered.
Word.word.word	Syncopated, "robotic" rhythm.
CAPITAL	Throat-clearing sounds, swallowing sounds, laughter, heavy breathing, cough, applause, interpreter's comments, microphone noises etc.
Eh, ah, ehm	Vocalized hesitations and filled pauses.
Number	Numbers are transcribed in letters.
a: worMED worMED::	Vowel or consonant lengthening.
/variation 1, variation 2/	Ambiguous segment (multi-transcription).
((gesture))	Proxemic elements.
→word word←	Fast(er) elocution rhythm.
←word word→	Slow(er) elocution rhythm.
(?) Ex: word (?)	Metathesis, anticipation, transposition and possible typographical errors.
A: dgjioegj <dghdjk> B: <jkgkfg>	Speech overlap.
Name (pronunciation: ------)	Incorrect pronunciation of proper names: the standard orthographic indication is followed by the altered one in brackets.

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The European Parliament as a discourse community: its role in comparable analyses of data drawn from parallel interpreting corpora

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to explore the concept of comparability in corpus-based Interpreting Studies and, more in particular, the risk of using comparable components of parallel interpreting corpora. Quite a number of studies based on such an approach have yielded inconclusive results, which could be due, it is argued, to the fact that the comparable components are drawn from plenary sessions of the European Parliament (EP), in which the groups generating the data share a working environment and could therefore influence one another.

To investigate the potential linguistic convergence that is likely to result from this mutual influence, both a theoretical and an empirical approach are taken. The theoretical approach seeks to determine whether EP interpreters and members of the EP could be analysed as constituting one single discourse community, according to the criteria put forward by Swales (1990). The empirical study of three discourse markers, based on data from a parallel corpus of EP interpreting and a comparable corpus of British parliamentary debates, aims to yield evidence of linguistic conversion.

Keywords

Simultaneous interpreting, European Parliament, discourse community, discourse markers.

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to explore the concept of comparability in corpus-based Interpreting Studies. This concept is crucial in much corpus-based work on translation and interpreting. Its use in corpus-based research in interpreting may be problematic in some respects.

Comparable corpora are text collections that contain "components that are collected using the same sampling frame and similar balance and representativeness" (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 48). From a principled point of view, comparable corpora are bilingual or multilingual and are used in contrastive and comparative research. More recently, and especially in the domain of Translation and Interpreting Studies, it is accepted that comparable corpora consist of texts from different varieties of one language. These varieties can be geographical (such as in the ICE or *International Corpus of English*[1]), diachronic, register-based, etc. The comparable corpora used in Translation Studies are of the latter type and consist of texts in one language that are either translated or non-translated. Mona Baker's call to move the study of translation away from the comparison of source and target texts and to consider the translated text in its own right as a register of the target language (Baker 1993) to be studied in comparison with other registers, marked the start of an extremely fruitful period of corpus research.

Yet, many comparable corpora used in the research that followed Baker's call are actually by-products of parallel corpora. When texts and translations are compiled for one language pair in two directions, the corpus automatically indeed contains non-translated and translated texts in two languages. This is usually illustrated by means of the diagram in Figure 1, taken from Johansson *et al.* (1999-2002) representing the different components of the *English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus*.

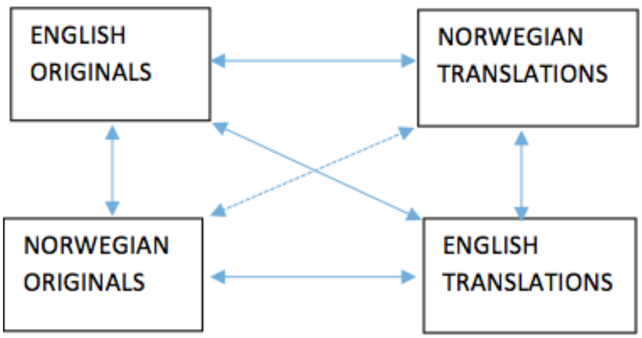

Figure 1. Structure of the *English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus*, from Johansson *et al.* 1999-2002:13

1 <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/english-usage/projects/ice.htm>.

In Figure 1, the horizontal solid arrows connect parallel sub-corpora; the vertical solid lines connect multilingual comparable sub-corpora and the diagonal solid line connects the monolingual comparable sub-corpora of translated and non-translated text. The configuration of sub-corpora can be expanded with other languages.

A considerable portion of the translation research carried out following Baker's proposals draws its data from this kind of configuration of sub-corpora[2]. In Interpreting Studies, its position is nearly hegemonic: an overwhelming majority of publications on translation universals in interpreting or even, more broadly, features of interpreted language are based on comparable corpora included in larger parallel datasets (Sandrelli/Bendazzoli 2005; Russo *et al*. 2006; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012, 2015; Defrancq 2016; Defrancq *et al*. 2015; Bernardini *et al*. 2016; Ferraresi/Miličević 2017). Shlesinger (2009) and Shlesinger/Ordan (2012) are notable exceptions, but their data are experimental and can therefore not be considered particularly representative of the interpreting activity.

I will argue that such an approach, though inspired by reasonable practical considerations, may be problematic and particularly problematic in the case of Interpreting Studies. I will first discuss a number of biases in comparable research carried out on data drawn exclusively from a parallel corpus. I will focus, in particular, on the bias caused by potential mutual influence between groups whose linguistic patterns are recorded in the parallel corpus, as is the case of the European Parliament, where most of the interpreted corpus data come from (§1). Secondly, I will explore the theoretical basis for this mutual influence (§ 2). The next section (§ 3) will be devoted to the results of an empirical investigation of potential linguistic convergence. These results will be put into perspective (§ 4), after which the general conclusions of the research will be drawn (§ 5).

1. Comparability of components in a parallel corpus

Evidently, comparable corpora drawn from parallel corpora do not entirely meet one of the fundamental criteria comparable corpora are supposed to meet, namely the requirement that the sampling method be identical for the corpora to be compared. Admittedly, there are few comparable corpora based on identical sampling frames, as identical sampling usually comes at the cost of representativeness (Leech 2007). Cultural differences may make it difficult to find the same genres in different languages and the coverage of particular genres which is culturally appropriate in one language can be completely disproportionate in another.

However, problems run deeper in comparable datasets drawn from parallel corpora. First of all, there is one sampling criterion applied to the non-translated dataset that does not hold for the translated dataset: texts assumed to represent non-translated language are included on the condition that they were translated into the other language(s) of the corpus. This is obviously not the case of the

2 Interestingly, Mona Baker herself proceeded otherwise in Olohan/Baker (2000), a study on optional *that* carried out on a corpus of translations and a comparable set of data from the *British National Corpus* (BNC).

translated texts in the same language. In that sense, datasets drawn from parallel corpora can never be completely comparable.

In addition to this fundamental design issue, comparable datasets of interpreting face scholars with other important problems. I will not discuss the sizes of the corpora, which are obviously Lilliputian compared to what is mainstream in corpus linguistics and even corpus-based Translation Studies, nor the evident lack of balance in the sampling of speakers, as the number of speakers on the interpreting side is always considerably smaller than on the side of the source speakers. Neither of these problems is solvable without considerable investment. The issue I want to raise here is the context from which most of the data are drawn: the European Parliament (EP).

The only corpus data of interpreting including a comparable dimension[3] are indeed those included in what is sometimes called the “EPIC suite” (Bernardini *et al.* forthcoming), a series of corpora compiled at different universities (Bologna, Ghent, Poznan and Saarbrücken) and based on simultaneous interpretations carried out at the EP (hence EPIC: *European Parliament Interpreting Corpus*). The original EPIC was compiled in Bologna and contains more or less 200,000 tokens, source speeches included; the Poznan corpus (Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012) counts 250,000 tokens (without source speeches) and EPICG, compiled in Ghent currently boasts 220,000 tokens, source speeches included.

One could easily call into question the representativeness of interpreting at the EP. After all, due to the EP’s rules of procedure and limited speaking time allotted to the members of the EP (MEPs), interpreter turns are extremely short compared to what is common in other contexts and interpreters face high to very high speaker delivery rates. In addition, most MEPs read out written texts they prepare in advance, which requires interpreters to not only switch languages but also to switch registers. These contextual constraints are regularly brought up by researchers faced with evidence contradicting their hypotheses (Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012). The collected data are thus probably representative of EP interpreting only and generalisations about the interpreting activity – the ultimate purpose for which corpus research is carried out – are compromised.

However, these constraints do not raise doubts on the comparable nature itself of existing interpreting corpora. The real risk hides in another corner: in the corpora of the EPIC suite, non-interpreted and interpreted data are produced by speakers who not only share the same working environment while their speech is being recorded, i.e. the EP’s plenary room; they also listen a fair amount of time to one another through headphones. In those circumstances, it would be rather surprising if both groups did not influence each other’s linguistic output, in which case the so-called comparable corpora of speeches and interpretations are not independent data sets.

3 Parallel interpreting corpora without a comparable dimension have been developed at the University of Hamburg: CoSi (consecutive and simultaneous interpreting) and DiK (dialog interpreting in public service settings). CoSi covers interpretation between German and Portuguese, comprising 35,000 tokens, while DiK includes 165,000 tokens of German, Portuguese and Turkish, only part of which are interpreting data.

Strangely enough, the literature does not explicitly put forward independence of data sets as a criterion for compiling suitable comparable corpora, but it seems reasonable to avoid the confounding effect of dependence when conducting comparative or contrastive research on languages or language varieties. Its omission in the literature is probably merely due to the fact that in most cases dependence is not an issue, because authors or speakers represented in different corpus components are unlikely to have met physically. Admittedly, there is a very slim chance that translators into a particular language have met or read authors writing in the same language, but the scale of this exposure is incomparably smaller than the exposure in the EP.

The potential drawback of dependent data sets is evident: linguistic convergence, i.e. the levelling out of specific features of both types of output, making the whole search for features typical of interpreting ultimately pointless. This risk is not only theoretical: it is striking that many studies using comparable EP data fail to establish significant differences between linguistic patterns observed in MEPs' speeches and in EP interpretations. In one of the first comparable studies conducted on interpreting data drawn from the EP, Sandrelli/Bendazzoli (2005) observe contradictory tendencies both with regard to lexical density and with regard to lexical variation: no consistent pattern emerges as to which variety of Italian and English – non-interpreted or interpreted – presents higher levels of lexical density and variety than the other. Instead, lexical density in interpreting appears to be determined by the source language interpreters are working from, while differences in lexical variety seem to depend on the target language. In a recent study, Ferraresi/ Miličević (2017) compare Italian EP speeches and Italian EP interpretations with regard to the conventionality of phraseology. The many results of this detailed study almost invariably suggest that there is no significant difference in the conventionality of interpretations and speeches. The authors do not offer an explanation for this remarkable finding, focusing rather on differences between EP translations and EP interpretations, but it would not be unreasonable to blame linguistic convergence in the work place. Fair enough, some studies find significant differences between MEPs' speeches and EP interpretations on a number of parameters (Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012 notably), but generally the results are much less predictable than in comparisons between non-translated and translated sub-corpora.

Obviously, causality is hard to establish in these cases. It would require a lot more evidence of different types and a solid theoretical framework to conclude that linguistic convergence takes place between MEPs and EP interpreters. I will start with the latter in Section 2.

