From Community Interpreting

to

Discourse Interpreting

- A Triadic Discourse Interpreting Model (TRIM) -

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Deutsche Zusammenfassung der Dissertation

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Die vorliegende, in englischer Sprache verfasste Dissertation handelt vom ‚Community Interpreting', d.h. dem zwei- oder mehrsprachigen Dolmetschen in einer Gesprächssituation, in der bilateral bzw. *retour* in und aus einer Muttersprache gedolmetscht wird. Während sich das Konferenzdolmetschen in seinen Ausprägungen als Simultan- und Konsekutivdolmetschen heute klar in Begriff und Methode etabliert hat und dadurch zum Ausgangspunkt vieler Forschungsfragen und –Bemühungen geworden ist, ist das ‚Community Interpreting' in Begriff und Methode bis heute unklar und wird in seinen Bedingungen und Problemen kontrovers diskutiert.

Die vorliegende Arbeit will einen Beitrag zur Erforschung dieses komplexen Gegenstandsbereichs leisten, indem Faktoren herausgearbeitet, systematisiert und in ihrem Zusammenspiel gezeigt werden, die Einfluss auf die heute noch zum Teil unbewussten Entscheidungen der DolmetscherIn in der aktuellen Kommunikationssituation haben. Damit soll der DolmetscherIn eine Orientierungshilfe gegeben werden, sich in einer konkreten Dolmetschung bewusst für eine strategische Dolmetschvariante und Vorgehensweise zu entscheiden.

Nach einer Darstellung des Phänomens und seiner Problematik in Kapitel 1 wird in Kapitel 2 auf die Vielfalt der Bezeichnungsweisen und Forschungsansätze in diesem Bereich eingegangen, wie sie sich vor dem Hintergrund der heutigen Literaturlage im Wesentlichen in den so genannten ‚Migrationsländern' USA, Australien, Kanada, Südafrika und Schweden aus der praktischen Notwendigkeit

heraus entwickelt hat.

Kapitel 3 widmet sich der aktuellen kontrovers diskutierten Rollenproblematik im Bereich des Community Interpreting, wobei insbesondere auf den Gegensatz der beiden grundsätzlich konträren Aktionsmöglichkeiten, der ‚verbatim' und der Kulturmittelnden, ‚mediatorischen' Dolmetschung, eingegangen wird. Der Unterschied in der Vorgehensweise liegt dabei darin, dass beim ‚verbatim' Dolmetschen möglichst nahe am Original gedolmetscht wird (z.B. bei Gerichtsverhandlungen und polizeilichen Verhören) und andererseits beim mediatorischen Dolmetschen die relativ aktive Dolmetschung im Vordergrund steht (z.B. beim Krankenhaus- und Behördendolmetschen).

Auf der Basis dieser Rollenproblematik wird in Kapitel 4 das Community Interpreting in den theoretischen Rahmen der Diskursanalyse gestellt und das Verständnis des Begriffs *Diskursdolmetschen* in der vorliegenden Arbeit dargelegt. Dafür ist grundsätzlich, dass in der Dolmetsch-Triade von einem kooperativen, zielorientierten Verhalten aller Kommunikationspartner ausgegangen werden muss und die DolmetscherIn als ‚dritter' Kommunikationspartner gleichberechtigt mit den primären Kommunikationspartnern für den Erfolg der Kommunikation durch Herstellung der Kohärenz im bi- oder multikulturellen Diskurs mit-verantwortlich ist.

Ausgehend von diesem Grundverständnis werden in Kapitel 5 die Handlungsparameter zusammengestellt, die in den beiden Verhaltensweisen (‚verbatim' vs ‚mediatorisch') unterschiedlich sind. Dabei werden statische und dynamische Parameter unterschieden und die Dolmetschsequenz auf eine Tetrade als dynamischem Wechsel der Botschaften zwischen den Kommunikationspartnern A und B und der Dolmetschung dieser Botschaften durch den Dolmetscher I festgelegt. Es wird angenommen, dass eine Originalbotschaft M durch die Filter ‚Diskurszweck', ‚Kohärenz' (unterteilt in ‚thematische' und ‚isotopische Kontinuität'), ‚Weltwissen' und individuelle ad hoc ‚Interessenlage' zu einer gedolmetschten Varianten M' als Null-Botschaft (TYP I), partiell variante Botschaft (TYP II und TYP III) in zwei Ausprägungen (Kategorie 1 und 2), variante ‚mediatorische' Botschaft (TYP IV) und als invariante Botschaft (TYP V) gefiltert wird. Die Filter werden entsprechend bezeichnet.

Filter und Varianten werden in einem Entscheidungsbaum dargestellt und die

Bedingungen für die verschiedenen Outputvarianten M' beschrieben. So wird das Zusammenspiel von statischen und dynamischen Parametern in der aktuellen Dolmetschsituation über die Annahme verschiedener Diskursdolmetschfilter modellierbar. Diese Modellierung wird als *Triadic Discourse Interpreting Model* (TRIM) bezeichnet. So kann die Dolmetscherin in der konkreten Situation ad hoc entscheiden, inwiefern eine ‚verbatim' Dolmetschung oder eine mediatorische Dolmetschung vonnöten ist.

In Kapitel 6 wird das Modell auf eine chinesisch-englische Dolmetschung vor Gericht angewendet, die von der Hong Kong Baptist University zur Verfügung gestellt wurde. Dabei wird deutlich, wie unterschiedlich die Dolmetschung von Einzelaussagen in einer in der. Regel als ‚verbatim' Dolmetschsituation betrachteten der Gesamthandlung des Gerichtsdiskurses (Kreuzverhör) ausfallen kann. Die sich ergebenden Varianten werfen ein Licht auf Kenntnisstand und Entscheidungsspielraum der Dolmetscherin und belegen so die Anwendbarkeit des vorgelegten Modells.

In einem Schlusskapitel wird das Ergebnis zusammengefasst und Perspektiven für die Forschung, Didaktik und Praxis entworfen.

Im Anhang wird das transkribierte Original und Verdolmetschung der Gerichtsverhandlung mit wörtlicher Übersetzung der chinesischen Passagen in das Englische vorgelegt.

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0 Introduction

0.1 Research Topic

The present dissertation is about Community Interpreting. In contrast to Conference Interpreting [1], Community Interpreting involves the interpreter to interpret 'bidirectionally', i.e. 'back and forth' into and out of his/her native language in what is often referred to as a 'face-to face' communicative situation. With globalization and migration processes, Community Interpreting has gained increasing importance in the past decade. In fact, most of the interpreting today is considered to be done by Community Interpreting (Moody 2007: 182).

While Simultaneous and Consecutive Interpreting have established themselves firmly by the late 1990s in terms of concepts and methods documented e.g. by Pöchhacker's functionally-oriented dissertation (1994), Gile's cognitive model of balancing interpreting efforts (1995), Feldweg's communicatively-oriented approach (1996) or Kalina's strategic processes dissertation (1998), Community Interpreting[2] is today still often used synonymously with non-professional interpreting (e.g. Bührig/Meyer 2004, Sauerwein 2006) and presents a very heterogeneous picture as far as concepts and methodology are concerned (for an overview cf. Hale 2007). Much of the copious literature centers around problems of its professionalization and academization (e.g. Mikkelson 1996, Roberts 1997), its development in individual countries (for an overview cf. Erasmus (ed.) 1999) or its problems in particular settings (e.g. Pöchhacker 2000, Apfelbaum 2004, Meyer 2004, Sauerwein 2006, Grbic/Pöllabauer 2006, Hale 2007, Wadensjö/ Englund Dimitrova 2007, Hofer 2008). As an 'ad hoc', 'non-professional' activity (e.g. Knapp-Potthoff 1987, Bührig/Meyer 2004, Sauerwein 2006), the different roles of the Community Interpreter as compared with that of a conference interpreter has been a matter of controversy to this date (e.g. Hale 2007, Moody 2007). While research and academic studies have extensively discussed a wide range of problems associated with the Community Interpreter's role

[1] Conference Interpreting was born during World War II, and with the advent of Simultaneous Interpreting and especially after the Nuremburg (1945-1946) and Tokyo trials (1946-1948), Conference Interpreting became more widespread (Herbert 1978).

[2] For a differentiation cf. Hertog/Reunbrouck (1999: 63ff) and Kulick, D. (1982) in Kulick/Helgesson (eds): *tolkning.* Lund: Lunds Universitet.

conflict from an ethical (e.g. Mikkelson 2000), linguistic (e.g. the publications of the 'Sonderforschungsbereich 538 'Multilingualism')[3], and didactic[4] point of view[5], little interest has been shown to systematize the parameters that influence or determine the interpreter's role in actual interpreter-mediated communicative events. The theoretical and methodological deficits surrounding the concept of Community Interpreting are responsible for the conflict of the Community Interpreter when presented with the decision for or against faithful ('verbatim' or 'conduit') or relatively 'free' interpretation (acting as 'advocator' or 'cultural mediator') in the actual interpreting situation. In an effort to alleviate the interpreter's predicament, there has been a growing tendency to explore the institutional settings, in which Community Interpreting takes place and their influence on the interpreter-mediated communication process (e.g. Tebble 1996, 1998; Hale 1997, 2004; Mikkelson 1998, 2000; Meyer 2000, 2004; Pöllabauer 2003, 2004; Sauerwein 2006). The visibility issue of the interpreter's role in such settings like court, medical or police interpreting has accentuated such traditional opposing views of the interpreter as a 'verbatim' reproducer of messages in another language (e.g. Goffman 1981) on the one hand or as 'advocator', 'cultural broker' or 'conciliator' (e.g. Merlini/Favaron 2003: 212) on the other hand. Socio-linguistic questions and discourse considerations have moved into focus on the threshold of the new millennium, when Community Interpreting began to be seen as involving two independent activities, i.e.

- the translation and
- the coordination of talk,

with the interpreter being considered an engaged actor in a triad, creating two kinds of talk: relaying a message and mediating the flow of talk (Wadensjö 1998). Terms like 'participation framework'[6], i.e. the interpreter's activity of coordinating

[3] Especially those of Bührig (2000) and Meyer (2004)

[4] For an overview on the programs in the USA, Australia, Sweden, Germany and Austria cf. Daneshayeh 2006, Hale 2007.

[5] Well-known studies are for example Carr et al. (eds) 1997, Roberts et al. (eds) 2000, Brunette (ed.) 2003, Pöchhacker 2004, Hale 2007.

[66] Participation framework: Goffman proposed this model in 1981 and the basic idea is that the organization of spoken interaction ultimately results from participants' continuous evaluations and reevaluations of speaker-

utterances arising from assumptions and expectations of the participants in a conversational communication flow (Metzger 1995) have stressed the interactive component in Community Interpreting with distinguishing turn exchanges between the interlocutors and the interpreter and linguistic forms of turns (such as lengthy lags and overlapping turns, cf. Roy 2000). The Community Interpreter's conflict today, however, is still unresolved which is reflected and documented e.g. in Miriam Shlesinger's ongoing Tel Aviv project 'Grey Goes with the Territory' (cf. Shlesinger 2008), which vividly illustrates the interpreter's predicament of being caught in a 'sandwich position' of serving two masters at the same time. To date there is no consensus on which communicative parameters determine the individual interpreter's role within those two opposite views of literal 'verbatim' renderings ('conduit role') and active 'cultural mediation' within a framework of parameters that influence and control the interpretation process in a concrete interpreter-mediated scenario.

0.2 Questioning and Research Aim

The present dissertation looks into this situation with the aim of suggesting a set of parameters that influence the interpreter's decisions and describing their interplay in determining the individual interpreter's action latitude in a given interpreter-mediated communicative situation.

With this aim in mind, we will look at a number of parameters and their interplay in which Community Interpreting differs from conference interpreting, a.o.:

- the *general goal*[7] of the interpreter-mediated communication (potentially set by an outside authority);
- the *actual objective* that is to be attained by the communicative event, to which the interpreter acts as a 'third party';
- the possible knowledge differential between the communicative partners that the interpreter needs to identify and offset in order to cooperate in attaining the actual objective of the communicative event;

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hearers' roles or status of participation at the turn-by-turn-level. This is also an important element in the present study.

[7] All technical terms introduced in this dissertation are given in *italics* (when used for the first time).

- the (assumed) meaning dimensions from the interpreter's perspective and their sense continuity in the communicative partners' message exchanges;
- the possible ad hoc clash of the *communicative partners' interests* when it comes towards cooperating in reaching the actual objective of the communicative event.