2. Theoretical explorations

Several theoretical and descriptive models are based on the idea that speakers influence each other's linguistic output. Communication accommodation theory (CAT) (Giles *et al.* 1991), for instance, holds that in conversation the properties of speakers' linguistic output tend to either converge or diverge, depending on the relationship that is being built among them. Pettel (2005), for example, observes that convergent tendencies can be observed between speakers in the use of discourse markers. However, CAT is first and foremost a framework for the analysis of conversations, while oral communication at the European Parliament in contexts with interpreters is anything except conversation.

Other models based on concepts such as discourse communities (Swales 1990) or communities of practice (Wenger 1998) are more promising in this respect. They specifically apply to more institutionalised ways of communicating, recognising the importance of the professional environment in shaping the linguistic features of the discourse. However, the concept of communities of practice focuses on collective learning processes that occur in groups when members of the group engage with one another with regard to a shared interest or passion. Duflou (2014) convincingly shows that EU interpreters constitute a community of practice, but it would probably be an unacceptable stretch of the imagination to hold that MEPs and interpreters in the EP constitute one. Mutual engagement between the two groups is minimal and there is little to no collective learning effort. Some institutional initiatives are taken to improve MEPs' understanding of interpreting (Duflou 2014), but these probably do not count as instances of "mutual engagement", as they are only intended to show one group how to help the other group optimise its practice.

That leaves us with the discourse community. According to Swales (1990) a discourse community is a group of people whose shared linguistic repertoire is essentially determined by function (Swales 1990: 24). Swales puts forward six definitory features, among which the pursuance of common objectives by the community is the most important and also the one that discourse communities share with communities of practice. Other criteria include the presence and use of mechanisms of intercommunication, which seems to be a broader concept than Wenger's mutual engagement, the use of a participatory mechanism for information and feedback, a threshold level of members with discoursal expertise, and, particularly interesting for our interests, specific genres and lexical repertoires.

There is little doubt that the European Parliament constitutes a discourse community. In her study on trends in the translation of the European Parliament's verbatim reports between Spanish and English, Calzada Pérez (2007) finds that EP membership meets the six criteria put forward by Swales (1990): the European Parliament pursues common public goals laid down by the Treaties, although members and parties can have conflicting interests; it possesses communicative and participatory mechanisms laid down in its Rules of Procedure; it possesses genres (plenary and commission meetings, verbatim reports,...) and a specific terminology, which it shares with other EU institutions. Calzada Pérez (2007) does not fully elaborate Swales' point about threshold levels of expert members, which I will raise below, suggesting the EP may be an atypical discourse community, because membership is not granted on the basis of expertise, but rather through universal suffrage. The two features that are of immediate relevance to our topic are the existence of specific genres and lexical repertoires in discourse communities, because they bear directly upon linguistic features that can be investigated on the basis of corpus data. Calzada Pérez, for instance, assumes that transitivity patterns, as observed in a corpus of verbatim reports, reflect linguistic choices typical of discourses developed in the EP.

However typical or atypical the EP discourse community may be, it is crucial to underline that in Calzada Pérez' study, the EP translators do not seem to be part of it. Their contribution to the communicative mechanisms in the EP is studied exclusively in its textual dimension, i.e. through translation shifts. The question that arises at this point is: is an alternative analysis of the discourse community at all possible? Is it theoretically possible to include EP translators in the EP discourse community? Does the same hold for interpreters? For, if our purpose is to account for specific linguistic patterns shared by MEPs and interpreters, it needs to be shown that interpreters belong to the discourse community which is presumed to generate these patterns.

It seems that the question can be answered affirmatively: translators and interpreters actively participate in the pursuance of the EP's goals. Given the EU's commitment to multilingualism and the linguistic rights MEPs draw from it, it would be nearly impossible for the EP to reach political decisions without interpreters or translators. Communicative mechanisms at the EP evidently involve interpreters and translators, as they ensure a crucial part of the communication. Their role is not merely technical in this respect. Communication also takes place between interpreters and translators on one side and the EP's administration on the other: documents are made available for preparation, questions can be asked regarding source texts (even though the many drafters are hard to identify, see Robinson 2014), etc. Admittedly, this communication is limited and highly institutionalised. Direct interaction between translators/interpreters and MEPs is probably close to non-existent, although interpreters do have the opportunity to communicate technical problems during meetings and are occasionally addressed by MEPs (Bartłomiejczyk 2017).

Participatory mechanisms are in place for feedback and improvement of overall performance. Besides the previously mentioned feedback on technical problems, DG INTE, the EP's interpreting directorate, offers MEPs documentation on how to successfully conduct meetings with interpreters and presentations about interpreting (Duflou 2014). Interinstitutional guidelines are available for drafters of legislation, with a special focus on drafting for translation (European Communities 2003). As to the threshold level of expert members, translators and interpreters working at the EP can be considered experts, not so much regarding the actual content of legislation, which most MEPs are not experts in either, but regarding the functioning of the discourse community itself: its agenda-setting, meeting protocols, text cycle, etc. In terms of seniority, translators and interpreters probably even have an edge on MEPs, as MEP turnover is considerable: only 302 out of the 751 pre-election MEPs in 2014 were still in office by April 2017[4]. Interpreters and translators evidently master the terminology used at the EP. Translators in EU institutions, including the EP, are involved with the standardisation of terminology in their respective languages (Robinson 2014).

4 The list of the elected MEPs in the 2014 election can be found here: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/elections_results/ElectedMEPs.pdf>, as well as an indication as to whether the elected members have been re-elected or not. Incoming and outgoing MEPs since the 2014 elections are listed here: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/incoming-outgoing.html>.

It thus seems reasonable to conclude that the discourse community at the EP comprises interpreters and translators, besides MEPs. Interpreters and translators are admittedly peripheral as they do not contribute directly to the advancement of the community: unlike MEPs they do not have the ability or power to change the nature, the evolution or the prospects of the community. On the other hand, they do crucially contribute to the maintenance of the community by facilitating access to it for MEPs. Without the linguistic services they offer, MEPs would probably face more obstacles to fully participate in the community. That said, translators are probably slightly more peripheral than interpreters, as the latter share the working context, i.e. meeting rooms, of MEPs to a considerable extent, while the former are physically separated from the workings of MEPs.

The one aspect that was not discussed in assessing translators' and interpreters' involvement in the EP discourse community is genre. Swales (1990) views genres as linguistic and textual means by which the operations of the discourse community are articulated. New discourse communities need to establish genres and novices need to acquire the genres' properties to be considered members. Arguably, EP translators and interpreters are the most influential community members when it comes to the properties of genres in the EP. Of course, they do not determine the ways committee and plenary meetings are organised (Calzada Pérez 2007), but they do bear responsibility for the bulk of speech and text production at the EP: MEPs original speeches and texts only constitute a fraction of the EP's textual production. Most of the speech produced during committee or plenary meetings is interpreted speech and most of the circulated texts are translations. This implies that the linguistic properties of the EP genres are predominantly shaped by interpreters and translators. Therefore, even though interpreters' and translators' roles in the EP discourse community are peripheral regarding most of Swales' criteria, their impact on the development of discourse routines is important. This is especially the case for interpreters. In committee and plenary meetings, when it comes to their own mother tongue, MEPs probably spend more time listening to interpreters than to other MEPs they share their mother tongue with. Within these genres, their own practice is thus very likely to be influenced by interpreters' linguistic output. This brings us to a crucial point: in the shaping of oral genres and discourse patterns, it is most likely the interpreters who play a dominant role, not the MEPs.

Summing up, an analysis including interpreters and translators in the EP discourse community seems compatible with Swales' (1990) theoretical framework on discourse communities. The fact that they constitute peripheral groups in some respects does not fundamentally compromise the analysis, as discourse communities do not need to be homogeneous (Calzada Pérez 2007). The inclusion of interpreters in the EP discourse community provides a strong explanatory hypothesis for linguistic convergence patterns between interpreters and MEPs. Given the structure of the interaction between MEPs and interpreters, it furthermore seems plausible that interpreters play a determining role in shaping oral discourse at the EP.

3. Searching for evidence

In Section 1, it was suggested that the inconclusive results of some comparable studies of interpreting data could be ascribed to linguistic convergence between MEPs and EP interpreters. The framework of the discourse community provides a theoretical basis for such an analysis: discourse communities create genres and genres manifest themselves through particular linguistic features. However, the aforementioned studies focus on parameters such as lexical density and lexical variety, which do not seem to be directly connected to the concept of genre. That is why a different option will be taken here, i.e. the analysis of discourse marker use.

Within the framework applied here, the study of discourse markers is indeed especially relevant. Discourse markers have been shown to be genre-sensitive (Lam 2009; Aijmer 2013). Specific patterns of discourse marker use are believed to belong to the linguistic repertoire of discourse communities, to such an extent that these patterns can be felt to be "strange, incomprehensible or even absurd" (Lassen 2003: 158) outside the discourse community. Therefore, if the EP discourse community comprises both MEPs and EP interpreters, both groups will probably present converging patterns of discourse marker use. These patterns are expected to differ from patterns observed in groups that do not belong to the EP discourse community. In other words, different corpora and sub-corpora will have to be used: a sub-corpus of speeches held by MEPs, a sub-corpus of interpretations carried out by EP interpreters and a corpus of speeches collected from another context.

The EP data for this study were drawn from EPIC and EPICG, respectively compiled at the Universities of Bologna and Ghent. Only English data were used: English speeches delivered by British and Irish MEPs (EPIC) and interpreting performed in the English booth from French (EPICG), Spanish (EPIC) and Italian (EPIC). The other context used to compare the EP data with is the British Parliament. Data from the British Parliament were obtained through the BNC-BYU portal and probably offer the data that is most comparable to data from the European Parliament. It should be noted, however, that the BNC data are considerably older than the data from the EP. The former were based on parliamentary sessions held in 1994, whereas, depending on the corpus used, the EP data were transcribed from sessions held in 2004 (EPIC) and 2008 (EPICG). Another potential confounding factor is interaction: debates in the British Parliament tend to be much more interactive and less scripted than EP debates, where speakers are given a certain amount of time to basically hold a monologue most of them have prepared in written form. Table 1 shows the token count for each of the corpora.

	Non-mediated BNC	**Non-mediated EN EP**	**Interpreted FR>EN**	**Interpreted ES>EN**	**Interpreted IT>EN**
# tokens	96,239	45,523	37,566	13,905	7,202

Table 1. (Sub)-corpus sizes

For practical reasons, I will focus on 3 discourse markers: *well*, *now* and *so*. They are the most frequent discourse markers of English and therefore likely to occur reasonably frequently even in nano-corpora, such as the ones used here.

3.1. *Well*

Well is a usual suspect in corpus studies of English. Its use has been thoroughly investigated using different theoretical frameworks (Bakhtinian heteroglossia, Aijmer *et al.* 2006; relevance theory, Blakemore 2002) and different types of corpora, including written, spoken and learner corpora. Importantly, it has been established that *well* is register-sensitive (Aijmer 2013), making it a suitable item to investigate linguistic patterns potentially shaped by membership of a discourse community. Its many possible translations have been analysed in parallel corpora and its use or omission by interpreters has been noted in a number of studies (Hale 2004; Mason 2008; Blakemore/Gallai 2014; Defrancq 2016).