We are particularly interested in the interpreter's potential co-responsibility for establishing 'sense continuity' (*coherence*) between the different communicative partners' utterances and resulting message exchanges which seems to clearly differ from coherence establishing processes in Conference Interpreting where the establishment of 'sense'[8] is largely left to the end user, i.e. the audience or recipients. The present study is theoretically-oriented and describes the acting interpreter's perspective as a 'third party' (Knapp/Knapp-Potthoff 1987) in the communication. It suggests that a source message (M) is turned into an interpreted message (M') by the interpreter's decisions at various stages of the interpreting process which are reflected in a number of *Interpreting Filters* (IF), the function of which is described in this dissertation. It aims at providing the interpreter with an orientation as how to act ('faithfully' or in a 'mediating' way or anywhere between these two extreme positions) in a concrete interpreter-mediated event. This is shown in its applicability to interpreter-mediated legal proceedings against the background of the court interpreting situation in Hong Kong today.

0.3 Structure

The problem and phenomenon of Community Interpreting is presented in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 reviews the Community Interpreting parameters in the previous research. After briefly discussing the interpreter's role controversy as it presents itself in the literature with a focus on the contrasting roles of 'verbatim' vs 'mediating' roles in Chapter 3, an attempt is made to clarify today's controversial concept of Community Interpreting in Chapter 4 by proposing the notion of *Discourse Interpreting* as an alternative term for Community Interpreting and positioning it within the paradigm of

[8] For a detailed discussion of microstructure and macrostructures within the coherence establishing process cf. Albl-Mikasa 2007.

Discourse Analysis. *Discourse Interpreting* (*DI*) is then described as a process of interacting static and dynamic parameters (Chapter 5).

Static parameters include relatively stable knowledge and situation-related parameters, such as a description of the communicative scenario in which the interpreting event takes place, including the objective of the communication, the type of scenario, time, place, institutional norms, the *Communicative Partners'* assumed *(shared) knowledge profiles* and their (shared) *Focus of Attention (Aufmerksamkeitsbereich)* from which the topic of the communication evolves, and most importantly the *Communicative Partners'* (speaker A, speaker B, interpreter I) *interest* in a successful communication. The theoretical foundations of these parameters are offered to be Mudersbach's *Theme-Rheme Fan Fixation Model (FFM)* (1981) and *Coherence* (2004) Model on which the parameter of topic continuity is based. The parameter of isotopic continuity is developed from Schulz-von-Thun's four-dimensional 'Four ears – Four Tongues' communication model (1981). Both parameters are considered indicators for *Coherence* (Gerzymisch-Arbogast/Kunold/Rothfuß-Bastian 2006a).

Dynamic parameters portray the interplay of these dimensions from turn to turn in an interpreter-mediated communicative exchange for which a *tetradic cycle* is assumed and adapted to account for actual discourse phenomena such as question-answer sequences, clarification requests, self-corrections, overlap of turns or hesitation phenomena: *Communicative Partners* A and B exchange a message (input M) which becomes an interpreted message (output M'). In order to account for the potential variation between M and M' within the tetradic cycle, it is assumed that M - in the process of becoming M'- is passing through a series of *Interpreting Filters* (IF), which influence the interpreter's output M' to *Communicative Partner* B to become more or less variant between the extremes 'verbatim' and 'mediated'. It is thought that the controlling parameters as interdependent filters (seen from the interpreter's perspective), especially with respect to establishing coherence by *topic* and *isotopic* continuity and by balancing 'ad hoc' potentially varying *interests*, will shed light on the interpreter's decisions on his/her action latitude. The functional interplay of a number of *filters*, which adopt different values in interpreter-mediated scenarios, is considered to filter M to become M'.

The concept of *Discourse Interpreting* with its interrelating static components and

dynamic dimensions allows to position *Discourse Interpreting* on an equal conceptual footing with Conference Interpreting (as a co-hyponym to Simultaneous and Consecutive Interpretation) with its differentiating features being that the interpreter is considered a third partner in a communicative 'triad' (as it was called a.o. by Mason 1999) and the interpreter's role not being characterized by neutrality and distance as in Conference Interpreting, but by being actively co-responsible for the success of the communicative event. Achieving an actual discourse objective in an interpreter-mediated communication thus includes the interpreter's mandate to close potential coherence gaps and mediate clashes of interest between the primary communicative partners.

This perspective deviates from the traditional view of the interpreter 'bridging' the language and/or cultural gaps between two Communicative Partners who do not speak the same language or share the same cultural values to the extent that the interpreter as a 'third party' actively contributes to achieve a commonly agreed-upon communicative objective. This presupposes interpreting decisions about the relevance and (assumed) meanings of an original message M, establishing *Coherence* in the case of a perceived knowledge differential between the *Communicative Partners*, controlling the partners' *Focus of Attention* in a given situation and - if necessary - mediating a potential clash of actual *Interest* which may arise from a lack of overlap in the *Communicative Partners'* perspectives in reaching a commonly agreed-upon communicative objective. In this function, the interpreter's role is no longer characterized by an 'either/or' decision of 'verbatim' vs 'mediation' conflict but reflects a decision-making continuum which may change from turn-to-turn as the communication develops.

Chapter 6 of this study shows how the established *Discourse Interpreting* parameters and filters apply to an authentic Hong Kong court trial scenario, an excerpt of which is analyzed to show the validity of the proposed approach.

The results are summarized and put into perspective in Chapter 7.

A glossary of terms and abbreviations (Appendix I) and a list of tables and figures are added to provide transparency of terms and acronyms frequently used in this dissertation. The relevant excerpts of the transcribed corpus materials are added in Appendix II and Appendix III.

1 Phenomenon and Problem

The following example is from Harris/Sherwood's famous discussion of trust as an important factor in family-related Community Interpreting. It shows an interpreted exchange in a Canadian immigration office in the late 1970s with the typical problems associated with Community Interpreting as often accentuated in popular descriptions of the phenomenon. Although the background information here is too limited to enable the reader to fully comprehend the scenario, we can still easily detect a number of typical characteristics and open questions in the field of Community Interpreting.

The example involves an Italian immigrant who wants to get his legal papers in Canada, relying on his bilingual daughter to interpret the conversation with an English-speaking immigration officer:

> Father to interpreter: Digli che e un imbecile! *(Tell him he's an idiot!)*
> Interpreter to the Immigration officer: My father won't accept your offer.
> Father (angrily, in Italian to daughter): Why didn't you tell him what I told you?
> (Harris/Sherwood 1978: 217)

It exemplifies two interrelated questions which will be the focus of this dissertation:

- Is the interpreter legitimized to interpret non-verbatim, i.e. is it legitimate for the interpreting daughter not to reproduce her father's insulting utterance?
- Are there criteria that determine whether to render a verbatim message or non-verbatim message in an actual interpreter-mediated communication?

In order to answer these general questions, it is necessary to explore the following more specific questions related to the above example:

- What is the general goal of the communication? Is the presence of an interpreter prescribed by law or just momentarily necessary?
- What is the actual objective of the concrete communication scenario? Is the father's objective and interest of getting his legal papers legitimate and is this actual objective and interest shared by the Immigration Officer? In other words, do their interests match in this respect? And in which interest is the interpreter supposed to act?

- Is the father's insulting remark coherently related to a previous utterance or topic or is there a (hidden) element in the communication that would motivate his anger?
- Against what knowledge background does the interpreter act, e.g. how much English does the father really know? How much Italian does the Immigrant Officer know? And how much English and Italian, cultural, domain and other world knowledge including cultural norms does the interpreter know in order to successfully handle the interpretation of officially applying for legal papers in this interchange of messages?
- Are the underlying (hidden) meanings, e.g. of the Italian immigrant father's message: Digli che e un imbecile! (Tell him he's an idiot!), relevant for achieving the communication's overall goal and actual purpose?
- Who decides whether it is in the interest of achieving the communicative objective of the discourse if the daughter interpreter would render her father's message 'verbatim'?
- Are there factual or other reasons that motivate the interpreter to downtone her father's insult and can they be generalized as determining factors in Community Interpreting?

Even though we can assume that the daughter by her mediation effort avoided an imminent clash of actual interests which may have led to a possible breakdown of the communication, we so far have no 'intersubjectively verifiable criteria' [9] for answering the above questions – not just on an 'ad hoc' but on a systematic, more general level. The present dissertation endevors to shed some light on these questions.

In the search of such parameters, we will establish Community Interpreting as *Discourse Interpreting* in the following section by positioning it within the framework of Discourse Analysis and its essential parameter of (establishing) *coherence* in communication. Based on the influential ideas of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson on turn-taking in conversations with the requirements that "while

[9] For an explication of intersubjectively verifiable criteria in translation cf. Gerzymisch-Arbogast/Mudersbach (1998: 34).

understanding of other's turns of talk are displayed to co-participants, they are available as well to professional analysts, who are thereby provided a proof criterion (and a search procedure) for the analysis of what a turn's talk is occupied with. Since it is the parties' understanding of prior turns of talk that it's relevant to their construction of next turns, it is their understandings that are warranted for analysis" (1974: 728), Discourse Analysis provides a valid framework for the complexities in interpreted turns of talk within which the coherence of messages (here indicated by *theme-rheme* and *isotopy* considerations) can be investigated: "Turns can be resuming an 'old' or introducing a 'new' topic, contributing to or questioning an idea, changing the topic or tone or commenting to keep the conversation flowing" (*ibid.*: 728).

John Gumperz (1982) takes this idea further in his 'interactional sociolinguistics' and holds that participants in a conversation engage in an ongoing process of listening to assess the intentions of their interlocutor when formulating a response to accomplish their own interests and intentions, claiming that what a person means must be determined not only by what is said linguistically but also by knowledge of the expectations, social roles and world view of the listener, that is, by viewing discourse as an active communicative process of listening and speaking, Discourse Analysis offers suitable parameters for investigating the interpreter's role, especially because of involving cooperative "speakers/writers who have topics, presuppositions, and who assign information structure and make reference. It is hearers/readers who interpret and who draw inferences" (Brown/Yule 1983/2000: ix).

Discourse Analysis is therefore the theoretical framework for exploring and positioning the interpreter as a cooperative third party in this dissertation. This includes all its implications, i.e. assigning information (structure) and making (isotopic) references and inferences as required to achieve a shared communicative goal. Within the framework of Discourse Analysis, 'texts' are not considered 'as static objects, but as dynamic means of expressing **intended** meaning' (Brown/Yule 1983: 24, emphasis by Lihua Jiang). This yields another important parameter in interpreter-mediated discourse, i.e. intended or assumed meanings and meaning continuities (*coherence* and *isotopy*). The topic and isotopic dimensions of implicit meanings are here thought to produce sense continuity (*coherence*) in a sequence of utterances. Since hidden meanings are usually left to be discovered by the

Communicative Partners themselves in the *coherence* establishing process, in the communications where the Communicative Partners can not directly communicate with each other but need an interpreter in the process, the interpreter as a cooperative partner is co-responsible for establishing sense continuity by including assumptions and inferences of his/her own. In the interest of the communication's objective, it can therefore be regarded to fall within the interpreter's responsibility to use the means that he/she thinks are appropriate for assuring continuity of sense (*coherence*).

Within the framework of Discourse Analysis, we identify (static) parameters as (a) the *Communication Situation*, (b) the (cooperative) *Communicative Partners* and their potential clash of *Interests*, (c) their (overlapping*) Knowledge profiles* and any existing knowledge differential (as it is assumed by the interpreter) (d) parameters as they relate to the interpreter's efforts and (e) the triad's (shared) *Interest* in a successful outcome of the communication (according to the agreed purpose of the communication).

It is then logical to show the interaction of these static parameters in a dynamic communicative sequence involving the linguistic interpretation of (1) the interpreted message exchange of *Communicative Partners* A and B and (2) the *assumed filtering* of an original input message M in the interpreter's output reproduction as M' and (3) identifying the factors which may lead to variations of M' vis-à-vis M. The description of the interaction of these static and dynamic parameters will yield circumstances and criteria that will support the interpreter in determining his/her action latitude in an actual interpreter-mediated communication scenario. Before discussing these specific parameters, we will first present a description of efforts documented in the literature to find a conceptual framework for Community Interpreting with particular reference to the role controversy in Community Interpreting.