In a previous study on *well* (Defrancq 2016), carried out on EPIC and EPICG data, I was able to observe that despite the lack of specific triggers, interpreters use *well* quite frequently. Most occurrences (85%) of *well* lack a source trigger altogether. As Table 2 shows, its relative frequency in EP interpreting is approximately 0.5 occurrences per thousand words, slightly but not significantly lower than its frequency in MEPs' speeches (X-squared: 1,4618, p=0.52). The figures are consistent across source languages (X-square: 0.85; p=0.66; Fisher Exact: p=0.99). In addition, with a few exceptions, the functions of *well* in interpreted speech were found to be identical to its functions in non-interpreted speech in the European Parliament.

Frequency	**Non-mediated BNC S_Parliament**	**Non-mediated EN EP**	**Interpreted FR>EN**	**Interpreted ES>EN**	**Interpreted IT>EN**	**Total EP**
#	76	25	15	8	4	52
/1000 w	**0.79**	**0.55**	0.40	0.58	0.56	**0.50**

Table 2. Frequencies of *well* in respective (sub-)corpora.

In addition to the data used in the previous study, Table 2 also shows the frequency of *well* in the parliamentary section of the BNC. It appears that the frequency of *well* in the BNC (S__Parliament) is well above its frequency in EPIC and EPICG combined, the difference being statistically significant (X-squared = 6.62; p=0.01). On the other hand, if only the non-mediated data from the BNC and EPIC/EPICG are compared (MEPs vs. British MPs), significance is not reached (X-squared = 2.51; p=0.11). So MEPs and interpreters, as a group, present lower frequencies of discourse marker use, but, within that group, English-speaking MEPs resemble British MPs most.

With regard to function, *well* is most frequently used to introduce answers to questions and replies to statements in all sub-corpora. Due to the interactional properties of the EP debates, where MEPs and invitees consecutively take the floor for a monologue that lasts 1 to 6 minutes, answers to questions are usually embedded in a rhetorical structure figuring both the question in a quoted format and the answer to it (example (1) from the EP source text sub-corpus). This structure is extremely rare in the British Parliament, where speakers may interact directly (example (2), representing British parliamentary discourse).

(1) // ehm … Mrs Oomen-Ruijten then asked me did we follow follow the Member States' lead in this // **well** the actual chronology of events is that on the twenty-third of January ehm the Commission put in place the ban in circumstances I have already outlined // [EPIC org-en 7]

(2) […] what was your view regarding the proposals that are being made? (SP:PS5PG) **Well**, we feel that there's (pause) it's obviously quite a lot of points […] [BNC K77]

All other functions are represented in all sub-corpora: *well* is used to introduce quoted speech, to initiate the turn, to signal disalignment with other points of view expressed in previous discourse. Only in interpreting and in the British Parliamentary corpus is *well* also used for self-repairs and as a hesitation marker. The lack of such examples in MEPs' discourse is probably due to the highly scripted nature of the texts they present: they are prepared in advance in written form and read out during the plenary session. Finally, as mentioned in Defrancq (2016), *well* also occurs once at the start of an episode of incorrect interpretation. As mentioned before, in only 15% of the cases is *well* triggered by a source item. Interpreters seem to use it autonomously.

3.2. *Now*

The discourse marker *now* has also attracted a fair amount of attention in the literature. Broadly speaking, *now* used as a discourse marker has a topical function. It relates text segments to larger informational units: comparisons, lists, etc. (Schiffrin 1987), typically initiating new topics within larger structures. Register-sensitivity has been demonstrated on spoken and written academic corpora (Biber 2006). In Interpreting Studies, the spectacular omission rate of *now* in court interpreting was observed by Hale (2004).

Table 3 shows the frequencies of *now* in the respective corpora and sub-corpora used.

Frequency	Non-mediated BNC S_Parliament	Non-mediated EN EP	Interpreted FR>EN	Interpreted ES>EN	Interpreted IT>EN	Total EP
#	80	9	30	12	6	57
/1000 w	0.83	0.20	0.80	0.86	0.83	0.55

Table 3. Frequencies of *now* in respective (sub-)corpora.

The figures are remarkably different from those regarding the use of *well*. MEPs and EP interpreters present very different usage patterns (X-squared = 19.77; p<0.0001), while the group as a whole, uses *now* to a degree that significantly differs from the British MPs (X-squared = 5.92; p=0.01). However, this is exclusively due to the low frequency of *now* in MEPs' speeches, as interpreters and British MPs do not significantly differ (X-squared = 0.04; p=0.83). Again, the use of *now* is consistent across source languages (X-squared = 0.05; p=0.97).

In all sub-corpora, *now* functions predominantly as a "continuative" marker (Halliday 1994), marking shifting points between successive phases in the discourse (example (3) from the BNC), and topical shifts specifically, as in (4) drawn from the interpreting corpus.

(3) Now (pause) there seems to be a very close relationship between (pause) the European peoples party and the Conservative party, if only on that circumstantial basis. **Now** the European peoples party manifesto (pause) calls for a single currency [BNC JSF]

(4) the council is very happy with that // **now** as far as the timetable is concerned the position taken by the commissioners on the second of July arrived too late for us [EPICG_25.09.08_paquetsocial_roselynebachelotnarquin_I_en]

Other less frequent functions include the announcement of evaluative statements and, especially, statements in disalignment with other points of view, and acknowledgment of hearer's point of view. The range of functions *now* can have, appears to be broader in interpreting, where *now* is also found to signal turn uptake, the start of a question and as a hesitation marker, functions that are usually fulfilled by *well*. In only 33% of the occurrences of *now* in interpreting, can a source item be identified. Again, it is fair to conclude that interpreters use the marker fairly autonomously.

3.3. *So*

The uses of *so* have been extensively studied, many a scholar underlining the extreme polyfunctionality of the discourse marker (Buysse 2012). Corpus studies typically find that *so* is only found in a minority of cases to establish consequential relationship. Additional functions include textual organisation, such as signaling a return to the main argument of the text and various interpersonal uses, such as signaling turn management (Raymond 2004), other-orientedness (Bolden 2006), etc. Register-sensitivity has been shown by Lam (2009) on oral data. In previous work (Defrancq *et al.* 2015) on discourse marker use in simultaneous interpreting in the EP, we were able to conclude that the use of *so* by EP interpreters was not triggered by the source text in more than half of the occurrences. In most of these cases interpreters added *so* to explicitate an implicit discourse relationship they perceived in the source text. Some cases, on the other hand, were clearly motivated by an attempt to create an illusion of cohesion where the interpreters face difficulties.

Table 4 shows the frequencies of *so* in the EP, both for the English booth and the MEPs, in combination with its frequency in the BNC (S_Parliament).

Frequency	Non-mediated BNC S_Parliament	Non-mediated EN EP	Interpreted FR>EN	Interpreted ES>EN	Interpreted IT>EN	Total EP
#	113	38	100	21	23	182
/1000 w	1.17	0.83	2.66	1.51	3.19	2.45

Table 4. Frequencies of *so* in respective (sub-)corpora.

Again, MEPs and EP interpreters appear as different groups (X-squared = 38.6; p<0.0001), while the difference between MEPs and British MPs does not reach the significance threshold (X-squared = 3.35; p=0.06). As a group, MEPs and EP interpreters present patterns of use that differ from those observed in British MPs (X-squared = 11.26; p<0.001), but the aggregation of EP results is pointless in this case as the groups are very dissimilar. In the case of *so*, the patterns of use are not consistent across source languages (X-squared = 7.33; p=0.03), as interpreters working from Spanish appear to use *so* less frequently than those interpreting from Italian[5].

As far as functions are concerned, *so* is predominantly used in all sub-corpora to draw conclusions and inferences and to present a course of action whose need is motivated by the preceding segment(s) (example (5) from the BNC). Consequential relationships are quite frequent, especially in the interpreting corpus, as illustrated in (6).

(5) my honourable friend I think wanted to intervene with a further thought on this point **so** I give way to her [BNC JSF]

(6) a society where technological advances enable us to organise thing in time things in time and space differently // **so** everybody on this planet can find his or her place [EPICG__2008.08.10__formalsitting__betancourt__en]

In the interpreting, *so* is also regularly used to mark the end of the turn/discourse, as in (7).

(7) most of these things in their spirit at least correspond to the decision taken by the JHA Council on the fifth and sixth of June / **so** madame chairman those are a few comments that I wanted to give the House [EPICG__2008.01.09__reseau judiciaire__jacquesbarrot__I__en]

Examples of this type of closure are also found in the BNC, but they are marginal.

The reprise functions of *so*, marking a return to the main argument, a repetition, a reformulation or a list of examples, occur in all sub-corpora. Surprisingly, *so* is also used quite often to mark a shift of topic, as illustrated in (8).

5 It may be argued that it is very likely that English interpretations both from Spanish and Italian are carried out by the same interpreters or at least that there is partial overlap. In that case the formulation should be adapted.

(8) I would like to congratulate Vladimir Špidla who has always supported this initiative and who accepted not to withdraw this text even when there was a stalemate in Brussels years ago/ and it was during the Slovenian presidency that an agreement was reached / **so** I would like to highlight the efforts made by the United Kingdom and I would like to pay tribute to the social partners agreement [EPICG_2008.20_10_Travail Interimaire_bertrandxavier_I_en]

Topic shifting is not found in the non-interpreted corpora, where this particular function is usually held by *now*. Finally, *so* is also used by interpreters as a hesitation marker. In 52% of its occurrences in interpretation, *so* can be presumed to be triggered by a source item.

4. Discussion

The picture that emerges from the data is extremely confused: every group teams up with another group at least once: MEPs and EP interpreters in the case of *well*; MEPs with British MPs with respect to *well* and *so* and British MPs and EP interpreters in the case of *now*. Except for the data on *well*, no evidence for an EP discourse community consisting of MEPs and EP interpreters can be drawn from the analyses. The data do, however, support the view that interpreters alone act as a discourse community: discourse marker use is largely consistent across source languages. The likelihood that the same interpreter(s) is/are recorded for these source languages is small as the French>English data set is drawn from plenary sessions held in 2008, while the Spanish>English and Italian>English data sets are drawn from sessions four years earlier.

Another fairly consistent pattern that can be found in the data is that interpreters use discourse markers more frequently than MEPs. This seems to indicate that the modal divide between oral production based on oral input (interpreters) and oral production based on written input (MEPs) plays a role. As mentioned before, MEPs frequently read written statements they have prepared in advance. Discourse markers are known to be more frequent in spoken registers than in written. A written preparation is, therefore, likely to reduce the numbers of discourse markers in oral production. This seems to be confirmed by the higher frequencies of discourse markers in the BNC (S_Parliament): written preparation seems to be less frequent as debates in the British Parliament are marked by direct interaction in the shape of question-answer sequences or rapid exchanges of views. Interpreters appear to use discourse markers quite autonomously. Source text triggers can only explain a third of the occurrences of discourse markers in interpretation. Autonomy is highest in the case of *well* and lowest in the case of *so*, where interpreters seem to have been prompted by source items in just over half of the cases.

With regard to functions, the findings run parallel overall, but the functional boundaries seem to be more permeable in interpreting than in non-interpreted speech: discourse markers are found in functions that are normally held by one of the other discourse markers. This could be due to the fact that fewer attentional resources are available for production in interpreting as resources are already used for the analysis of the source speech.