2 In Search for a Definition of Community Interpreting

2.1 Synonymic Variation and Unclear Concept

Due to its unclear position within the research field of interpreting (cf. Pöchhacker 1999, 2000), Community Interpreting has developed a great variety of denominations with different conceptual components and foci (for a discussion cf. Gile 1995, Pöchhacker 2004, Kalina 2002, Salevsky 1996, Hertog/Reunbrouck 1999, Hale 2007: 27-30 provides the most recent overview). The most popularly-used term for bidirectional, 'retour' interpreting today is Community Interpreting [10], which primarily refers to institutional communicative situations associated with immigrants' problems and often includes Court Interpreting (e.g. Mikkelson 1998). We refrain from using the traditional expression 'face-to-face' communication because Community Interpreting today also includes remote interpreting scenarios like telephone interpreting (cf. Lee 2007) where there is no face-to-face contact (for a discussion on dialog interpreting under VC-specific conditions cf. Braun 2007). The lack of consensus on its conceptual features has led to a variety of denominations which reflect the research deficits into the general phenomenon and its problems (cf. Hertog/Reunbrouck 1999: 268f). Some initial agreements have been reached on its difference from Conference Interpreting (e.g. Mikkelson 1996, Roberts 1997, Gentile 1997, Alexieva 1997/2002, Pöchhacker 2004, Hertog/Reunbrouck 1999, and most recently Hale 2007: 31-33) however, even this distinction has become blurred by its seemingly overlapping features with Consecutive Interpreting[11] (Kalina 2006: 255).

Community Interpreting's synonymous expressions seem to focus on a variety of conceptual aspects but lack the verbalization of a common conceptual core that integrates the various aspects into a general concept with distinctive features.[12] There have been several attempts at taxonomies of interpreting, e.g. Harris' taxonomic

[10] Pöchhacker/Kadric (1999: 125) offer an overview of the emergence of Community Interpreting cf. also Mikkelson (1996).

[11] Consecutive Interpreting: a mode of interpreting in which the interpreter listens to a speech segment for a few minutes or so, takes notes, and then delivers the whole segment in the target language; then the speaker resumes for a few minutes; the interpreter delivers the next segment, and the process continues until the end of the speech. Consecutive Interpreting, as a rule, is uni-directional.

[12] Hertog/Reunbrouck (1999: 268f) include bidirectionality and generally identify the linguistic problem which they attempt to solve by a number of charateristics on different theoretical and practical levels.

survey of professional interpreting (1990), Salevsky's survey of the 'variable components of Interpreting situations' (1993) and Alexieva's 'multi-parameter' approach (1997). Contrary to these conceptually heterogeneous taxonomic approaches, we will list and discuss the most-widely used English denominations for Community Interpreting from a semasiological point of view (cf. Gerzymisch-Arbogast/Jiang 2006) as they present themselves in the related literature:

'Dialogue interpreting'[13] verbalizes the aspect of dialog and refers to a dialogic setting without specifying whether this is courtroom, hospital, public service, business or diplomatic situations. It is used by e.g. Mason (2001).

'Liaison interpreting' verbalizes the link or contact between those (different groups of speakers) who do not speak the same language. In the literature, the term is used synonymously for 'delegate interpreting' (Kade 1967: 9) or 'escort interpreting' (Harris 1983: 5, Matyssek 1989: 7). The term does not explicitly verbalize a particular setting or communication scenario[14.] (although it is implied in Kade's and Matyssek's use of the term) which makes it possible to include a variation of settings, i.e. business and educational situations in that term (Gentile 1996: 1, Erasmus 2000).

'Court interpreting', 'public service interpreting', 'medical' or 'health care interpreting' as well as 'business interpreting' reflect the situation-related (institutional) aspect in which interpreter-mediated communication takes place with the aspects of 'back-and-forth' (bidirectional) interpreting implied in 'interpreting' (cf. Chapter 2 above sections).

The distinction of Community Interpreting makes it possible to also refer to the Simultaneous and Consecutive Interpreting modes within a particular domain setting and still differentiate them from the Conference Interpreting mode. For example, Conference Interpreting may also be researched within the court setting and framework as is shown in the Nuremburg Tribunal which is considered as the starting

[13] With respect to the emergence and development of this concept, it was previously treated as a synonym of liaison interpreting (van Hoof 1962: 64). The present view of "dialogue interpreting" in the literature is taken explicitly as a synonym of liaison interpreting and bidirectional interpreting, and its boundary with conference interpreting lies in its "dynamics of interpersonal interaction" rather than with content processing" (Pöchhacker 2004: 186). However, liaison interpreting is used in other different settings, for example, as a synonym of business interpreting (Roberts 1997).

[14] Gentile (1996:1) held that this denomination including various occasions such as business, legal, medical, educational settings.

point of Simultaneous Interpreting. Also, medical interpreting can be extended to cover Simultaneous Interpretation in the medical domain.

'Ad hoc interpreting', from a semasiological point of view, focuses on the spontaneous, i.e. 'ad hoc' aspect, implying a face-to-face situation (distinguishing it from note-taking in Consecutive Interpreting) without mentioning the aspect of setting. In the literature, this type of interpreting is prominently represented today by the works of Bührig/Meyer within the Special Research Project of Multilingualism (Sonderforschungsbereich 'Mehrsprachigkeit') at Hamburg University and is often related to 'non-professional' or 'untrained' interpreting services rendered by whoever is immediately available to interpret, such as medical hospital staff, family members (including children) or even other patients (cf. Bührig/Meyer 2004).

'Telephone interpreting', 'TV interpreting' and 'media interpreting' verbalize the aspect of the medium of communication with electro-acoustic and audiovisual transmission systems employed (Pöchhacker 2004: 21, for an overview in relation of remote interpreting cf. Braun 2008).

'Sign language interpreting' implies a change of semiotic systems[15] and relates to interpreting from or into a sign language (for a recent overview cf. Moody 2007).

All of the above-described denominations, explicitly or implicitly, include two essential components of Community Interpreting:

(1) Bidirectionality

This means that the interpretation is rendered 'between languages' from a native language to a foreign language back and forth, with a high degree of competence required from the interpreter in terms of at least two languages and cultures. Bidirectionality also means that the messages of the communicative partners are filtered by the interpreter who is then co-responsible for making sense of a message in one language, culture and context and reproducing that sense in the target language, culture and (domain) context. Bidirectionality therefore implies the identification and reproduction of (hidden) meaning dimensions in the messages of the communicative partners by the interpreter and thus also implies the establishment

[15] Sign Language Interpreting is defined by Pöchhacker (2004: 18) as interpreting from or into a sign language (such as American sign language, British sign language, French sign language), i.e., a signed language which serves as the native language for the deaf as a group with its own cultural identity and the use of other signed codes, often based on spoken and written languages.

of coherence by the interpreter in the flow of original and interpreted messages in a bi-lingual, bi-cultural discourse of varying (domain-specific) actual settings and contexts.

(2) Communicative discourse

The bidirectional discourse situation (in contrast to the mono-directional conference interpreting situation) implies that the communicative partners – including the interpreter – cooperate in terms of having agreed on a shared objective for the communication, which in turn implies that the communicative situation with its partners, topics and conventions are transparent to all partners. Successful discourse therefore presupposes the acceptance of Grice's cooperative principle (1975) by the participants of the discourse, including the interpreter as a third party. The interpreter is therefore co-responsible for establishing coherence in the interest of attaining the communicative objective in all types of interpreter-mediated discourse. This applies to everyday as well as specialized (institutional) discourse.

There is an agreement in the literature that the community interpreter is required to be competent in the relevant domain knowledge which is often equated with terminological knowledge but has recently been extended to cover whole knowledge systems (Will 2009) and also includes domain-specific norms, e.g. in legal discourse (Foley 2006) or psychoanalytic procedural knowledge (Opraus 2003, Nuc 2006). But the traditional controversy with respect to the degree of action latitude that an interpreter has in an individual scenario is still unresolved within the two extremes of 'verbatim', remaining 'neutral' 'invisible", a "non-person" (Goffman 1981) or actively managing the communication in the way of acting as a cultural mediator, rendering services of 'advocacy' or 'cultural brokering' or "conciliation" (Merlini/Favaron 2003: 212) as was discussed in the previous Chapter. In addition, while there is agreement that linguistic, cultural and domain-specific knowledge and the interpreter's communicative competence referred to as "people skills" (Bowen 2000: 234) or as "discourse management skills" (Pöchhacker 2004: 187) are considered indispensable skills within the discourse analysis framework, it is still unclear which specific knowledge to which degree of specialization is required for which setting and how discourse management skills relate to or interrelate with other necessary skills. While it is certainly true that the 'Code of Conduct' established in a number of immigrant countries such as the USA, Australia and Sweden supports the

interpreter by specifying the rules of conduct on a collective basis, in an actual situation the individual interpreter is often at a loss as to how active or involved he/she should become (Mikkelson 2000).

Within the Community Interpreting literature there has been a trend to highlight its 'involvement' and 'interaction' components (e.g. Wadensjö 1998) in contrast to the more traditional 'neutrality' requirement in Conference Interpreting (e.g. Gentile et al. 1996, Opraus 2003, Napier 2004, Pöllabauer 2004, Foley 2006). Within the framework of Discourse Analysis (e.g. Roy 2000 and others) heterogeneous rosters of categories have been used to describe the phenomenon (e.g. Ullyatt 1999: 27ff, for an overview cf. Obermayer 2006: 42ff) without, however, systematizing a mix of parameters and their interplay.

2.2 On the Way to Establishing Community Interpreting Parameters

The literature on factors that influence the Community Interpreting process is extensive. The most detailed descriptions relate Community Interpreting to the communicative situation in which it takes place, the (cultural) knowledge and interpersonal differentials of the communicative partners which the interpreter has to balance, and a classification of target message variations. Little has been documented on the interpreter's problems of identifying and handling shifts of *Focus of Attention*, balancing assumed meanings and establishing continuity of (assumed) meanings. And virtually no literature exists on how different parameters interrelate in achieving varying target messages. This is the problem which the present study deals with. Before suggesting a mix of relevant parameters and their interplay in the Community Interpreting process, we will briefly describe the factors that have been identified by relevant authors to influence the Community Interpreting process, i.e. the communicative situation, the communicative partners' knowledge requirements and the potential meaning differentials in arriving at varying target messages. This study will here concentrate on the most related authors and descriptions with the communicative situation being the most extensively-described parameter in the existing literature.

2.2.1 The Communicative Situation

Among the situation factors documented in the literature which have an influence on the interpreter's role and performance are:

- the spatial arrangement and physical environment, which may determine the degree of formality and the mode of interpretation (e.g. Gentile 1996, Fenton 1997, Alexieva 1997/2002, Angelelli 2000, Roy 2000);
- the institutional setting and procedural norms, which may conflict with the interpreter's request for accuracy and neutrality (e.g. in legal settings) (e.g. Fowler 1997, Mikkelson 2000, Hale 2004, Pöllabauer 2004, Sauerwein 2006);
- on-site vs remote interpreting scenarios, which may result in problematic close-distant relationships for the communicative partners and the interpreter (e.g. Wadensjö 1998).

Gentile (1996: 18) considers the "spatial arrangement … important for the effective and efficient performance of the Community Interpreting function" in that a triangular arrangement of seating in an ideal pattern would be that all three parties can keep eye-contact with each other and the interpreter taking a position which avoids either client to infer or suspect that the interpreter is taking sides:

> "The physical environments can vary greatly and they play an important role in effective interpreting. The interpreter must be able to adapt, concentrate and work at a satisfactory level. If the environment is such as to affect satisfactory performance, the interpreter will have to make a request for a change of location or time".
> (Gentile 1996: 19)

When describing the variety of environments in business settings ranging from the factory floor to an aircraft, from a plant to a restaurant, Gentile (*ibid.*:117) points out that the interpreter accompanying a visiting party may need to use Chuchotage[16] which will encourage other members of the party to seek from the interpreter of the

[16] Chuchotage or whispered interpreting is a form of whispered Simultaneous Interpreting for which no interpreting equipment is required: the interpreter, who is positioned right next to the listener, simply whispers to the listener what the speaker is saying. Chuchotage is used when, on account of there being only one or two users of a specific language involved, Consecutive Interpreting is impractical and the use of Simultaneous Interpreting equipment is uneconomical.

information they have missed at a later time and which requires the community interpreter to perform various tasks depending on a change of time and places.

Fenton (1997: 31-33) describes the specific legal scenarios in which the interpreters are being sworn in to interpret 'to the best of their ability' 'as accurately as possible'. Even though the interpreters are not supposed to make their presence felt, the fulfillment of their job requires them to step forward at times, interrupt the flow of the proceedings or seek and offer clarifications. Fenton mentions that lawyers in the courtroom claim authority and control of the situation by their questioning function. When relayed through an interpreter, "lawyers often fear on the one hand that the impact of their chosen linguistic tactics might be lessened by what the law sees as the interpreter's role, and on the other hand that some of their authority as the ones who asks the questions diminishes and shifts to the interpreter" *(ibid.*: 32*).*

Alexieva (1997/2002: 228) discusses the communicative situation as potential "spatial and temporal constraints" and contends that in Community Interpreting events the setting of an interpreter-mediated event is important in terms of whether the "space in which the event takes place is reserved for the primary and secondary participants alone (as in Community Interpreting in health care institutions) or shared by other people (as in media events and press conferences)" (*ibid.*: 229).

Angelelli (2000) introduces aspects of Hyme's theory of communication and analysis of communicative events[17] to reflect on the difference between Conference Interpreting and Community Interpreting and holds that "the physical circumstances of the speech event (such as time and space) are not equally evident to the three interlocutors… If we place health interpreters in a continuum of familiarity with the setting, and if the healthcare provider is at the familiar extreme and patient at the unfamiliar one, the hospital interpreter is closer to the healthcare provider's end" (Angelelli 2004b: 35).

[17] Hymes (1974: 5) expands the scope of linguistics to ethnography of communication that study "communicative form and function in integral relation to each other". He suggests a taxonomy of speaking, whose natural unit of analysis is the "speech community", which is "a social, rather than a linguistic entity" (1974: 47). Hymes analyzes a communicative event by the following categories: message form, message content, setting, scene, participants, purposes-outcomes, purposes-goals, key, channels, forms of speech, norms of interaction, norms of interpretation, genres.

In Roy's wording, the communicative situation is considered to be the "context" or "the meeting scene" (2000: 53) which is significant to understand the sign language interpreter's turn-taking actions. Her recorded interpreter-mediated conversation took place "on a fall morning thirty minutes before a scheduled class at the university" and the deaf student "had come to a prearranged meeting thirty minutes before class was to begin" which implies that the time is short and the meeting has to be conducted as quickly as possible within thirty minutes, yet as thoroughly as possible for the student to fully understand the requirements of the class.

The high linguistic, cultural and interpreting skills that are necessary requirements in a legal interpreter are often underestimated and undervalued by the law. The effect that an interpreter can have on proceedings or the outcome of a court case is often ignored or at least not fully understood. Fowler (1997: 194) thinks that it is important to distinguish the courtroom setting from natural conversational settings in that; the participants in court proceedings are limited and pre-determined, turn order is fixed and the type of turn is also fixed. The constraints of court proceedings may thus cause speaker phenomena such as hesitations, silences and interruptions.

Mikkelson (2000: 22) points out that in a bilingual courtroom, the interpreter in the different phases of litigation is "a function of the legal system prevailing in the country in question and of specific laws and regulations governing interpreted proceedings". Thus, as a court interpreter, it is essential to know how cases are processed and whether criminal or civil law applies.

> Generally, in a civil suit, the basic question are (1) how much, if at all, has defendant injured plaintiff, and (2) what remedy or remedies, if any, are appropriate to compensate plaintiff for his loss. In a criminal case, on the other hand, the questions are (1) to what extent, if at all, has defendant injured society, and (2) what sentence, if any, is necessary to punish defendant for his transgressions.
> Loewy (1987: 1) cited by Mikkelson (2000: 34)

Mikkelson (2000: 34-44) distinguishes different phases in criminal procedure (in the USA) and civil procedure which the interpreter needs to be familiar with and adapt to.

Hale (2004: 31-33) points out that in Australia as a common law country, most

of its state courts operate under an adversarial system in which two opposing parties 'fight' for their own case and present a version of facts that will be challenged by the other party. As a consequence, courtroom questions are normally not only asked to elicit new information, but to elicit information that can help create a convincing case in an examination-in-chief and/or that can discredit the other side's case in cross-examination (a fact which, for example, becomes relevant in our analysis in Chapter 6). The rules of evidence stipulate who can speak, at what time and in what manner. Thus, there exists an unequal relationship between the questioner (counsel) with the institutional authority to ask questions and control the flow of information and the answerer (witness) only permitted to answer relevantly in restricted ways, a fact which may influence the interpreter's rendering of 'accurate' exchanges.

Pöllabauer (2004: 146-147) stresses institutional norms in asylum interviews which may influence the interpreters' actions. The representatives of the institution have the authority to declare their assessment of 'relevant' facts as the 'truth'. The asylum-seekers' accounts must be based on their own individual experience and related orally, as submission of the facts in writing is not permissible. Their accounts are transformed into a written record by the officers and are then addressed to people not present during the interview. Despite the back-translation of the record, the asylum-seekers do not know exactly who will read it nor how their stories will be judged. Asylum-seekers do not have the chance to directly assess and control the interpretation unless the officers or interpreters comment on statements or clarify misunderstandings. In this unequal and asymmetrical interaction situation, Pöllabauer (2004: 147-148) thinks that the interpreters assume a central role in which "they may thwart the officer's psychological strategies and interrogation tactics". This is also a factor in our analysis in Chapter 6.

Wadensjö (1998) maintains that "global aspects of interaction" appearing within a particular type of setting (e.g. a police interrogation, a hospital visit) tend to bring with them a corresponding demand on the interpreter:

> "The dynamics of interaction will largely depend on the socio-cultural conventions associated with the type of situation (in institutional terms) in which the interpreting occurs, and on participants' respective understanding of what it means to speak via an interpreter. These *global* aspects of interaction comprise a multitude of circumstances. The presence and the use of artefacts, such as protocols and syringes, when focused upon interaction and used in certain ways, help establishing the transformation of the situation into, for instance, a police interrogation or a doctor-patient encounter. Wadensjö (1998: 154)

In examining interpreter-mediated psychotherapy sessions, Wadensjö (1999) takes up the proxemics perspective in which patients, prompted by therapists, recount traumatic events from their recent past. In this highly sensitive environment, the interpreter is subject to a great deal of stress, but Wadensjö finds out that something as apparently simple as seating arrangements may have considerable impact on the experience of the participants and on the outcome of the exchange. Specifically, the inclusion of the interpreter within a shared 'communicative radius' (i.e. opportunities for eye-contact, shared sight-lines) with the other participants appears to have a positive effect on the quality of the experience for all interlocutors.

2.2.2 The Communicative Partners

In the following sections, a brief discussion is given of how the communicative partners including the interpreter are described by representative authors on Community Interpreting relative to their knowledge which gives evidence of a very heterogeneous picture of the types of knowledge that are considered relevant for Community Interpreting and the kind of knowledge, encompassing factual, relatively stable linguistic, cultural and institutional knowledge as well as knowledge about the assumed shifts in the ad hoc understanding of meanings. The following account is again in chronological order of authors – irrespective of the setting they refer to – to complement our systematizations in Chapter 4 and 5.

2.2.2.1 (Shared) Knowledge Requirements and Perspectives

In Community Interpreting scenarios, the communicative partners exchange utterances from their own understanding and perception of the others' world knowledge in terms of their declarative and procedural knowledge which we will later refer to as *'knowledge profiles'* and their requested overlap in communication.

As a speaker formulates his/her utterance based on his/her own assumptions, perspectives and preoccupations it is important for the interpreter to be aware that what he/she understands as the speakers' messages relies to a great extent on what the interpreter assumes to be the meaning. As a result, he/she is able to identify potential deficits existing between the assumed and actual meanings against the (shared) knowledge profiles and perspectives of the communicative partners and to balance any existing knowledge differential (cf. Chapter 5).

When talking about cultural factors in "liaison" interpreting, Gentile (1996: 19-21) describes them on at least three levels:

- cultural inheritance,
- life experience and
- relative status.

What he means by "cultural inheritance" is that people who require the services of an interpreter belong by definition to different cultures as they grow up in different environments with different views of the world, which in turn influences their beliefs, values and behaviors:

> Cultural knowledge is required for efficient and speedy understanding of the messages being conveyed, and to anticipate any possible sources of misunderstanding in the total exchange. The interpreter must be conversant with the elements which characterize and govern behavior in both the cultures, and well aware of the risk of falling into facile generalizations about individuals. These differences need to be properly addressed at the level of the interview so that any misunderstanding, embarrassment or even offence can be avoided.
> Gentile (1996: 20)

Gentile concludes that "cultural aspects play a decisive role in the performance of the interpreting function. The cultural dimension is intertwined and often inseparable from questions of interpreting technique; this is especially evident in the interpreter's preparation for an assignment" (Gentile 1996: 21).

In Tebble's (1996) research into tenor in medical interpreting, she introduces Halliday's description of "grammatical mood"[18] to investigate the language issues in interpreted medical consultations. She uses several examples to show that during the examination the doctor is clearly in charge and verbally expresses this by using e.g. imperative verbs. However, as the modulation is not always translated by the interpreter, the subtle nuances of politeness and consideration implied in the linguistic expression is often not revealed to the patient.

Alexieva (1997/2002: 224-225) discusses this issue within the "command of language", which "concerns the degree of the speaker's command of the source language and the addressee's command of the target language and the familiarity of both participants with the two cultures". There are also cases that the source language is not the mother tongue of the speaker; as a result, the speaker's first language and culture may affect his/her performance. For example, non-native speakers may use literal translations of metaphoric expressions known in their culture which do not make any sense or mean something quite different in the target language. She also mentions that a speaker's command of the target language lends him/her the advantage of hearing each utterance twice as well as more time to plan his/her next move in the conversation. The issue of the participants' institutional knowledge is discussed as a component of 'the status of participants' within 'the power relationship', which derives "mostly from the social status of the primary participants institutionwise (their institutional affiliation and position within the hierarchy) and expertise (their prestige as authorities on the issues discussed)" (*ibid.:* 225). If primary speakers enjoy equal status, equilibrium and solidarity is likely to pertain. If not, varying degrees of tension may result from a mismatch of interests. The discussion is of particular relevance to the present study's *'interest filter'* (cf. Chapter 5.4.6).

By direct observation of court proceedings, Fowler (1997) discovered a wide range of language registers used by lawyers, magistrates and court clerks besides the courtroom's rule-governed procedural language and its authority-permeated relationships. Using O'Barr's categorization of main types of spoken legal language:

[18] Grammatical mood as described by Halliday (1967: 199) "represents the organization of participants in speech situations, providing options in the form of speaker roles".

formal, Standard English, Colloquial English and subcultural varieties (O'Barr 1982 cited by Fowler 1997: 192), Fowler points out along with Atkinson and Drew (1979) that "interpreters must be able to alternate easily and fluently amongst these different styles of English".

> "These different types may range from the selection and swearing-in of jurors, the prosecution opening speech, the defense case outline, closing speeches, examination and cross-examination of witnesses, defendants and answer sequences. Each talk-type will be characterized by a particular lexis, style, and grammatical structure"
> (Atkinson and Drew 1979: 35 quoted by Fowler 1997: 194)

Wadensjö (1998: 199) maintains that to interact in a conversation means to step out of one's own frame of mind into that of others. Interlocutors' failure or unwillingness to take the other's perspective – and to acknowledge the possible existence of divergent opinions or attitudes – challenges reciprocity and mutuality and ultimately results in miscommunication. She also points out that "regardless of people's preparedness and ability to take others' viewpoints while communicating, an unconscious bias is constitutive for social interaction" (*ibid.:* 201). As a speaker, one can not reflect all the contextual conditions, preconditions, connections, etc. which shape a particular utterance. Thus, interlocutors have to rely on each other's sincerity in communicating what they offer 'bona fide'. She quotes Linell's description of the dialogic nature of miscommunication events to show the result caused by different assumptions or perspectives of different interlocutors' knowledge profiles. As described by Linell (1995: 207 quoted by Wadensjö 1998: 202), speakers tend to relate interlocutors' displayed understanding to their own self-perceived intent and, in cases of misfit, perhaps blame the other for misunderstandings but do not see their own part in them. While analyzing miscommunication events, Wadensjö (1998: 203) states that the possible 'trouble sources' in interpreter-mediated encounters may occur as a result of factors tied, on the one hand, to participants' expectations and knowledge concerning the institutional encounter in which the talk occurs (patient-doctor consultation, police interrogation, etc.), and on the other hand, factors tied to the assumptions and beliefs as regards interpreted conversation.