Surprisingly, the data also confirm tendencies observed in Cartoni *et al.* (2011). Using the Europarl parallel corpus to test lexical homogeneity of the comparable components of the corpus, Cartoni *et al.* (*ibid.*) reach the conclusion that homogeneity is surprisingly high between translated and non-translated text. This is completely in line with the aforementioned findings from lexical studies on interpreting (Sandrelli/Bendazzoli 2005; Ferraresi/Miličević 2017). However, Cartoni *et al.* (2011) also found that patterns of discourse marker use vary considerably between translated and non-translated texts. The discourse markers they investigate are a different set (causal connectives) than the ones investigated here, but the findings run surprisingly parallel: discourse markers appear to vary more across genres than crude lexical properties. Cartoni *et al.* (*ibid.*) conclude that discourse markers are, therefore, better discriminators in comparable studies.

5. Conclusions

The main question of this study was: what is the risk of using comparable components of parallel interpreting corpora, if we know that these comparable components are drawn from sessions in which the groups generating the data share a working environment and could therefore influence one another? This question was inspired by contradicting and inconclusive findings often found in corpus-based studies of EP interpreting. These findings suggest that non-interpreted and interpreted spoken registers in the EP differ less than expected.

To investigate the potential linguistic convergence that is likely to result from this mutual influence, both a theoretical and an empirical approach were taken. The theoretical approach sought to determine whether EP interpreters and MEPs could be analysed as constituting one single discourse community, according to the criteria put forward by Swales (1990). It turned out that this was the case.

The empirical study, based on three discourse markers, showed that there was no consistent linguistic conversion between MEPs and EP interpreters as opposed to British MPs. The existence of an EP discourse community comprising both members of parliament and interpreters could, therefore, not be confirmed for the investigated items. The contradiction between results based on an analysis of discourse marker use, on the one hand, and results based on the analysis of various lexical variables, on the other, is not unique. A similar case was reported in Cartoni *et al.* (2011) regarding comparable translated and non-translated components of a parallel corpus of EP translations.

At face value, this means that the risk attached to comparable investigations of parallel interpreted data drawn from the EP is probably not so high. Which brings us back to the fundamental question as to why analyses of lexical variables often yield inconclusive results, especially when they are compared with analyses of these variables in translation. The fact that analyses based on EP translation also fail to produce significant results (Cartoni *et al.* 2011) is intriguing and suggests that these patterns are somehow connected to an EP discourse anyway.

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The use of comparable corpora in interpreting practice and training

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Abstract

Terminology research and domain knowledge acquisition constitute a substantial part of the preparation activity performed daily by professional and trainee interpreters. Corpus-based preparation can assist interpreters in investigating subject-related terminology as well as phraseology and in acquiring subject-specific knowledge. This is particularly important in light of the fact that interpreters often do not have the same level of linguistic and domain expertise as the other event participants. Since tools for corpus analysis have the potential to enhance the quality of preparation, it is reasonable to suggest that they should become an integral part of a modern interpreter's workstation. This paper will introduce two kinds of corpora which can be used in interpreter practice and training in the context of deliberate practice. It will also describe the results of an empirical test of the resources created by a tool designed for this purpose in terms of their adequacy to be used during advance preparation.

Keywords

Interpreter preparation, corpus-based preparation, terminology, computer-assisted interpreting.

The use of computer applications is common to all language professions. Although interpreters have been traditionally less prone to accept the introduction of technological advancements (e.g. Tripepi Winteringham 2010; Pym 2011), information and communication technologies (ICTs) have by now found their way in the daily lives of professional and trainee interpreters. From the commissioning of a new assignment to the act of interpreting, the presence of ICTs has become ubiquitous: during advance preparation interpreters search the web for documents related to the topic they are called upon to translate and consult online databases to find translations for unknown terminology (e.g. Tripepi Winteringham 2010); while simultaneously interpreting, they look up glossaries in the booth by means of simultaneous-friendly search tools (e.g. Costa *et al.* 2014; Fantinuoli 2016a); medical interpreters use remote-interpreting platforms to translate patient-doctor interviews (e.g. Nicodemus/Metzger 2014; Andres/Falk 2009); and so forth.

While search engines, electronic dictionaries, and terminological databases find widespread use among novice and experienced interpreters, corpora still seem to be quite unfamiliar to most professionals and trainees. Surveys among professional interpreters have revealed that corpora are ranked quite low among the technological tools and resources used by this professional group (e.g. Corpas Pastor/May Fern 2016). The same consideration applies also to trainees, as it seems that corpora are not widely taught and used in most interpreter training programmes. This is perplexing as over the course of the past decade corpora have been proposed and successfully adopted in providing useful insight into word meaning and use (e.g. Hansen-Schirra *et al.* 2013; Zanettin 2012), in extracting terminology for translation and interpreting tasks (e.g. Fantinuoli 2006) and, if used as a preparation aid, in improving overall terminology rendition during interpretation (e.g. Xu 2015), just to name a few.

In the following sections, it will be argued that more effort should be undertaken to integrate corpora into interpreter training and into professional interpreters' advance preparation. After briefly introducing the role of advance preparation in the interpreting setting (§1), I will look at corpora of political speeches as a tool to support interpreting trainees (§1.1) and at domain-specific corpora for use by professionals to prepare a specialized event (§1.2). Advantages and disadvantages of corpus use will be highlighted. I shall then present how the CorpusMode toolkit[1] can be used to build specialized comparable corpora and to extract terminological information (§2). An evaluation of the proposed method is performed by empirically testing the output of the tool (§3). In Section 4 I will conclude by summarizing my arguments and looking at future prospects.

1 <www.staff.uni-mainz.de/fantinuo/corpusmode.html>.

1. Advance preparation and corpus use

Professionals and trainees usually devote time before an interpreting assignment or class to acquire an overview of the topic and familiarize themselves with the specific terminology and other relevant information (Díaz-Galaz *et al.* 2015). More specifically, during advance preparation, interpreters need to acquire specialized linguistic and domain information in order to bridge the knowledge gap that exists between themselves and the expert speaking, as this has been identified as a prerequisite for succeeding in the task of interpreting (see for example Will (2009) and Fantinuoli (2012)). There is widespread consensus that knowledge acquisition, for example terminology, is better performed when the learning activity is done in context, as new vocabulary can be linked to other words and prior knowledge (Segalowitz/Gatbonton 1995). Against this background, corpora have been suggested to be particularly suitable in supporting the traditional way interpreters prepare for an assignment and in achieving an enhanced interpreting performance (Fantinuoli 2006, 2016b, 2017b; Gorjanc 2009; Xu 2015). They are supposed to be a useful instrument to help interpreters consolidate both the learning of specialized terminology and the acquisition of specialized expertise, the rationale being that *concordance lines* allow learning vocabulary and facts in real context.

The relevance of corpora in advance preparation is not surprising if we take into account the peculiarities of interpretation, the way preparation is traditionally performed, and the resources typically used to accomplish it. Interpreters are called to translate at events dealing with a potentially endless variety of topics, ranging from meetings of quite general nature to highly specialized conferences. Especially in the case of specialized assignments, whether in formal conference settings or face-to-face in hospitals or courts, interpreters often work for specialists who share a linguistic and domain knowledge which is totally or partially unknown to the interpreter. For this reason, as mentioned before, in order to reduce the knowledge gap between the interpreter and the other interlocutors, it is common practice for interpreters to perform preparatory work before the actual act of interpreting (e.g. Gile 2009; Will 2009; Kucharska 2009; Díaz-Galaz *et al.* 2015). This activity is commonly considered a crucial step to guarantee the quality and accuracy which is expected from the interpreter. Although the approach to preparation adopted by interpreters has not been studied extensively and there is only little empirical evidence on how professionals perform this task in their daily work[2], there is a general consensus on the fact that each interpreter has individual preferences and habits about how to prepare an assignment. In general terms, it can be observed that the most common way to prepare for an assignment is by identifying reliable sources of information (texts), extracting relevant information from them, and drawing up a glossary (Díaz-Galaz *et al.* 2015).

The importance of these activities is twofold: interpreters acquire a general idea of the topics to be covered and familiarize themselves with the specific terminology and phraseological items which may be used during the event. Dur-

2 For a discussion of some aspects of this topic, see for example Kalina (2006) and Díaz-Galaz *et al.* (2015).

ing the reading phase, the items whose meanings are unknown or for which a translation in the target language is needed are recorded in a multilingual glossary or are marked in terminological annotations on the preparatory documents (Moser-Mercer 1992; Díaz-Galaz *et al*. 2015). The acquisition of topic-related knowledge alleviates part of the cognitive load during the interpreting phase. A positive effect on quality is expected as it has been hypothesized that this activity facilitates the anticipation and prediction of information. This, in turn, has clear advantages with regard to text comprehension and production as well as the overall interpreting process (Stoll 2009; De Groot 2011; Díaz-Galaz *et al*. 2015).

All of the above mentioned activities are performed nowadays using software tools and on-line resources. As far as linguistic preparation is concerned, especially the establishment of lexical correspondences in several languages, interpreters have a plethora of resources at their disposal, such as online dictionaries, terminology databases and encyclopedias. They provide a wealth of ready-made information, such as definitions, equivalents and examples. One obvious advantage of such resources is that they can be used *out of the box*: they are easy to deploy, quick and provide solutions to many linguistic problems. For these reasons, they can be considered the most common resources used nowadays by interpreters. Despite all the advantages, however, such resources may have at least three disadvantages that need to be mentioned when it comes to meet high quality standards. Firstly, perfect terminology correspondence among two or more languages is difficult to establish. This can be due to different conceptual systems, for example in the case of legal terminology, or because the domains are new and terms have not been coined in all languages (e.g. Will 2009; Xu 2015). Secondly, the high variability and constant evolution of specialized communication make it virtually impossible to find ready-to-use resources available in all possible domains. This means interpreters may not have at disposal any resources for a particular topic, especially for lesser widely spoken languages. Thirdly, available resources often lack contextual information and its "reassuring added value" (Bernardini/Ferraresi 2013: 304) as well as important details such as definitions or examples which are vital to contextualize the information. For the above reasons, interpreters with a limited subject knowledge may not have the means to judge the accuracy or appropriateness of the provided information. As a consequence, its use can potentially lead to sub-optimal performance or even translation errors.

When ready-to-use resources for a specific domain and language are missing, interpreters typically try to establish equivalences between source and target languages, for example at lexical level, by drawing inferences based on term use in real texts. In this case it is quite common to resort to search engines to obtain the frequency of use of terms or expressions (in order to confirm or reject a translation hypothesis) or to search relevant texts and process them manually in order to find solutions to terminology issues. Although this approach may have some advantages, such as the easiness of use of search engines and the fact that new information is mainly processed in context, it also presents several limitations: finding and manually processing adequate texts is quite time consuming, and relying on simple frequencies obtained from search engines allow little to be said about terms because there is no restriction to a specific domain or genre, and so forth.

Some of the limitations of the classical approach to advance preparation can be overcome by integrating the use of corpora, and in particular of ad-hoc comparable corpora. Comparable, ad-hoc corpora are usually collections of similar texts, in most cases of specialized nature, in one or more languages constructed with a specific purpose in mind. Comparability refers to the similarity of the texts being collected, ideally both in terms of topic and text type and genre, to the topic of the assignment, while the ad-hoc designation stresses the fact that they are typically built for a specific interpreting task. Compared to other linguistic resources, comparable corpora offer a number of advantages: they consist of a more comprehensive and diverse variety of source language material and possible translation solutions than dictionaries (Hansen-Schirra/Teich 2009; Zanettin, 2012); they provide samples of real language and are therefore ideal for replicating the jargon used by specific groups of people, such as domain experts; they present lexical items in context with implicit advantages for the learning experience; last but not least, they are a dynamic source of information, as they require an active and intuitive approach to information retrieval. This aligns them perfectly with the cognitive dynamism of the interpreting profession.

Provided the potential usefulness of ad-hoc comparable corpora, there are some potential drawbacks that need to be taken into consideration. Firstly, as they are typically small in size (this does not depend on technical limitations but rather on text availability in specialized domains), ad-hoc corpora may for example not contain matches to help the interpreter verify a working hypothesis. This may discourage the novice user as no immediate and sure rewards can be guaranteed. Secondly, results may be originated by only a few sources and thus may be biased. Thirdly, interpreters generally work under time pressure. In their eyes embarking on a corpus analyses activity may appear too laborious, as it requires an investment of time to engage actively in the discovery mechanism typical of corpus analysis. Furthermore, corpora typically need to be created ad-hoc by the interpreter as they need to be tailored to the topic. This activity must be performed with systems designed specifically for this task. This may be a deterrent for many interpreters, as they need to embark upon learning a new (and often complex) tool.

In the following two sections, two types of comparable corpora are introduced: speech corpora for use in interpreter training (§1.1) and domain-specific corpora for use in a professional context (§1.2).

1.1 Speech corpora in interpreter training

One area in which corpora can be successfully deployed is interpreter training. In the last few years much attention has been devoted to the methods for improving student skills and expertise. Becoming a professional interpreter involves the mastery of not only the interpreting process, but also languages, cultures, specific domain knowledge, and so forth. The development of such expertise, given the complex nature of interpreting, requires extensive experience, dedication, and practice. However, merely practising a skill repetitively does not invariably lead to expert performance, which is the ultimate goal of conference interpreting training programmes. As a means to improve performance and eventually lead to desired proficiency, Ericsson (2006: 692) proposes *deliberate practice* which he defines as "tasks that are initially outside of their current realm of reliable performance, yet can be mastered within hours of practice by concentrating on critical aspects and by gradually refining performance through repetitions after feedback" . The acquisition of competence, especially if the skills are of a complex nature, seems to be more efficient when the task is broken down into smaller units that can be addressed separately during training. In deliberate practice, sub-skills are identified within a broader skill that need to be developed and are addressed explicitly by trainers and trainees before they are combined in what is the final performance.

One of these units is the set of language-related competences trainees need to acquire with the goal of improving their ability to produce adequate renditions of a given original text (among others the expansion of semantic groups, use of adequate registry, etc.). Typically, such competences are analyzed and trained during interpreting classes and in particular during the feedback session in which students' performances are assessed by the teacher. There is no doubt that this approach still represents a good didactic practice. However, trainees often lack instruments to take increased responsibility for their own learning rather than being taught in a more passive mode. To overcome this, such learning activities can be integrated by a corpus-driven approach. The use of corpora in and outside the interpreting classroom is in line with a constructivist approach to learning. In this approach knowledge is constructed by learners, rather than simply transmitted to them by teachers. As seen above, in the interpreting classroom it is the teacher who traditionally is the main authority, both in terms of performance evaluation and problem solving. Constructivism proposes a shift of authority, giving the student more responsibility, autonomy, and control in the learning process. Students are encouraged to engage in self-reflection about their skills and to develop metacognitive abilities to monitor and evaluate their performance, for instance on the language level. In this context, corpora can be the ideal instrument in allowing trainees to be at the centre of the (language and domain-related) learning process. They can be a source of potentially endless linguistic experience. Embarking on a corpus analysis exercise in order to find answers to real translation problems and to assess the linguistic component of an interpreting performance can improve both comprehension as well as rendition, on one side, and encourage trainee motivation to excel, on the other.

As seen in Section 1, through corpora students can embark on a rewarding process of discovery and exploration. For example, when assessing their own performance and identifying their weaknesses, they are able to verify autonomously the linguistic choices they have made, both at lexical, syntactical and grammatical level. Furthermore, this discovery process favours the acquisition of specific knowledge about the topic, as words and expressions are always seen embedded in their semantic context. Thanks to the a serendipity process (Johns 1988), as one term can lead to another depending on the user's intuition and needs, students can easily extend their knowledge of vocabulary, find synonyms, alternative phraseology, etc., i.e. they are able to increase their linguistic flexibility. When learning to interpret into their foreign language, for example, students may verify not only translation hypotheses and grammar structure, but also idiomaticity. This appears quite important because of the (linguistic) difficulties of interpreting into a foreign language pointed out in the literature (Seleskovitch/ Lederer 1989).

In the past, several corpora types, for example parallel[3] or interpreting[4] corpora, have been envisaged to be useful in interpreter training (cf. Sandrelli 2010). Considering the type of texts typically used in conference interpreter training and the language-related abilities that need to be acquired by trainees, another special genre of corpus can be considered particularly useful while learning interpretation: comparable corpora of original speeches[5]. Such corpora are collections of the transcriptions of speeches delivered by politicians, scientists, etc. in formal contexts. There are several advantages of the use of this kind of corpora over the ones generally proposed in the literature (cf. Sandrelli 2010). Firstly, the fact that they contain the same genre of textual material as the texts students are called upon to interpret makes the identification of linguistic features which may be of interest for the student more easy, as they are frequent and, therefore, easier to spot. Secondly, the use of original, non-translated texts (as in the case of parallel corpora or interpreting corpora) gives students the opportunity to work on material which has not been influenced by the translation process. This facilitates the use of an unbiased, natural language. Finally, trainees are likely to benefit from the exposure to original texts uttered by experts, politicians, etc. in the target language because they provide a model to support the production of a natural target language speech.

Speech corpora can be used as a tool to support deliberate practice and autonomous learning, helping students deepen language and discourse competences in the classroom. The outcome of a learning experience based on corpora can be extremely rewarding, both in terms of interpretation-related language acquisition as well as in the emancipation of the trainee from the central role played by the trainer, as far as the appropriateness of linguistic choices is concerned. In fact, the student, if properly accompanied in this emancipation process, can improve his or her ability to self-assess linguistic performance and improve it.

1.2 Exploiting domain-specific corpora

For professional interpreters, particularly useful types of corpora are comparable, domain-specific corpora, i.e. collections of texts which represent and reflect the language of a particular topic. They normally include texts dealing with one specific subject (e.g. bio-energy), while other parameters, such as genre (e.g. handbook or leaflet), size or language variety, may vary according to the objective and the design criteria (Zanettin 2012). To some extent, a domain-specific corpus

3 Parallel corpora contain original speeches and their respective translation.
4 Interpreting corpora contain speeches interpreted by interpreters who are (generally) native speakers.
5 Open access monolingual corpora of political speeches for several European languages are freely available at <www.staff.uni-mainz.de/fantinuo/speechcorpora>.

is similar to the domain-specific collection of texts that interpreters usually use as reference material during preparatory stages of an assignment with the goal of gaining insight into a subject and finding relevant terminology and phraseology. The main difference is the quantity of the texts and the way they can be consulted: digital or paper documents may be consulted in a linear way, i.e. read partially or entirely as a normal text (by means of word processing search facilites, in the case of digital documents). The consultation of texts on the web, in order to draw inferences based on actual use in context, for example, is a time consuming and exacting process, which requires rapid evaluation of the reliability of sources, the opening and closing of multiple pages, and an acceptance of the many limitations of search engines that were not designed for linguists. Texts contained in a corpus, however, can also be consulted in a non-linear way: thanks to the query and display feature of corpus analysis tools, the user can approach the text in a *bottom-up* manner, starting from the terminology/phraseology of the domain to the creation of its conceptual structure. Furthermore, most tools allow full-text browsing and offer the rich contextual information required for decision-making (Bernardini/Ferraresi 2013). This allows interpreters to explore the textual material of a specialized subject in a dynamic, interactive and explorative way (Fantinuoli 2006, 2017b) as they no longer need to browse through different texts and pages.

When discussing the use of domain-specific comparable corpora in translation, many scholars have pointed out their practical advantages. Thanks to the repetitiveness of specialized texts, for example in terms of lexical items, domain-specific corpora are ideal for automatizing the search for patterns in texts and, therefore, for finding useful information (because very frequent). Aston (2000), for instance, stressed how disposable domain-specific corpora facilitate data interpretation as the likelihood of finding ambiguous data is small. Furthermore, the bottom-up search strategy implied in corpus use – from the terminology to the conceptual structure of a domain – improves the way hypotheses are formulated and validated (e.g. Fantinuoli 2006). Varantola (2003) stresses the reassurance role of corpora, as the process of decision-making (for example, choosing one translation among several alternatives) is supported by empirical evidence. It is reasonable to suggest that all the advantages indicated for translators may be extended to interpreters during the preparatory stage of an assignment.

The discovery experience is based on the serendipity process introduced above. Thanks to corpora, interpreters may become the active subject of a data-driven learning process[6] which offers "virtually unlimited opportunities for learning by discovery, as learners embark on challenging journeys whose outcomes are unpredictable and usually rewarding" (Bernardini 2001: 246). For interpreters, the reward will be the ability to construct conceptual structures in the field of interest, discovering concepts and terms related to each other, and consequently being able to construct – before the event – an internal representation of the particular subject, with obvious advantages for the successful outcome of

6 For more information on the Data Driven Learning approach, see for example Boulton (2009).

the interpreting task, and, on a more practical level, a terminology list to be used during the course of the event.

2. Building ad-hoc corpora and extraction of linguistic information

As argued in Section 1, interpreters' needs in terms of linguistic and extra-linguistic preparation are quite specific. Thus, in order to address those needs with a corpus-based approach, adequate resources must be made available. Only very rarely are domain-specific corpora available for immediate use. Hence, interpreters wanting to use corpora in the course of advance preparation need to create their own resources each time they engage with a new assignment, a new subject, or a new client. If professional interpreters and interpreting trainees are supposed to successfully employ corpora, the time and the effort required to create ad-hoc corpora need to be as little as possible. Only if the trade-off between the resources invested and the output is perceived as positive, will interpreters engage in a corpus-oriented approach.

There are several tools that allow for a (semi)automatic collection of specialized texts from the web, including BootCat[7], AntCorGer[8] and SketchEngine[9]. They are very powerful programmes, however, they have not been developed with the interpreter in mind. As a consequence, they may appear cumbersome or limited in the functionalities they offer to the interpreter. In this section, I propose to deploy CorpusMode (Fantinuoli 2017b), a free and interpreter-oriented programme that automates the process of finding reference texts, extracting information from a corpus and analyzing it. The tool makes use of the Cognitive Services offered by Microsoft, in particular Bing Web Search Api[10], to find domain-relevant documents on the web. It downloads and transforms the texts in an ad-hoc built corpus, extracts specialized terminology and collocations, and allows the user to explore the corpus through a dynamic concordancer.