Wadensjö (1998) claims that the discrepancy in cultural knowledge between the primary communicative partners plays an important role in the performance of the

interpreter. Often interlocutors have a feeling of uncertainty about what has been achieved due to cultural factors such as lack of knowledge, misunderstanding and conflict of expectations on either side. In addition, an interpreter can sometimes see that "the primary interlocutors have different norms or attitudes, and suspect that shared and mutual knowledge about these differences could cause disturbance in interaction. Not letting information about this surface is then a way to avoid provocation, and, in consequence, to simplify the interpreter's own control over ongoing talk" (1998: 133). Wadensjö (1998: 233) states that Community Interpreting appears in encounters between people with various language backgrounds, the achievement of shared and mutual understanding is bound to be obstructed at times by interlocutors' varying proficiency in the currently used language. If the interlocutors share a large amount of knowledge, their differing views of the surrounding world, including the current exchange, can pass quite unnoticed. Lack of sharedness as regards language, culture and implicit norms of interacting – for instance, various understandings of the significance of overlap – could here constitute 'trouble sources'.

Roy (2000: 45) holds that one of the primary speakers in Community Interpreting usually enjoys a greater status or authority by virtue of real or perceived status of the authority invested in a role or by the participant's belonging to the majority culture. The other participant is typically a member of a linguistic, ethnic or cultural minority. For these reasons, the goals of communication may be multiply seen differently by each participant. In her analysis, Roy demonstrates that many of the interlocutors' motivations for speaking or taking a turn center around their expectations or obligations. In this regard, their social roles define their purposes for communication and constitute how they will interact and how their meanings are represented in talk. We will here clearly postulate that the general goal of the communication and the specific actual discourse purpose be made clear before the event and agreed upon by all the participants of the communication, including the interpreter (cf. Chapter 5).

With respect to the importance of cultural knowledge, Roy (2000: 99) holds that primary speakers can not know possible transition moments in other languages, nor can they know how turns end, for example. They participate only in their own language. It is thus claimed that two turn-taking systems are operating independently

of each other while yet another system, a discourse exchange system, is controlled by an interpreter. Interpreters therefore are participating in creating coherent utterances and turns. They act on understandings and expectations of the way social scenes emerge in interaction, as well as on the social and cultural knowledge of the "ways of speaking" (= norms) within particular situations.

While addressing the issue of court interpreter's interruptions in the court proceedings, Hale (2001) points out that in the courtroom, the powerful participants (counsel, magistrate or judge) take on the institutional role of questioner and thus are able to exert their linguistic control of the flow of information. The witnesses as powerless participants are not allowed to ask questions, introduce topics or refuse to answer questions. In her data, she finds out that there is a power struggle between counsel and witness to maintain, regain or obtain power via their use of discourse.

In the other important domain of Community Interpreting, i.e. in healthcare institutions, Rosenberg (2001: 12-13) quotes Holmes' (1996) study of monolingual medical communication to describe the very nature of doctor-patient interaction. In Holmes' studies, she talks about "contextual categories" which describe the pre-existing conditions that the physicians and the patients brought to the interactions. Among those, the category of "demographics of the patient" including age, gender, education and family income is of great importance. The finding is that the educational level, occupation and family income are more likely to contribute to the effectiveness of the speaker in his or her capacity as a patient. The relationship between the physician and the patient is considered by Holmes to be important in rendering a conversation more balanced and the competency of the physician also influences patient satisfaction.

Angelelli shows in her visualized model of the interpreter's role (2004b: 9) that each party to the interpreted communicative events brings to the encounter their own social factors (face, ethnicity, age, gender, socio-economic status), adding to the complexity of the interaction. She describes (Angelelli 2004b: 35-36) that in interpreted communicative events in hospital settings, the hospital interpreter becomes the speaker and the listener embedded in a dialog with the patient and healthcare provider as alternating listeners and speakers respectively. Angelelli finds that hospital interpreters become speakers even more often than healthcare providers while brokering communication between the two monolingual parties, especially

when engaged in the explanation of technical terms or cultural adaptations. Thus, Community Interpreting is a highly sophisticated process that involves the juggling of social factors plus the information processing between language and cultures, performed under pressure. In this regard, the knowledge shared between the communicative partners plays an important role for the interpreter's action adjustment and effective communication control as well. Angelelli (2004b: 16-18) also shows that physicians are expected to provide this information in a manner that is useful to the patient and easy to understand. When doctors do not speak the same language as their patients, this responsibility is then shared with the interpreter. Angelelli (2004b: 19-20) holds that cultural differences can have important clinical consequences in the patient-physician relationship because a patient's health beliefs and practices arise from a combination of normative cultural values with personal experience and individual perceptions. Language-linked cultural norms may apply to broad categories of patients, including those identified by their ethnicity, gender, age cohort, sexual orientation, or religious beliefs and it is of great importance that a physician recognizes and responds appropriately to a patient's normative cultural values. Failure to do so may result in a variety of adverse clinical consequences. For example, patients of different ethnic backgrounds vary in their preferences about how to perceive news, especially bad news. Some cultures believe that even articulating bad news may be associated with adverse consequences. Other patients prefer to receive all available information about their disease and treatment options. Such cross-cultural differences in patients' preferences need to be openly addressed and made transparent before an interpreting assignment.

In asylum hearings, Pöllabauer (2006: 152) states that interpreters are confronted with speakers whose knowledge of the social and cultural conventions of the host country may be non-existent or very different. There are always gaping disparities in the educational levels, institutional patterns and socio-cultural backgrounds of the interactants. The highly asymmetrical power relations make refugees and asylum seekers feel very insecure. As the disparity between the primary participants is a distinguishing feature of asylum hearings, interpreters must constantly seek to establish and maintain a balance between the primary speakers. Sometimes this discrepancy also leads to role conflicts and moral dilemmas in addition to the problem of loyalty and cooperation between the primary interactants. Pöllabauer

(2007: 40) also points out that asylum hearings are highly asymmetrical interactive situations: the asylum-seekers' basic linguistic resources, acquired in their home countries, do not necessarily prove to be useful in the host country's institutional settings. The participants' socio-cultural and institutional background knowledge also differs considerably. This asymmetrical distribution of linguistic resources repeats itself in the structuring of the discourse and the arrangement of turn-taking. Asylum-seekers are required to provide logical, (chronologically) coherent, and 'true' statements. The officers, in their function as institutional representatives, control turn-taking and have the exclusive right to initiate questions and decide whether the asylum-seekers' answers are adequate for the purpose of the hearing.

2.2.2.2 The Interpreter's (Shared) Knowledge Profile

In the following, we will look at how the question of the interpreter's knowledge vis-à-vis the shared knowledge of the primary speakers is treated in the Community Interpreting literature.

Berk-Seligson (1990: 2) addresses the problem of active vs passive voice across languages and cultures and claims that "professional interpreters overwhelmingly view vocabulary as their number one linguistic problem". She illustrates in her bilingual courtroom recordings that due to the great difference in language usage between English and Spanish "verb constructions uttered in syntactically passive form, without mention of agents, are frequently rendered in active form, sometimes naming agents, in their interpretation" (1990: 97). These grammatico-semantic shifts can therefore be seen as "discourse strategies to place actors in the foreground or background of the activity being described and to highlight the responsibility of others who are present" *(ibid)*. By describing "blame attribution" and "blame avoidance" in court interpreting, Berk-Seligson demonstrates that "nonactive verb forms – specifically, the dative of interest and the reflexive passive – are used by speakers/hearers to avoid contributing responsibility to agents for adverse events" (1990: 99). In terms of grammatical intricacy and differences, all speakers including the interpreter in the courtroom have several alternative constructions available to them and each choice of a particular construction influences the interpreting event: "interpreters are unconsciously aware of the implications involved in the use of

active and passive grammatical forms, and manipulate these forms for a variety of psychological reasons" (Berk-Seligson 1990: 118).

Gentile (1996: 34) also considers the question of language an important indicator to a Community Interpreter's role and states that the way in which the interpreter delivers the message is as important as the message itself. Rate of delivery, manner of delivery and capacity to inspire confidence are usually described as the interpreter's language and communicative competence. Being different from conference interpreters, liaison interpreters "operate not from a number of languages into their 'mother tongue' (or into the language in which they received the bulk of their education) but both into and out of their mother tongue (A) language and their second (B) language (the classification also extends to C languages)" (Gentile 1996: 38). However, as primary speakers are not aware of the intricacies of the classification of the nature of language and expect the same level of performance in both directions, difficulties may occur in the transfer of a message from one language to another. He (1996: 62-63) also notes that an interview taking place in an institutional setting may cause tension between the institutional ethics of that setting and the ethics of interpreting. In different institutional settings, the relationship with clients may demand quite different approaches. In legal settings, the adversarial system requires interpreters to avoid contact with any witness. However, hospital interpreters always spend time with clients, familiarize themselves with the case, and sometimes – as part of a hospital organization – also attend case conferences or physically guide the patient around a hospital. In the health care institutions, the patient's care is the first priority for all health workers. Thus, in each institutional setting the interpreter will need to be aware of the relevant institutional background knowledge to prepare him/her adequately for the interpreting job.

Hale (1997) shows in her study that interpreters are so preoccupied with rendering all the information, that they disregard linguistic subtleties, or worse, feel annoyed at the treatment afforded the witness and interfere to ensure the answer is understood correctly (cf. the more explicit and direct handling of the questions by the interpreter in the analysis in Chapter 6). The following example from her study can help to illustrate this point clearly: (Sol =Solicitor, Wit=Witness, Int=Interpreter)

> Sol.- Had you turned, had you turned and looked at him, had you?
>
> Int.- *¿usted se había dado vuelta y lo haía visto?*
>
> Had you turned around and seen him?
>
> Wit.- No.
>
> Int.- No.
>
> Sol.- Then how do you know he was running?
>
> Int.- *¿Cómo sabía usted que estaba corrierndo?*
>
> How did you know he was running?
>
> Wit.- Because my husband told me he was there so I turned around to see
>
> Int.- *Porque mi esposo me dijo que ėl ahí estaba entonces yo volteė a ver.*
>
> Because my husband told me he's there and then I turned around and saw him.
>
> Sol.- So your husband told you, is that right?
>
> Int.- Sorry, "My husband told me he was there and then I turned around and saw him" was the answer.
>
> Sol.- So, because your husband told you that he was running, then you assumed that he in fact was running, is that right?
>
> Hale (1997: 204)

In this excerpt, the interpreter did not realize that the solicitor was using a typical cross examination question, a declarative plus tag, to maintain control and to try to lead the witness into giving an unfavorable answer. She ignored the solicitor's second question and then (reportedly in a tone of voice that depicted annoyance), she reinforced the answer by repeating what the witness had said instead of interpreting the court's question. The interpreter's unawareness of the hidden dimensions of the questioning strategies of the court had led the interpreter to act in a way that obstructed the solicitor's questioning technique. In her later research into the discourse of court interpreting, Hale (2004: 213-214) investigates the language issues in terms of a ranking of the most difficult problem about interpreting accurately: 'legal terms', 'formal language', 'witness's colloquium language' or 'witness's incoherent language' and finds out that the witness's incoherent language is the main source of difficulty for the interpreter. As a result, interpreters in the courtroom tend to clarify, disambiguate and polish the witnesses' original answers, she concludes.

Regarding the interpreter's knowledge competence, Wadensjö points out that "how interpreters cope with their job is dependent on their command of the working languages, their knowledge about subject matters, their cognitive competence, their form of the day, their experience and training: but it also depends on their co-actors' interactive styles, expectations and goals" (Wadensjö 1998: 150). She (1998: 154)

notes that the dynamics of interpreter-mediated encounters are dependent on the interpreters and the other interlocutors, on their respective background knowledge, linguistic competence, overall aims, and their wish to communicate and on the socio-cultural conventions associated with the type of situation (in institutional terms) in which the interpreting occurs, as well as on the participants' respective understanding of what it means to speak via an interpreter. Wadensjö further (1998: 133) contends that an interpreter can sometimes see that the primary interlocutors have different norms or attitudes, and thinks that shared and mutual knowledge about these differences could cause disturbances in interaction. Not letting such information come to the surface is then a way to avoid provocation, and, in consequence, to simplify the interpreter's own control over the ongoing talk. In 'protecting' interaction from potential 'disturbance', an interpreter also 'protects' the counterparts from learning about what the others expects or takes for granted. It may make a difference whether the primary interlocutors' respective views of the interpreter's role coincide or differ: for instance, if one or both interlocutor(s) see the interpreter as linked to their counterpart, or see him/her as their own ally or if people involved in the interaction regard the interpreter as someone associated with neither side.

Roy (2000: 99) claims that interpreters need a good knowledge about the whole interpreting process in order to create turn exchanges through their knowledge of the linguistic system, conventions for language use, the social situation, and the discourse structure system. Experienced interpreters, then, are competent bilinguals (or multilinguals) who possess knowledge of two (or more) languages and also knowledge of social situations, "ways of speaking", and strategies of managing communication. Contrary to common beliefs, interpreters are actively involved in interpreting conventions for language use and in creating turn exchanges through their knowledge of discourse systems and social practices, and the way these systems interrelate to create meaning. (cf. Roy 2000: 123).