The basic procedure of corpus construction implemented in CorpusMode is straightforward and starts from a small list of single- or multi-word terms (called *seeds*) that are expected to be typical of the domain of interest. Appropriately combined, the seeds are used as a query string to search the web for relevant documents. To prevent the collection of unrelated texts, the seeds provided by the user should ideally be unambiguous, highly specialized and typical only in the domain of interest. To influence the characteristics of the corpus building procedure, the user can specify a set of further search parameters, such as domain (.com, .de, europa.eu and so forth), language, format (PDF and/or HTML) and number of texts to be downloaded. A list of URLs is retrieved and presented to the user for manual assessment. In this stage the user can simply decide to retain or delete a text candidate by assessing the URL itself or inspecting the documents related to it. Finally, the accepted URLs returned for each query are

7 <http://bootcat.dipintra.it>.
8 <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antcorgen/>.
9 <www.sketchengine.co.uk>.
10 <www.microsoft.com/cognitive-services/en-us/bing-web-search-api>.

retrieved, cleaned, and imported into a corpus. The dimension of the corpus collected this way depends on many factors, such as the number of texts selected by the user, the number of documents automatically discarded due to copyright protection, and the quantity of texts contained in the single documents.

Informal tests have proven that it is possible to build large domain-specific corpora containing several hundreds of texts by use of default parameters and without manual intervention[11]. To build a corpus of around 80-100 texts, which can be considered a standard size for a domain-specific corpus, the process typically requires only a few minutes (but time depends on many factors, such as the speed of the Internet connection, the server, file dimensions etc.). Although the quality of such "quick-and-dirty" corpora[12] may be variable and cannot be compared to the typical quality of supervised, well-constructed and balanced corpora, the proposed approach has been indicated to be most suitable for the creation of corpora for interpreters (Gorjanc 2009; Fantinuoli 2006) and has already been successfully used in both translation and interpreting settings (Xu 2015; Castagnoli 2006).

In a corpus-based preparation approach, interpreters need specialized terminology both to create multilingual glossaries as well as to perform the corpus browsing activity which is at the basis of the serendipity process described in Section 2. In fact, this discovery activity can be largely improved if terminology-driven (e.g. Xu 2015; Fantinuoli 2017a). A first list of terms can be obtained by means of automatic terminology extraction. This type of extraction from a corpus poses several challenges. CorpusMode implements a hybrid extraction method which combines linguistic knowledge and statistical measures[13]. To improve the usability of the software for interpreters, the focus of the terminology extraction algorithm is on precision rather than on recall[14]. Accordingly, in order to be more suitable for interpreters (who require immediately usable results), the tool was designed to reduce the number of ill-formed constructions, even at the risk of missing eligible candidates, and to retain only highly specialized and frequent terms. The term selection principle is based on the assumption that single-word and multi-word terms have a certain fixed set of linguistic structures, for example "Noun + Preposition + Noun". The tool assigns a part-of-speech (POS) tag to each word and extracts all candidate terms that adhere to predefined patterns. The resulting term list is then filtered by means of statistical measures (e.g. relative frequency in the constructed specialized corpus vs. relative frequency in a general reference corpus to determine if a term is specific for the domain under analysis), and heuristics (e.g. common vocabulary can be excluded from the final list), in order to rank the candidate terms and select the most appropriate. The final list of terms can be adapted on the basis of the interpreters' profile.

11 See also Bernardini/Ferraresi (2013) for similar observations on tests conducted with BootCat.

12 In Tribble's sense, "quick-and-dirty" are corpora informally produced for an immediate use without elaborate deliberations about their compositions (Tribble 1997).

13 For a detailed description of the automatic extraction procedure, see Fantinuoli (2012).

14 Precision is the ratio between correct and incorrect terms retrieved in the corpus. Recall is the ratio between the term actually extracted and all terms that ideally should have been extracted.

For example, a novice interpreter or an interpreter who has never worked in a particular domain, may wish to include both specific terminology of the domain and general terms that are frequently used in a particular field, while an expert interpreter, may retain only the very specialized terminology of the subject he/she is called upon to interpret (cf. Fantinuoli 2017a).

Besides terminology, a list of collocations can be automatically generated for any given term. The function aims at identifying the most frequent collocates of a term inside a corpus (and thus in the specific domain), leaving out less typical collocational patterns. This is in line with the assumption that interpreters usually need to manage the most typical and, therefore, most frequent linguistic information for a given term. Collocations are identified by applying frequency measures of the POS pattern of interest which occur in the span of a defined window of terms. The most frequent results are presented to the user as a list of collocations and of their frequency in the corpus.

An empirical evaluation of the corpus building and the terminology extraction procedure is discussed in the next section.

3. Evaluation

In this section, CorpusMode is evaluated in terms of the quality of the constructed corpus and of the extracted terminology by applying it to a specific domain (biogas) for the English and German language combination. The proposed empirical test does not claim to be exhaustive. As noted above, the variables at stake are many and the outcome depends on many factors, such as the domain, the availability and quality of documents in a specific language, the selection of the initial seeds, the number of documents retrieved, the ranking list of web pages retrieved by the Microsoft Services at the moment of testing, among others. This makes it hard to create an empirical setting which allows for easy replication. However, this preliminary evaluation can provide some general indications about the advantages and limitations of the tool and the procedure proposed.

With the corpus building method described in Section 2 two, comparable monolingual corpora for the topic *biogas* were automatically constructed. The topic was selected randomly out of a list of 20 possible subjects. For the two corpora (in English and German), two lists of specialized terms were automatically extracted using the algorithm presented in Section 2. In both tasks the default settings were used.

The seeds needed for the corpus construction were obtained by selecting two specialized terms in the Wikipedia entry for *biogas*. This task is meant to replicate the method an interpreter might use to obtain the keywords for the corpus building routine[15]. The seeds were combined into two different word combinations made up of the topic descriptor (Biogas) and the selected terms, as indicated in Table 1. The default search parameters were used (file type: PDF, domain: not

15 In the case of simultaneous interpreting, Fantinuoli (2017b) proposed to select the seeds from the titles of the events the interpreters are called to interpret.

specified, number of URLs: max). No manual filtering of results was performed. The size of the two corpora is provided in Table 2.

English	German
biogas + anaerobic digestion biogas + renewable energy	Biogas + Vergärung Biogas + Erneuerbare Energie

Table 1. Seeds used for corpus construction

	English	German
N. of URLs automatically collected	100	96
N. of texts successfully downloaded	99	94
N. of texts successfully converted	88	79
N. of tokens in final corpus	951,023	722,896

Table 2. Size of the corpora

The evaluation methodology applied to assess the output of the corpus building procedure is similar to the one described in Bernardini/Ferraresi (2013), with 30 students of interpretation (both graduate as well as undergraduate) acting as informants. They were asked to evaluate a randomly extracted list of 10 texts for each corpus (which corresponds to 11.36% and 12.66% of the total URLs successfully downloaded, converted and inserted in the corpus). The selected texts were presented to the informants in a random order with the request to briefly read the beginnings of the texts and rate them according to their relatedness to the topic and suitability as reference and preparatory material. This kind of empirical test aims at evaluating the perceived suitability of the texts[16]. There were four possible answers (definitely yes, probably yes, probably no, definitely no). For a text to be considered as relevant, more than 50% of the informants had to rate it definitely or probably appropriate. As Table 3 shows, almost all texts passed this evaluation stage.

	English	German
Relevant texts	9	10

Table 3. Number of relevant texts in the two corpora

The results of the corpus building procedure are quite encouraging in terms of output quality. All German texts and almost all English ones were ranked as related to the topic and useful for advance preparation. If the texts are not considered singularly but as a corpus, the percentage of appropriate texts included in the corpus reaches 84% for English and 86% for German. Our analysis thus confirms

16 In order to test not only the perceived suitability of the collected texts but also their actual usefulness, it would be necessary to back this up with an experiment in which 50% of the subjects would prepare for an assignment by using "traditional" methods and 50% would do it via a do-it-yourself corpus (see Xu 2015).

the results of prior studies (Fantinuoli 2006; Xu 2015) according to which the automated construction of domain-specific corpora can help interpreters to quickly obtain specialized documents for use in corpus-based advance preparation.

The evaluation of the term extraction algorithm is based on a categorization system similar to the one proposed by Fantinuoli (2006). In particular, the extracted terms were divided into three groups according to their level of specialization and well-formedness: 1) specialized terms; 2) general terms; and 3) incomplete or ill-formed words. The top 50 terms extracted by the tool using the default settings were evaluated accordingly. Table 4 gives a summary of the results.

	English	German
1) Specialized terms	23	13
2) General terms	16	25
3) Ill-formed terms	11	12
Total	50	50

Table 4. Evaluation of the extracted terms

The evaluation of the terminology obtained with the tool is not completely satisfactory. The percentage of specialized terms extracted in the experiment is quite low and as a consequence the final list of candidate terms appears biased towards general or ill-formed terms. In particular, the high number of ill-formed terms shows that the identification of relevant terminology is still a problem, at least for the tool used, if the corpus is “quick-and-dirty”, such as the one constructed during this test. Informal observations of the corpus data, in fact, show that the collected and prepared texts presented a lot of ‘noise’ (poor formatting, incorrect hyphenations, improper language, etc.). This has a negative impact on the process of term extraction and, as a consequence, on the quality of the outcome. The results highlight also another possible drawback connected with the high percentage of general words extracted. Although general words, especially the high frequency ones, may be useful to many interpreters (Xu 2015), it is quite difficult to automatically distinguish useful general terms (for example terms which are highly frequent in the domain of interest even if they are not specialized, such as ‘renewable resource’), from frequent terms that are less interesting for the interpreting process (such as ‘energy’). Further empirical tests using a more detailed annotation system, such as the one proposed by Xu/Sharoff (2014), could be used to better understand the needs of interpreters in terms of general, non-specialized words. In this experiment, the evaluation of the collocation extraction has been left out from the test since candidate collocations can be extracted for any term of interest, adding another layer of subjectivity to the experimental setting.

4. Conclusions

In this paper an interpreter’s perspective on the use of comparable corpora has been presented. It has been argued that the use of comparable corpora can be integrated in the interpreting workflow to extend the set of resources typically used by interpreters, such as electronic dictionaries and terminology databases. Furthermore, it has been suggested that comparable corpora may be particularly suitable for the interpreter preparation. Two kinds of corpora were presented: ad-hoc specialized corpora, which can be used in a professional setting to acquire linguistic and specialized domain knowledge, and corpora of speeches, which are suitable in interpreter training to support deliberate practice and help students in gaining the language expertise required to perform well at the end of their university programme.

The lack of ready-to-use, open access corpora constitutes a limit to the deployment of corpus-based techniques in both interpreting practice and training. For this reason, a software allowing an almost effortless way to construct specialized corpora and a tool to automatically extract relevant terminology have been presented. An empirical test has been conducted to evaluate if the texts collected by the tool are perceived as useful for interpreting tasks. The extracted terminology has been evaluated according to its level of specialization and well-formedness. The relevance of the retrieved texts seems suitable to satisfy the needs of interpreters, though some limitations have been found in the quality of the terms extracted. One possible reason is that the collected texts were too 'noisy' to allow for clean processing during the terminology extraction procedure.