Meyer (2001: 89-91) proceeds from the functional pragmatics theory of Ehlich and Rehbein (1994) to investigate the interpreter's use of medical terms in the bilingual hospital. According to Ehlich (1991/1996), the propositional content of utterances is composed of speech actions, which are considered to be smaller than Searle's speech acts. He calls them 'appellative procedures' (translated by the author

from the German original of *nennende Prozeduren)* (Meyer 2004: 73), which are speech actions carried out by means of lexical aspects of nouns, verbs or adjectives (Grießhaber and Rehbein 1992). Meyer describes that in bilingual hospitals, the nurses who serve as interpreters at their workplaces have knowledge about the medical issues being discussed. However, since they have acquired their professional and linguistic skills in German and not in their mother tongue, they may be able to talk about medical issues in German, but not necessarily in other languages. Meyer's analysis of authentic data has shown that the interpreter's rendition of medical terms is not just a problem of knowing the correct terminology but is rather influenced by the particular speech act and situation. The pre-existing action systems and the organization of the source discourse all play an important role. That explains why untrained Community Interpreters may use common language instead of professional terms or may introduce professional knowledge to explain simple words.

When talking about knowledge within the legal system, Hale's (2004) survey results on interpreters' knowledge of the legal system and norms show that many court interpreters were not aware of legal procedures or their roles as interpreters which included the interpreter's belief that the purpose of cross-examination was to "clarify points that were raised in examination-in-chief", to "prove the case for the defendant beyond any reasonable doubt" and/or to "reinforce the veracity of the witness"(*ibid.*: 213). These obvious misunderstandings were considered by Hale to lead to frustration in the interpreter when the counsel resorts to language strategies to discredit the witness's testimony (cf. also the 'hidden' strategy of the court to discredit the testimony of the accused in Chapter 6). In such cases language is used strategically to elicit specific information and maintain control of the dialog or make certain implications.

Pöllabauer (2004: 171) shows that in asylum hearings interpreters are faced with a variety of dialects and registers which may hamper communication. In her corpus, the interpreters did not always understand the asylum-seekers' answers and had to ask for clarification. By the same token, some asylum-seekers do not always understand the register and expressions used by the interpreters. When interpreting the asylum-seekers' statements, the interpreters generally explain or reword certain terms in a simpler manner. However, "simple" explanations do not always produce better understanding. In her recordings of asylum hearings at the Federal Asylum

hearing Office in Graz, neither the asylum-seekers nor the interpreters speak English as a mother tongue, which raises the potential for misunderstandings (B1 refers to officer 1, D2 refers to interpreter 2, and AW refers to asylum seeker).

689: B1 [*Weshalb nicht?*
Why not?
D2 [Why not? You said there was no possibility to get
690: AW[They say they have curfew
D2 [there at that time. Why not?
691: B1[Coffee
AW[there. They say they have curfew. Yes.
D2 [Pardon? Coffee?
692: B1[to drink?. What do you mean by coffee
AW[Hä?

Pöllabauer (2004: 173)

In the above excerpt, the asylum-seeker was asked to explain why he fled to Austria rather than seeking protection in some other part of Nigeria where there were no religious conflicts. In line 681 (which is not included in the example above), he explains that this was not possible, as a curfew had been imposed. The interpreter apparently did not understand and asks the asylum-seeker to affirm his question with "yes" in line 691. The officer seems to realize that some sort of misunderstanding has occurred. He then switches to English and asks for clarification ("Coffee to drink?"), which evidently appears to confuse the asylum-seeker as he answers ("Hä?").

As the above examples have clearly shown, if there is a knowledge deficit between the primary speakers and the interpreter – be it linguistic, cultural or domain-and/or situation-specific – the interpreter will have to make extra efforts to balance the potential unevenness in the communication process. Usually in Community Interpreting, one of the languages used in the communication enjoys more power and authority and the other is the language of a minority group. In most cases, the interpreter is likely to belong to the same ethnic group as the primary speaker from the minority group. There is then pressure on the interpreters to display some allegiance to their in-group, which is a much-discussed topic in the literature (e.g. Lotriet 2000: 261-271). At the same time, however, they may or may not feel they should help to achieve the institutional aims and instead follow principles of morale and justice. Thus, they may be pulled both ways, even within one exchange.

In this regard, the primary communicative partners make certain assumptions about the interpreter with one side appealing for more identification with the interpreter and the other viewing the interpreter as assisting the institution.

2.2.2.3 The Communicative Partners' (Shared) Topics and Focus

As in 'normal' communication, Community Interpreting involves people as social beings with individual concerns, interests, empathies and mentalities who bring with them certain goals when they engage in a communication on a particular topic. It is therefore necessary to account for this factor as potentially affecting the outcome and direction of communication. Authors on Community Interpreting have dealt with the interlocutors' shared goals and their *Focus of Attention* from different perspectives.

Gentile (1996: 35) refers to this factor as the "motivation to communicate for the achievement of goals which are shared, at least to some extent, by the interlocutors". He goes on to explain that "this implies a number of features such as the linearity common to all communication between two people – namely the tendency to 'turn-taking', the necessity for a feedback loop, the inevitable 'noise' and other common possibilities and pitfalls". However, being different from normal communication, interpreter-mediated communication flows will not necessarily operate in the same manner during the interpreting of the interaction. Gentile (1996: 118) specifies this parameter in business settings as "subject matter" when discussions are often specific and detailed and cover topics ranging from commercial arrangements, production and warehousing techniques, contracts and deadlines, specific descriptions of products or detailed arrangements for delivery and payments. When interpreters are not properly briefed on the subject and aims of the communication, they are left to more or less anticipate the direction of the discussions. As a result, more concentration is demanded on the interpreter's part for the on-going communication and more miscommunication pitfalls arise.

Alexieva (1997/2002: 226-227) uses the term "the topic of an interpreter-mediated event" to describe the subject and attention shared by all the participants in the event. When she talks about "topics", she draws a major distinction between the textual world of scientific knowledge and that of human interaction with the textual world revolving relatively objectively around universal issues and the human interaction being more culture-specific. Her discussion of topics of "human

interaction consists of issues which directly address the way people (individuals or organizations) interact with each other". In Community Interpreting, these issues are characterized by "a higher degree of subjectivity and greater involvement on the part of participants in the textual world where they figure explicitly or implicitly as text entities. Alexieva's (1997/2002: 229) description of the "goal of an interpreter-mediated event" also falls into this category. In communication events, individuals, groups of people and representatives of institutions get together for specific purposes and with a view to achieve specific goals. Alexieva grouped the goal of an interpreter-mediated event into three subcategories: 'knowledge exchange', 'arriving at group decision' and 'conflicting goals'. With regard to 'knowledge exchange', as some events are organized to allow exchange of information, to impart information, or to demonstrate the validity of something, participants can be expected to share the same or at least similar goals. In terms of 'arriving at group decisions', events are organized to work out a common strategy or arrive at solutions for problems shared by all participants. The implementation of proposed solutions may depend on institutions or authorities external to the participants. "A shared goal facilitates discussion, reduces in-group conflict and makes it easier to arrive at a decision". When talking about 'conflicting goals', she points out that some events are organized to discuss issues that are of vital importance to all participants, but resolving these issues may involve curtailing the rights or harming the interests of some participants. Alexieva stresses that cultural differences such as the 'choice of negotiation strategy' tend to become more prominent, especially if the division of participants into 'interest groups' coincides with their division into 'cultural groups'.

Wadensjö (1998: 105) regards interpreter's utterances and their functions as both translating and coordinating the primary parties' utterances. As interpreters take part in situations where they have a unique opportunity to understand everything said, they have a unique position from which to exercise a certain control. In interaction, interpreters' utterances can function:

- as generating a shared discourse and, at some level, a common focus of interaction,
- as sustaining a certain definition of the type of encounter, for instance, as being a medical consultation or a police interrogation,
- as sustaining the definition of the encounter as being an interpreter-mediated one

Wadensjö (1998: 105)

Her terms of 'shared discourse', 'common focus of interaction', 'and a certain definition of the encounter' and 'the definition of the encounter as being an interpreter-mediated one' imply that in Community Interpreting, all the interlocutors devote their concentration and focus to a specific communicative situation and adjust their focus in accordance with the progression of the communication event. This 'common focus of interaction' is close to our term *Focus of Attention* which is the assumed shared area from which topic continuity develops (cf Chapter 5). Wadensjö's categorization of different 'interpreter utterances' shows that these utterances can additionally be geared towards generating 'common focus and mutual attention between the primary interlocutors' (Wadensjö 1998: 148). They can alternatively be designed to "accomplish first and foremost one or other party's performance of a specific activity, for instance to comply or to agree" (*ibid*). Embarrassment, sadness, sincerity and seriousness are feelings you understand not only from the words people use but perhaps even more, from how they use them; from what is expressed with the voice, the face and by body language. A primary party's need for the interpreter's assistance in understanding these kinds of cues may vary. The interpreter is dependent on the interlocutors' interest in each other's emotions. Wadensjö adds that addressing the interpreter's impact on the substance and the progression of conversation can be accomplished by 'implicit coordination' and 'explicit coordination', i.e. the interpreter's ability to balance 'text orientation' and 'interactional orientation'. In her opinion, the potential for an interpreter lies largely in "the development of simultaneous attentiveness" (1998: 150). This can also be expressed as training one's ability to focus simultaneously on a pragmatic and a linguistic level and on the balance between these two aspects, which is constantly present in interpreter-mediated interaction. According to Wadensjö (*ibid.:* 233), shared and mutual understanding by necessity "concerns certain aspects of interaction, for instance, a topic, a participant's emotional status, a participant's role as a team member or goals and needs of individuals and groups".

Roy's (2000: 53) analysis of turn-taking in an interpreted event proceeded from the idea that social interaction is both composed of and composed by the interactants, their roles, their expectations, and their obligations within a social situation and offers the opportunity to describe the three participants, their views about interpreters, their goals within the event and their reflections on being involved. As suggested by

Goffman (1959: 9) in talking about social situations and participants, situations move forward to accomplish a goal or a purpose, an understanding which is very much in line with the present study (cf. Chapter 5) because the participants want to arrive at a "working consensus" about the nature of the situation: "Together the participants contribute to a single overall definition of the situation which involves not so much a real agreement as to what exists but rather a real agreement to whose claims concerning what issues will be temporarily honored" (*ibid*.: 9-10). With this in mind, interpreters - coupled with their task of filling in the language and culture gap – are also concerned with carrying out their obligations and responsibilities to accomplish the communication goals. This thought is implemented as a basis for the operations of a number of discourse filters (cf. Chapter 5).

If there is a deficit in the shared attention and focus between interlocutors in Community Interpreting, interpreters may take initiatives to bridge the gap. Hale (2001: 3) cited an example from courtroom interpreting to show a primary speaker's unintentional mistake (Q= Questioner, i.e. Counsel; I=Intepreter).

> Q- did you see the doctor's wife, Mrs. Garcia, in the surgery?
> I - Mrs. Garcia?
> Q- Yes
> I - That's the name of the doctor
> Q- Sorry, that's Mrs. Barrientos, Mrs. Barreientos.
> I - Oh, I'm sorry.
> Q- Sorry, you're right.
>
> Hale (2004: 204)

The type of error described by Hale is unnecessary and easily avoidable. Here the interpreter realizes that the counsel has made a mistake with the name due to his lack of concentration on the on-going conversation. Instead of interpreting the mistake and letting the witness question it, the interpreter decided to correct it which is quicker and avoids confusion.

What Angelelli (2004b: 34) describes as 'scene' (for an application of Fillmore's 'scene' concept in translation studies cf. Snell-Hornby 1986/1994) is the special demand on an interpreter to fill in the discrepancy between the primary speakers who do not share the same knowledge about psychological settings. During an interpreted communicative event, the interpreter's constant interaction alternatively with both speaker and hearer allows for negotiation and clarification. The interpreter is a key player in this discovery: if the primary speakers do not share the same 'scene', it is up to the interpreter to identify and clarify this and negotiate it with both primary

speakers to make the communication move on. Her terms of 'purpose/outcomes' and 'purposes/goals' also fall into this category (Angelelli 2004b: 36-37). A hospital interpreter is considered to be unqualified if he/she does not understand what the particular outcome of the communicative event should be, e.g. is it an interview to make a decision about the surgery or is it an interview to prepare for the surgery? This three-party negotiation adds more complexity to the expectancy present in communication. Generally speaking, outcomes of the relationship between patient and healthcare provider vary across languages and cultures. This means that there may be other implied purposes and/or perspectives than those of the original speech event. Differences in language and culture may affect the outcome of an interpreted communicative event. Beliefs and expectations may not necessarily be shared. Normally, hospital interpreters focus on each of the participant's intentions, on their goals within the outcome and intend to portray them across languages and cultures, e.g. why is the patient not willing to have a direct discussion on a life decision? Why does the healthcare provider need to have such a decision?

In sum, in a particular interpreted event, interpreters need to recognize and balance other interlocutors' goals and purposes and manage the event in a way that the goal of the communication is reached. We will claim that this goal needs to be established prior to the interpreting event and made explicit before an assignment and agreed upon by all communicative partners, including the interpreter.

2.2.3 The Interpreted Message: Different Perspectives (illustrated relative to 'Politeness')

Meaning constitution is a key factor in Community Interpreting because what is being interpreted is not what primary speaker A said to B but what the interpreter understood of what A said and decides to transfers to B. And B's response is not B's response to what A said but what B understood of what the interpreter understood and conveyed to B. If one adds to the factual meaning any hidden meaning it is easy to realize how meaning constitution is a complex problem in Community Interpreting. This complexity is realized in the Community Interpreting literature as 'changes in perspectives of person' with a 'taxonomy of change in perspective' being suggested by Bot (2005: 245) as it is indicated by the interpreter's use of direct or reported speech

The following discussion shows with reference to the criterion of politeness how relevant it is for the interpreter to be aware of different perspectives.

Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp (1987: 198) provide evidence of 'natural' (untrained) interpreters not relaying others' politeness and introducing redressive action to save their own face. Their study on an exchange between German academics and Korean visitors to Germany also attests to the untrained (Korean) interpreter's tendency both to attenuate the threat of loosing face by certain utterances and to protect her own face by clearly dissociating herself from these utterances. For example, when relaying a direct enquiry 'How old are you", she adopts framing devices such as 'what interests him is…' and 'what he wants to know is…', thus making explicit her non-responsibility for the potentially face-threatening request. The analysts regard these devices as evidence of politeness strategies which "strongly suggest that (the interpreter) is very much concerned with saving her own face" (1987:198). And yet they construe the interpreter's role as "located somewhere on a continuum between that of a mere medium of transmission and that of a true third party" and do not automatically address the issue of the interpreter's professionalism (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp 1986: 53). The critical issue here appears to be the tendency of interpreters without professional credentials to assume interactional tasks for which they lack training and expertise.

Berk-Seligson (1990: 150-154) considers politeness to be an important variable in the witness/interpreter/lawyer verbal relationship. She observes that lawyers use the polite address in asking witnesses questions when they either esteem the witness (i.e. it is their witness, not that of the opposing attorney) or when they want to demonstrate to the jury that they are treating the witness fairly and courteously. Polite address can also be used facetiously by an aggressive lawyer who is carrying out a hostile examination of a witness (for authentic examples cf. the analysis in Chapter 6). The use of the polite address in such a context will be obviously understood by jurors as sarcasm. Berk-Seligson notes that when there is a mismatch in the polite addressing term, interpreters are faced with a variety of choices such as interpreting the witness's addressing term accurately and thereby possibly embarrassing the attorney, interpreting the addressing term incorrectly, so that the gender of the addressing term matches the sex of the lawyer, dropping the addressing term altogether in the interpretation of the answer or raising the problem with the

judge and lawyer. In most cases, she says, interpreters take the second and the third options. In her data she shows that the court interpreter's adherence to a cultural norm of politeness causes her to address the witness with the polite Spanish term 'señora' (ma'am) even though the lawyer has not used a polite addressing term in phrasing his question. This may be because the interpreter feels the need to establish a relationship of respect and cordiality with the witness. Court interpreters, as a rule, particularly those employed full-time in a courtroom, are highly sensitive to the fact that they are employees for the court and that they are expected to act just as obsequiously before the judge as is any lawyer, defendant or clerk.

Gentile (1996: 24) states that the liaison interpreter normally interprets shorter segments than a conference interpreter. This places an added responsibility on the interpreter: when one client finishes speaking, he/she may have more to say later. Very often, one interlocutor pauses in order to allow for the interpreter to interpret; however, this pause may be taken by another interlocutor as a signal to respond. As the only one who may be aware of the intentions of both speakers, the interpreter may intervene to a certain extent to help the dynamics of the communication and make it flow in the most economical and efficient fashion.

Alexieva (1997/2002: 225) describes meaning as a 'facework'[19] phenomenon and shows how this influences the interlocutors' solidarity in interpreter-mediated communication. She indicates that if a speaker uses titles and honorifics to acknowledge the status of the hearer while downgrading one's own or using the 'first name' move, this may be understood differently across cultures.

Procedural rules have implications as to what kind of questions can be asked by lawyers which can be leading or non-leading according to the stage which the proceedings have reached. Fowler (1997: 194) claims that it is "of particular significance for the interpreter" that "questions may be phrased either by using the syntactic format of a question, or by using a statement". "Accusations, challenges, justifications, denials, and rebuttals may all be packaged as questions and answers".

[19] 'Facework' is what we do in order to " have our ego recognized and taken account of, to have one's views heard, and to some extent accepted by others or at least have others accept one's right to have them" (Mulholland 1991: 68). 'Face-saving strategies' may vary substantially across cultures, because they depend to a large extent on the rigidity of the social stratification system, the need for deference towards participants who hold a superior position, age and gender differences, and a variety of other factors.

It is therefore important that "the interpreter also recognizes these implied meanings, because otherwise the intent of the speaker might be altered by the interpretation".

Hale's study (1997) in the Australian courtroom shows that pragmatic failure[20] results mainly from pragmalinguistic transfer[21], which can cause communication breakdowns. The problem exists not in the interpreter's understanding of the speaker's intention, but in her delivering that intention into the target language (Sol=Solicitor; Int=Interpreter).

> Sol.- Did you, sorry Your Worship. Did you say to Ms X that you were gonna go into her home and strangle her?
>
> Int. - *¿ Usted le dijo a a lad seňora X que iba ir a la casa de ella y estangularrla?* Did you say to Mrs. X that you were going to go to her house and strangle her?
>
> Wit.- *No, yo soy una persona muy educada para decir eso.*
>
> -No, I'm a very educated person to say that.
>
> Int. - No, I'm an educated person, I couldn't say that.
>
> (Hale 1997: 206)

In the above excerpt, the witness literally said 'No, I'm a very educated person to say that' and its implicature was relayed by the interpreter as "I couldn't say that". The concept of "education" has two applications in Spanish – the education received at school and the one received at home, the upbringing. The second sense is highly culture-bound and is reflected in the way people behave socially. What the witness implies is not that the witness is well educated, but that he is well-mannered, which means he was brought up in a proper way so that it would not be in his nature to threaten someone in such a way.

Wadensjö (1998: 153) addresses this problem in that she claims that interlocutors orient themselves in talk "on the basis of the conventionalized

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[20] The notion of 'pragmatic failure' was developed by Thomas (1983), who defined it as "the inability to understand what is meant by what is said" and argued that pragmatic failure was a major cause of cross cultural communication breakdown (1983: 93). She further developed the concept of pragmatic failure by dividing it into two main groups: pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure.

[21] Pragmalinguistic transfer is "the inappropriate transfer of speech act strategies from one language to another, or transferring from the mother tongue to the target language, utterances which are semantically/syntactically equivalent, but which, because of different 'interpretative bias' tend to convey a different pragmatic force in the target language" (Thomas 1983: 101).

propositional meanings of the spoken words and expressions used". In addition, she maintains that talk is understood as part of a certain situation. "The contextual or situated meanings of words are drawn from the type of encounter, from the constellation of people present, from time and place, other activities accompanying the talk, from voice characteristics and so forth" (*ibid.:* 153).

Wadensjö (1998) maintains that what an interpreter says is typical for handling the coordinating task. 'Interpreter utterances' are normally designed to make the addressed party prepared to receive more talk from the other, or elicit talk from him or her or, in other words, to select the next speaker. In her words, "the substance and progression of talk will be partly determined by whatever the interpreter contributes, or restrains from contributing" (Wadensjö 1998: 109). This means that in interpreter-mediated communication, the interpreter's mediating efforts such as downtoning or deleting utterances may represent the interpreter's management of different meaning levels in order to achieve coherence in the whole communication process. She continues by proposing different meaning dimensions in interpreter-mediated communication in that "interlocutors rely on a multitude of sources of information when making sense of words and utterances" (*ibid.*: 153). Her term of 'face-work' includes Schulz-von-Thuns 'self-indicative' message (cf. Chapter 4 below) conveyed with utterances. In interpreter-mediated communication, Wadensjö (*ibid.:* 177) suggests that primary interlocutors may display a wish to save face. This places an expectation on the interpreter to convey this wish while speaking on his behalf. On the other hand, the interpreter has his/her own face to save as a professional. In addition, interpreters' social identities (in addition to the role of interpreter) – if brought to the fore – may call for yet another type of 'face-work'. Therefore, the interpreter's adequate handling of various self-indicative meanings with a view to the appropriate 'face-work' is pivotal for effective communication.

Within the three-way exchange between the interpreter and primary speakers, shifts of 'footing' (Wadensjö 1998) is assumed to appear. For example, one participant may address the interpreter directly, referring to the other participant in the third person or address the other participant directly and expect the interpreter to reflect the direct address. The interpreter will then shift footing within an exchange. Wadensjö demonstrates how shifts of footing – the orientation of speakers and hearers towards each other and towards the verbal output – are common in dialog

interpreting. Since Goffman's notion of 'participation framework' does not explore the complexities that exist within the role of listener, Wadensjö develops the notion of 'reception format' corresponding to that of 'production formats'. She identifies various speaker and hearer roles that each participant in the exchange can adopt and shows how these fundamentally affect what is communicated and how it is communicated. Primary speakers may choose to address each other directly, including eye contact, almost as if no other party were present. Conversely, they may address all their remarks to the interpreter, thus clearly signaling a wish for the interpreter to act as a kind of intermediary. Unless they have received training in such matters, primary parties can be expected to display uncertainty and frequent shifts in their footing. The interpreter, as a result, plays an important role as coordinator of others' talk by virtue of the footing he/she adopts. In addition to the distancing effect of the third-person footing ("The doctor says he thinks you should…") versus the directness of first-person ("I think you should…"), there is the effect of the interpreter intervening on his/her own behalf (e.g. "I'm sorry, could you repeat that?"), attributing turns at talk or seeking to influence the footing of other parties (e.g. to a witness in court: "please address your remarks to the attorney, not to me", cf. Berk-Seligson 1990: 152). In discourse, when participants shift into a different 'footing', their alignment to others changes and all participants, including the interpreter, shift their inferences about utterances. Therefore, if an interpreter, when listening to a primary participant, hears/sees a change in the way a primary participant is talking, the interpreter may also shift to come into alignment with that participant. In this respect, Wadensjö (1998: 109) distinguishes between explicit coordination and implicit coordination, noting that all interpreter utterances have the effect of attributing the next turn at talk. Thus the interpreter in many situations exercises control as 'gatekeeper' of the whole exchange.