While we have suggested that comparable corpora should be seen as complementary resources to be used in different ways and for different purposes during the preparation stage, there is no doubt that in order to gain the favour of interpreters a corpus-based approach requires tools perfectly tuned to interpreters' requirements, especially in terms of easiness of use, speed and flexibility. In order to make the corpus construction procedure more intuitive, the possibility of further simplifying the process should be investigated. For example, instead of selecting appropriate seeds to start the corpus building routine, users could define the domain of the corpus to be collected by simply indicating a relevant Wikipedia entry or a particular website. The selection of the seeds needed to find the relevant URL and the corpus building procedure will be performed automatically without human supervision. To increase the usefulness of the terminology extraction feature proposed, which depends highly on the 'cleanness' of the corpus, there is need to explore new ways of avoiding the incorporation of texts containing poor formatting or multiple languages. Finally, the possibility to implement a term alignment method for the monolingual term lists extracted from the two comparable corpora should be pursued as a means to obtain the first draft of a bilingual glossary.

Hopefully, some of these improvements will raise interest in the proposed approach for the interpreter community.

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Book review

Andres, Dörte / Kaindl, Klaus / Kurz, Ingrid (eds) (2017) *Dolmetscherinnen und Dolmetscher im Netz der Mach*, Berlin, Frank & Timme, 274, ISBN: 978-3-7329-0336-8.

Reviewed by *Alessandra Riccardi*

The historical investigation of interpreters' lives and interpreting situations connected to a specific historical period or event is a recent line of research in Interpreting Studies (Bowen / Bowen 1990; Bowen *et al*. 1995; Gaiba 1998; Roland 1999; Baigorri-Jalón 2000, 2004, 2007; Takeda / Baigorri-Jalón 2016). Within this field of studies, autobiographical writings are gaining a special standing for shedding light on the social role of interpreters, situations of conflict in which they had to bridge the communication gap, their ethical values and how or whether they could/would adhere to them in arduous political times, if not during extreme and dramatic historical circumstances as during war.

The volume edited by Dörte Andres, Klaus Kaindl and Ingrid Kurz is a collection of papers, ten written in German and three in English, on interpreters working in totalitarian systems, during the Second World War and/or in the field of diplomacy (see Thiery 2015). Each of the thirteen chapters analyzes the autobiographical writings of an interpreter within this historical framework. They are conceived mainly in the form of memoirs (see Andres 2015), i.e. as the narration of a certain period of one's life against the background of a historical event. Every paper clearly states the genre to which the original book pertains, differentiating between memoirs, historical chronicle or autobiography. Some of the books analyzed are mainly autobiographical in their structure, but even in these cases the border between autobiography and memoirs is rather blurred. The genre 'memoirs' can be considered, therefore, the common denominator of the volume representing interpreters from different backgrounds, life experiences, studies and expertise that give their own interpretation of their lives and work. What is common to all are the extreme, often dramatic circumstances in which they worked. What makes the difference is always the context, the persons they were working for and how they could come to terms with what was expected of them.

The contributions examine how interpreters build their own discursive identity, how they understand and describe their social role and their interpreting activity. Reviewing this collection of articles, it is difficult at times to distinguish between what was meant and reconstructed by the interpreters in their personal autobiographical writings and what is instead the result of understanding by the single authors of the collection while examining and interpreting the memoirs. Reviewing this book adds a further interpretation.

There are some common elements that can be traced in most contributions, bearing in mind that during the time considered, between 1930-1960, interpreting was not a profession as we know it now, or, at least, it was not a well-established profession. Most interpreters had received no training: learning by doing was the norm. Dialogic interpreting was the most commonly used modality, principally in the form of short consecutives without notes. Therefore, few interpreters used consecutive notes, which presupposed a specific training for the interpretation of long speeches, as in the case of Hitler's official speeches or during exhausting diplomatic meetings for reaching an agreement.

The group of interpreters discussed in the single papers by the researchers are composed of four women and nine men. Principally, they became interpreters by chance, owing to their life circumstances, with few exceptions as in the case of Schmidt and Rževskaja, or because interpreting was instrumental for reaching their life goal. In the case of Solonewitsch her objective was to find a way of leaving the Soviet Union and going abroad; Dollman could continue living in his beloved Rome; Zhou Chun and Ji Chaozhu considered interpreting as a means to enter a diplomatic career. The most common way of learning the job, i.e. to copy or receive instructions from senior colleagues, is illustrated extensively in the writings of Tamara Solonewitsch, Erich Sommer and Ji Chaozhu.

Vera Ahamer examines Tamara Solonewitsch's memoirs in the opening chapter of the volume which constitutes, chronologically, the earliest period reported on, between 1926-28 and 1931-32. Solonewitsch worked as interpreter for the Commission of External Relations of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. She knew English and her language mastery enabled her to find a job as interpreter although she was untrained. She did not have much interest in being an interpreter but considered interpreting instrumental to her desire to leave the Soviet Union. Ahamer underlines how her opposition to the Soviet regime is clearly stated throughout the memoirs and that very few reflections are to be found about being an interpreter. Her first interpreting assignment was to accompany a delegation of British miners around the Soviet Union for 40 days. Solonewitsch began the tour without knowing what interpreting actually was, received some instructions from an elder colleague and learnt to a certain extent how to manage meetings and visits. She was often confronted with the fear of failure and referred to the unexpected difficulties she encountered: different dialects and pronunciations, specialized jargon, acronyms, rhetorical style, working all day long, interpreting for but also accompanying the delegation into the mines and ceaselessly answering their questions. She interpreted loyally, notwithstanding her opposition to the regime and the revulsion she felt for what she had to interpret. Ahamer concludes that Solonewitsch's report is subjective, exaggerated and historically imprecise (p. 30), with little reflection on her role and the historical events, and with harsh words against the regime.

Elena Rževskaja had a completely different personality compared to Solonewitsch. She decided to become an interpreter as soon as she heard about the course for the training of military interpreters for the Red Army set up in Moscow in 1941. She was among the first students who enrolled in the first year. The course lasted either six weeks or between 4-6 months. Margarita Singer examines the years in which Elena Rževskaja became a military interpreter and worked as such for the Red Army. Her research is based on Rževskaja's autobiographical writings through which she reconstructed how interpreters were trained and why the trainees had chosen to become interpreters. Singer stresses how the inner loyalty and patriotism for their country were the motivations that instigated their decisions. Working on the frontline, translating documents, questioning and interpreting German prisoners were among their regular duties. Besides the difficulties connected with interpreting on the frontline, Singer highlights the inner dilemma that resulted from working close to the prisoners, being often the only person with whom they could communicate. Thus, gradually, Rževskaja's attitude towards the 'enemy' changed. The extreme situation of war required a balancing act between being a soldier and a military interpreter – having been taught to see in every German a Nazi and an enemy – and being compassionate towards another human being; the prisoner she was in charge of. It was a very risky behavior within the military environment, a dilemma Singer clearly highlights.

Schmidt, Jacob, Dollman and Sommer, shared a feature in common; they had all been working for the German Foreign Office. Schmidt was Chief Interpreter, Dollman was Hitler's man in Rome, Jacob left his position in the Foreign Office in 1933 because he was a Jew, while Sommer defined himself as a *bedeutungsloser Dolmetscher des Auswärtigen Amtes* (p. 86), an insignificant interpreter of the Foreign Office. He identified himself with a historian, not an interpreter, but being an interpreter gave him the possibility to witness historical events first hand and critically report on them, as Pekka Kajamäki notes. Interpreting was instrumental to his historian role and he recorded in his memoirs only so much about it as to clear the background and situation in which he had found himself.

In her Chapter on Eugen Dollmann's memoirs, Ursula Gross-Dinter looks into his life during the years he spent in Italy as *Verbindungsoffizier*, liaison officer for the Nazi-regime. Her article is very rich in references drawing not only on Dollman's memoirs but also on many other historical sources to reconstruct his role and self-image. Dollmann had a vast knowledge of both German and Italian cultures, he was well-introduced in the Roman high society, and used the SS as a means to a pleasant and easy existence. He has been criticized for being a drawing-room hero, a trusted personal representative of Hitler, but he also defended opponents of the regime and partisans (p. 45) and was able to rescue art treasures. Dollmann wrote his memoirs first in Italian and only later in German, because in Italy – where he was considered a symbol of Nazi-occupation – there was great interest to read his diaries. Gross-Dinter's conclusion is that, through his memoirs, Dollmann wanted to justify his behavior during the period of National Socialism and Fascism to discharge himself from the accusation of participating in the Fosse Ardeatine massacre. The author underlines that Dollmann did not consider himself a professional interpreter, but rather a diplomat, a culture and arts expert, a historian, an adviser and consultant. His interpreting had often been manipulative as he admitted (p. 49-50). He was therefore aware that in so doing (p. 53) he distanced himself from the honest spokesperson, the true interpreter. Therefore, it is concluded that even though he cannot be judged by modern ethical professional norms, if Dollmann were to be evaluated on ethical norms, he would be the prototype of the negative interpreter (p. 54).

Paul Schmidt was a high ranking diplomatic interpreter and, therefore, after the war, was suspected of war crimes. During the military occupation of Germany, he went through imprisonment, interrogations, internment and had to give up the profession. There were periods, however, in which he could practise his profession again, for example, during the Nuremberg war crimes trials. In 1946 Schmidt was asked to work for the Language Division of the Tribunal, where he had already been interrogated. Hildegard Vermeiren centers her analysis of Schmidt's memoirs on the question – which already emerged with the first volume of his memoirs – whether Schmidt as interpreter was allowed to violate the rule of discretion and confidentiality giving his own testimony of events. Her answer is positive, because she claims that the circumstances of the times were exceptional. Therefore, it is possible to call on the principle of ethical transparency and reveal what happened. It would have been a crime to conceal the truth about the Nazi crimes (p. 247).

Very different from Dolmann's and Schmidt's is the position of Jacob analyzed by Michaela Montag through his memoirs, *Kind meiner Zeit. Lebenserinnerungen* (Child of my time. Lifetime memories). Hans Jacob worked as a free-lance interpreter for the German Foreign Office but being a Jew and informed about the escalation of measures against Jews, he left his job in 1933 and settled down in Paris. He was a journalist, writer, translator and interpreter. In his words, one of the most terrible things he had to endure in his work at the radio *Straßburger Sender*, was interpreting Hitler's speeches, *eine geistige und physische Qual* (p. 69), a spiritual and physical suffering. Even though he became interpreter by chance, he had a moral rule which made him decide on which side to stay. Hence, on one occasion for example, he refused to interpret the answer of a high-ranking Nazi Official, with the explanation that his conscience did not allow him to do it (p. 71). He described interpreting as a *Nebenberuf*, a side-job, to which he had arrived by chance. Nevertheless, he became one of AIIC's founding fathers and eventually became Chief Interpreter of UNESCO for nine years.

Klaus Kaindl and Dörte Andres have chosen to analyze the memoirs of two interpreters for which personal feelings and individual, universal ethical values deeply influenced the way in which they were committed towards foreign prisoners for whom they interpreted during the Second World War. Hiltgunt von Zassenhaus embodies the positive interpreter image of *Dolmetschen als Dienst am Leben* (interpreting as a service for life) in which Klaus Kaindl describes the development of her interpreter personality. He does so by taking into account that the interpreting persona is always part of the social self which is not only the result of professional socialization, but part of a complexity of biographical processes which include family, social, transnational and political aspects, all conducive to individual actions and beliefs. The concept of *biographie croisée* is used therefore as a possible means to identify the personality of translators/interpreters. Furthermore, the notion of Agamben's *homo sacer* is called for to illustrate the national socialist penitentiaries in which she worked as an interpreter. Hiltgunt von Zassenhaus was in charge first of censoring the letters of Norwegian and Danish prisoners and then also of interpreting for them. Her interpreting activity went well beyond professional commitment, it followed her personal individual convictions and discernment. Notwithstanding the fear of being discovered, Hiltgunt von Zassenhaus was able to rescue many of the prisoners she had been interpreting for from death.

Dörte Andres' contribution – *Freiwillg zwangsverpflichtet. Persönliche Erinnerungen von Eleanore Helbach, Dolmetscherin in den Mülheimer Zwangsarbeiterlagern (*Voluntarily conscripted. Personal memories of Eleanore Helbach, interpreter in the forced labor camps of Mülheim) – deals with interpreting for forced laborers, a context not researched yet in historical Interpreting Studies. Andres illustrates the interpreting activity of Eleanore Helbach, born in Russia in 1903 of German parents. Her Catholic family had emigrated there in 1860, but after her family's tragic and traumatic years before and during WWI they returned to Germany in exchange of Russian prisoners. Andres' focus is on how her life history and especially religion had influenced and shaped her individual development and thus her role as an interpreter in a totalitarian system. Her past experience of discrimination, violence, fear and also of life in an internment camp had a great impact on Eleanore Helbach and influenced the years to come. In her family town Mülheim she worked for the eastern forced laborers between 1942 and 1945. Andres has researched her autobiographical writings and illustrated how she was able to help the laborers in all possible ways, with food, medicines and clothes but also with encouraging words and energy. She would be and remained humane in a system that was against humanity, she would and could oppose a totalitarian system in her sphere of action and acted following her individual, yet universal values: responsibility before God, respect for human dignity and charity.

Robert Ekvall's memoirs as a Cold War interpreter, *Faithful Ech*', have been analyzed by María Manuela Fernández Sánchez. She defines Ekvall's experience as an interpreter unique for several reasons. First of all his background: he was an American missionary, born of American missionary parents in China. He was fluent in Mandarin Chinese, Chinese dialects and Tibetan nomad dialect, later in life he also learned French. Besides being a missionary, he was a teacher and explorer, army officer, anthropologist, intelligence officer, military and diplomatic interpreter. The author considers Ekvall's memoirs as a historical source for Interpreting Studies, given that there are not many other autobiographical references of interpreters in the same period. Ekvall was untrained in interpreting, he had to learn on the job, but his experience in cross-cultural communication, military background and in-depth knowledge of many subjects were a good basis for becoming a military and diplomatic interpreter. His life experiences, his multilingual background, his linguistic awareness, the ability to speak local languages and dialects, had given him the instruments to successfully face new challenges as in Panmunjon. He declared: "I set myself to the task of echoing other men's words, mirroring other men's ideas" (p. 178). Accuracy, fidelity, identification with the speaker are the guiding principles of the interpreter Ekvall. Fernández Sánchez suggests that the memoirs can be read from different perspectives. Besides being an autobiographical writing, it is a literary book, but it can also be seen as a guide to becoming a diplomatic interpreter: Ekvall was an 'interpreting scholar ahead of his time' reflecting on and debating his work as an interpreter.

Ingrid Kurz has centered her paper on the memoirs of two interpreters who worked during the Nuremberg trials, Richard W. Sonnenfeldt and Siegfried Ramler. In particular, she examines how they could cope with their duty as interpreters, despite their tragic family history connected with the Nazi regime. Sonnenfeldt was German, while Ramler was Austrian, but there are several parallels in their lives. They were almost the same age, both were Jews, living a comfortable life with their families until 1938 when they were sent to England. Soon after, Sonnenfeldt arrived in the USA, while Ramler remained in London where he worked and studied. In the Army, Sonnenfeldt was employed as interpreter for the interrogations of Nazi criminals in Paris. He was then transferred to Nuremberg where he continued the interrogations of Nazi criminals before the trials. He became Chief of the Interpretation Section for the American prosecution. Ramler arrived in Nuremberg as well, but in contrast to Sonnenfeldt, he proposed himself for the job. Given his good language knowledge and the need for linguists, he was immediately hired by the US Civil administration and worked as an interpreter during the pre-interrogations. Both Sonnenfeldt and Ramsler had no experience as interpreters, had no training and had no experience in working in tribunal. During their work they had to face and interpret the persons responsible for the persecution their families had endured. Kurz has examined their position as interpreters and whether they would comply with present ethical interpreting standards, in particular truth, clarity, trust and understanding. Their memoirs give the author the opportunity to contrast these criteria and she comes to the conclusion that although they did not have any training, they were able to stand up to today's ethical translational criteria owing to their language competence, but also to their psychological stability.

Mira Kadrić examines and comments on the memoirs of Ivan Ivanji, who was Tito's interpreter for German during the 1960-1970s. A very eclectic person who, besides interpreting, had also worked as a teacher, journalist, publisher's editor and was a successful novelist, playwrighter and theater director. Kadrić stresses the importance of his background and life-experiences in illustrating the way in which he considered himself as an interpreter. He was untrained and had a very close, almost friendly relation with President Tito whom he highly respected and admired. Ivan Ivanji is described as a non-conformist interpreter who had wider power than interpreters usually have; he behaved in a very confidential way with high-level officials and politicians, a trait that possibly derived from his artistic background or simply from high self-esteem and self-confidence. Kadrić recognizes in his behavior the influence that the setting has on the way an interpreter is considered: the dialogic mode allows for a greater proximity and intimacy. Finally, highlighting Ivan Ivanji's interpreting qualities (p. 206), Kadrić sums up the characteristics of political interpreting and interpreters: equivalence of the message extending to overtones and nuance, loyalty to the principal, but also to the other interlocutors.

An atypical interpreter is Zhou Chun, the central figure in Ulrich Kautz's contribution. Actually, his autobiography is more interesting for depicting the political situation in China after 1945 and less so for the implications involved in being an interpreter in China at the time. His interpreting experience is limited to the years he had been working at the Foreign Ministry, in the German Section. He had learned English and German at school and was preparing to study medicine which he then could not follow. He became an interpreter by chance and worked once for Mao Zedong and more often with Zhou Enlai and DDR officials. Zhou Chun struggled to become a member of the communist party, which was not possible for him. Instead, he was accused of being 'rightist' and, therefore, spent many years in labor camps, prisons and remote areas. In conclusion, besides the historical picture of China in those years, little is said about the interpreter Zhou Chun, but rather about his general personality traits. Interpreting in the political context in China at the time was in fact not a real profession, but rather a possibility for further advancements in a diplomatic career.

The first part of Jesús Baigorri-Jalón's Chapter, the last of the collection, deals with the difficult classification of Ji Chaozhu's book, at a crossroads between an auto/biography, a chronicle, a collaborative life narrative and memoirs. Ji Chaozhu, an English-speaking Chinese worked for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Despite the title of his book, *The Man on Mao's Right. From Harvard Yard to Tiananmen Square*, he was principally at the side of Zhou Enlai and a few times with Mao Zedong. He grew up in New York, attended Harvard but then went back to China in 1950. His memoirs give an overview and personal account of the history of China during his lifetime while he served as language and cultural broker. Baigorri-Jalón criticizes Ji Chaozhu's account because the original documents on which it is based are not quoted. In addition, he relies mainly on his own memories and those of his wife and close relatives. Hence, although it records historical events, the volume cannot be seen as a conventional historical account, but a narrative through the eyes of a witness to history. The book is a mix of history and autobiography with a focus on how Ji considers interpreting. The role performed as an interpreter is apparently the main argument of the book, but actually Ji used his expertise for a career in the diplomatic service. Ji Chaozhu identified himself little with the role of an interpreter, but rather with the potential role as a diplomat. At the time, besides languages, what was needed was an alignment with Chinese ideology, therefore, Chaozhu's neutrality as an interpreter, it is claimed, was at least controversial. Summarizing, Baigorri-Jalón lists the requirements of an interpreter working in this regime: unlimited dedication to the job, together with an almost complete integration into the political power structure. Deontology and ethical obligations were not considered. The interpreter had to be trusted by his principal, otherwise he would have lost his position through banishment if not physical elimination. Interpreters' careers in China were more of a diplomatic nature than linguistic, working not only between the two parties involved but mainly for their delegations. All this meant additional stress, unregulated, if not unlimited, working shifts (p. 265). Baigorri-Jalón criticizes Chaozhu's idea of interpreting as the art of misleading, a concept that in his opinion should rather be associated with diplomacy.

The volume brings together very different ways of being an interpreter and touches on fundamental concepts that have been and are largely debated within Interpreting Studies: the role of the interpreter, neutrality, trust, partiality/impartiality, training and knowledge, personal advantages and responsibility towards the speaker, the listener but also towards the interpreter's individual values. It is a rich source for reflection on these topics, helped by the historical distance existing between us and the times when the reported persons lived and worked as interpreters.

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The Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Teaching Conference Interpretation: 30 Years Later (1989-2019)

Editors: *Caterina Falbo, Alessandra Riccardi* and *Maurizio Viezzi*

Scope

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

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

- Teaching and learning in Interpreting Studies;
- New trends in interpreter training;
- Interpreter training and new technologies;
- The theoretical and practical aspects of teaching conference interpretation - 30 years later (1989-2019).

Papers must be submitted in English or French and describe original research which is neither published nor currently under review by other journals or conferences. Submitted manuscripts will be subject to a process of double-blind peer review. Guidelines are available at: https://www.openstarts.units.it/cris/journals/journals00005/journalsInfoAuthor.html

Manuscripts should be around 6,000 words long, including references and should be sent as Word attachments to the e-mail addresses of all three editors: cfalbo@units.it, ariccardi@units.it and mviezzi@units.it (Subject: NL 24 PAPER; File Name: author's name__IN2019).

Important dates

Manuscript submission:	15th November 2018
Results of peer-reviewing process:	30th March 2019
Publication:	December 2019

CALL FOR PAPERS
THE INTERPRETERS' NEWSLETTER
ISSUE 25 (2020)

This issue welcomes submissions that cover current theoretical and practical issues in the field of Interpreting Studies: conference interpreting (simultaneous and consecutive interpreting), dialogue interpreting (court interpreting, public service interpreting, liaison interpreting, sign language interpreting, etc.), including methodologies and interdisciplinary approaches with sound theoretical, empirical and applied underpinning and with innovative orientation.

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

- Development and evolution of the profession;
- Technological developments in the profession;
- History and sociology of interpreting and interpreters;
- Ethics;
- The teaching of interpreting
- Process-oriented interpreting research

Papers must be submitted in English or French and describe original research which is neither published nor currently under review by other journals or conferences. Submitted manuscripts will be subject to a process of double-blind peer review. Guidelines are available at: https://www.openstarts.units.it/cris/journals/journals00005/journalsInfoAuthor.html

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