By relating the community interpreter Ingrid's story, Wadensjö goes into a more detailed explanation about "various levels of understanding":

> Ingrid works as an interpreter with Russian-speaking refugees in Denmark. Once she had an assignment at a camp for refugees where a social worker met a family of four, a husband and wife with two small children. They were newcomers in the country and at the camp. Introducing himself and his family, the husband mentioned their origin as being Armenian. One of the first things he pointed out was that Armenians are Christians, and Ingrid quotes his statement: vveli christianstvo usche v 301 godu do nashej ery ("Christianity was already introduced [by the Armenians] in the year 301 BC.") The last part, "before Christ" (in Russian: do nashej ery, lit." before our era"), Ingrid says she deliberately left out. (It is impossible to tell, however, whether she willfully decided to interpret as she did, or if she interpreted automatically, as it were, but, on second thoughts, wanted to explain the omission.) After the encounter, she told the social worker that she had left out this part of the man's remark and explained why.
> Wadensjö (1998: 203-204)

After a talk with the interpreter, Wadensjö (1998: 204) distinguishes three dimensions of understanding, i.e. 'decontextualized utterance', 'the speaker presented himself as an individual and as a team member' and interprets the needs and expectations of other persons present; by her understanding of others' understanding. In the Ingrid story, she understood the man's utterance to be a Community Interpreting contradiction and she was afraid that translating it as such would make it difficult for her to keep a straight face, knowing herself – and also the social worker, a woman of her own age – to be easily provoked to laughter. Hence, there was the risk of making the man feel ridiculed, not only in front of two foreign women, but also in front of his wife and children. A 'close' rendition, she felt, would have involved a danger of damaging the authority of someone who was trying to present himself as the knowledgeable head of the family, while, at the same time, his talk put him in precisely the opposite light. Ingrid's interpreting in this situation thus seems to have concentrated on the second and third dimensions of understanding. She understood the refugee's utterance, including the added 'before Christ', to be meant, first and foremost, as an expression of his and his family's belonging in the new country. Emphasizing the Armenians' Christian faith, the man defines himself as part of a certain religious and cultural sphere, i.e., as being not Muslim. Anticipating possible xenophobic feelings towards people of other religion, color, ways of dressing and talking etc., the man presents himself and his family by focusing on an obvious similarity between Armenia and the host country. Thus, Wadensjö (1998) concludes that:

> "…interpreters on duty must be aware of and count on the currency of frames of reference for understanding which are only partly shared between the persons interacting. The institutional frame is valid at some level, at least for the professional party. Lay people involved may simultaneously orientate themselves according to different understandings of the situation and its participants. Finally, the interpreter-mediated mode of communication provides an additional frame of reference, imposing its own rationalities as regards possible interpretations of words, utterances, persons and situations."
>
> Wadensjö (1998: 205)

Tebble (1999: 186) holds that "conveying what is said means not only just conveying the content of the message but also the way the message is expressed". This means that the medical interpreter needs to relay the interpersonal features of each speaker's turn in the talk. The main interpersonal issue concerning the exposition of interpreted medical consultation is how to deliver the findings (diagnosis, prognosis, prescription of medication and plan of treatment) in a way that will reassure the patient and also bring about patient compliance. A discourse analysis of the text of an interpreted medical consultation can reveal not only its linguistic structure, its cohesion and coherence, and the structure of the information as it is relayed, it can also reveal the nature of the interpersonal relationships of the participants. Tebble (1999: 197-198), after her analysis of parts of the exposition of two interpreted medical consultations, underlines the importance of conveying the style of the medical practitioner if the ethical requirement of conveying what is said is to be met. Understanding the discourse structure of medical consultations, knowing the types of medical conditions and their forms of treatment, and understanding the nature of the role relationships in these contexts for effecting patient compliance are all part of what the medical interpreter needs to know. She maintains that by identifying some of the discourse semantic, lexico-grammatical and phonological features of the tenor of consultant physicians' consultations, interpreters will attend not only to convey the content of the message – particularly during the exposition stage of the consultation – but also the interpersonal aspects of what is said.

Roy (2000) shows that turn-taking in interpreting actively involves the interpreter in organizing, managing, constraining and directing the flow of talk. Interpreters make decisions about managing and orchestrating turns relative to "the

surface linguistic meanings and the social meanings inherent in the situation and its expectations" (*ibid.*: 36). In addition, all the interlocutors take turns based on both linguistic and social signals within "their own sense of rights and obligations" when talking. In interpreted conversations, some turns cannot be accounted for solely in terms of structural qualities. Some turns come about because participants take turns for reasons congruent with their roles. In a complex three-cornered exchange, interpreters should therefore take into consideration the perspectives of different primary speakers when allocating turns and managing the communication. Roy (*ibid.:* 67) also states that as turns' meaning resides in other than linguistic form, interpreters have to make decisions from a range of possible choices including appropriate lexical and grammatical features, layered social meanings, possibilities for transition, and possibilities to elicit a response from yet another range of possible responses. Interpreting appropriately therefore depends on factors such as relative status of the speakers and desired outcomes of the situation. For example, if a supervisor asks an employee "Would you mind typing this for me?" the interpreter would have to know whether this is a real question or a "polite" request to type a paper. He/She would also have to take into account how immediate this request is. In this situation, interpreters have to select an utterance that may or may not be a question but must include the implied perspective of the request, the indirectness and a type that will elicit an appropriate response. In interpreted events, primary speakers exchange speaking turns with the interpreter alternatively and the on-going turn phenomena such as pauses, lags, overlapping talk and simultaneous turns and the resolution of discourse confusion are primarily the responsibility of the interpreter who is the only bilingual and bicultural agent in the actual communication process.

Meyer (2001: 87ff) relates a quoted example to show that differences in cultural knowledge structures may lead interpreters to modify the use of certain terms:

> In this case an English-speaking doctor communicates with a Cantonese-speaking patient via a bilingual nurse.
> Doctor: She can loose weight a little bit also because I think she can be a little overweight.
> Interpreter: 醫生叫你減食, 不要食咁多
>
> Yee san gew nay gam sik. Um moy um moy sik gum daw.
> (The doctor asks you to reduce your food intake. Not to eat so much.)
> Meyer (2001: 87)

In this excerpt, the interpreter's avoidance of the term 'weight' and 'overweight' in the doctor's utterance may come from the fact that calling somebody 'overweight' in the Chinese culture is considered to be face-threatening. In this situation, the primary speakers hold conflicting assumptions regarding this nexus and the interpreter tries to mediate this imminent conflict by reflecting the perspectives of both sides.

Angelelli (2004b: 9) states that interpreters enter an interaction with all of their deeply held views on power, status, solidarity, gender, age, race, ethnicity, nationality, socio-economic status as well as the cultural norms and societal blueprints that encompass the encounter. They use all of these to construct and interpret reality. The interpreters' views of such social factors interact with the interlocutors' views of those same social factors. Therefore, interpreters, as members of society, do more than merely co-construct and interact in the communicative event. They are powerful parties who are capable of altering the outcome of the interaction, for example, by challenging opportunities or facilitating access to information. They are visible co-participants who possess agency. Angelelli (*ibid.:* 41) shows that linguistic anthropology assigns meaning to dialogic constructions in interactive processes rather than to the individual speaker. This paradigm shift is crucial for the study of the interpersonal role of the interpreter. It allows us to see the interpreter as a third party who participates in the dialog. Socially situated participants interact to establish facts and collect or request information by exercising their agency in the construction of knowledge. Their agency is also materialized when they act upon what they have come to know, suspect, or prove. This view allows us to examine the complexity of the interaction of the interlocutors and the interpreter's conscious co-construction of meaning as they speak.

Pöllabauer (2007: 47) introduces the concept of 'face'[22] from Brown and Levinson (1978: 61) to investigate the interpreter's face-saving strategies in asylum hearings as certain face-threatening acts may endanger the other's positive or negative image or 'face'. Effective communication will either seek to avoid such face-threatening acts or employ certain face-saving strategies to minimize the threat. In asylum hearings, all the participants attempt to maintain their own as well as the other interactants' personal positive and negative face. If the officers' major conversational aim is only to establish 'objective' facts, they may not always take initiatives to save the asylum-seekers' face. However, as the information in asylum hearings is highly intimate and personal, collecting such information will often involve initiating a threat to the asylum-seekers' face. Certain questions addressed to the asylum-seekers by the officers, or certain acts they have to perform, which they probably regard as an obligatory component of their institutional and normative role (Goffman 1961: 93) may automatically pose a threat to the asylum-seeker's positive or negative image. In some situations, questions or interrogation strategies which are necessary for the officers to investigate the facts, may be regarded as inadequate or even taboo in the asylum-seeker's culture and will thus threaten the asylum-seeker's positive image. On the other hand, a particular behavior by the asylum-seekers, which may be culturally-bound, may be a potential threat to the officer's positive image. In addition, interpreters may also attempt to protect their own 'professional' face as neutral and impartial language experts and coordinators of discourse.

The above contributions to meaning constitution have shown that due to the different perceptions of meaning and the dynamic and interpersonal nature of interpreter-mediated communication, sense-making is complex and of great importance for the mutual understanding between interlocutors. In Community Interpreting scenarios, the interpreter as the only one who is able to establish meaning and its continuity from both the primary speakers' perspectives takes a great

[22] Brown and Levinson suggest in their "politeness theory" that every individual attempts to maintain a certain "public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself", also called 'face' (Brown/ Levinson 1978: 61). The notion of 'face' consists of 'negative face' which includes an individual's wish 'to be unimpeded in one's actions', i.e. to have freedom of action and freedom from imposition, and a 'positive face' which includes the desire to 'be approved of'.

part of the responsibility for establishing sense in the discourse process to avoid faulty conclusions and misunderstandings.

On the whole, so far as meaning constitution in the Community Interpreting literature is concerned, we can say that it has been noted and discussed in the literaure that different interlocutors establish meaning from their own perspectives and at different levels of expression including non-verbal signs and body language and that it is therefore considered to be of great importance for the interpreter to be aware of the different perspectives of meaning and meaning dimensions in order to take appropriate actions whenever communication problems occur. No systematic description exists, however, for the isolation of parameters that influence sense constitution and continuity and the depiction of their interplay which is what the present study sets out to do.

3 The Community Interpreter's Role Controversy

By the end of the 1990s, research into interpreting was classified into four periods (cf. Gile 1994: 149ff): after the initial steps in the 1950's, commonly identified with Jean Herbert's *Interpreter's Handbook* (Herbert 1952) and Eva Paneth's thesis *Investigation into Conference Interpreting* (1957), interpreting research in the 1960s and early 1970s was dominated by the research paradigm of cognitive psychology (e.g. Gerver 1976) to investigate the interpreter's 'simultaneous listening and speaking' (Pinter 1969). This period was highlighted by the pioneering research of the Paris Interpreting School (Seleskovitch 1976) and others (Kirchhoff 1976, Moser-Mercer 1976). The cognitive paradigm was most prominently later reflected in the 'Efforts Model' by Daniel Gile (1995). Sociolinguistic discourse analysis and interactive (dialogic) communication is generally thought to have made its way into the interpreting field at the 1986 Trieste Symposium documented in the volume by Gran and Dodds (1989) which introduced this new research paradigm and which has thereafter attracted more and more attention. Gumperz formulates from an interactional sociolinguistics (1982) point of view:

> "participants in a conversation engage in an ongoing process of listening to assess the intentions of their interlocutor in order to formulate a response to accomplish their *own* intentions (emphasis in the original quotation, Lihua Jiang). What a person *means* must be determined not only by linguistic output (what is said) but also by knowledge of the expectations, social roles and world view of the listener"
> (Gumperz, quoted in Moody 2007:195).

This understanding of meaning is of particular importance for this study.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Gumperz's (1982) and Tannen's (1984) works had decisive influence on Community Interpreting research across a number of languages and settings with the first dissertation by Driesen (1985) and the pioneering works of Brian Harris (1990), Susan Berk-Seligson (1990), Cynthia Roy (1993) and Cecilia Wadensjö (1993) as well as the volumes documenting the 'Critical Link' Conferences (from Carr et. al. (1997) to Wadensjö/Englund Dimitrova (2007)) which shifted the focus in interpreting research from Conference Interpreting to triadic encounters, 'turns of talk' and discourse-based interaction and management.

Within Community Interpreting research, the discourse orientation evolved into a focus on the interaction of both parties in the dialog, making the goal of the communication an important variable in the process of interpreter-mediated communication and placing the role of the interpreter in the center of attention:

> "Since the interpreter is the only participant in the triad who understands the language and culture of both primary participants, she is the one best placed to mediate the exchange so that their goals be realized".
> (Moody 2007:190).

Several models on the interpreter's role have evolved from this orientation ranging from a neutral 'conduit' role, mostly favored in the courtroom, to a 'cultural mediator' or 'intercultural agent' which is usually related to migration contexts. Known as the interpreter's 'visibility' issue, the debate on the interpreter's role in Community Interpreting has developed into a prominent research topic as documented by the works of Roy 1989, 2000, Berk-Seligson 1990, Wadensjö 1995, 1998, Mikkelson 2000; Opraus 2003, Angelelli 2004a and b, Grbic and Pöllabauer 2006 and others. Community Interpreting research is closely related to socio-linguistic research on discourse. Today, the active role of Community Interpreters as (also) managing and coordinating talk in addition to the 'translating' task is widely recognized and has led to its professionalization and academization. With this additional activity, however, the question arises as to what kind of activities in what kind of roles are assumed by the Community Interpreter. Following Anderson (1976/2002) for instance, the interpreter is assumed to 'play' different roles, e.g. being oriented (1) towards a factual topic, (2) towards distant neutrality implying an indifference of the outcome of the communication or (3) towards being supportive of the client (cf. Sauerwein 2006: 7).

The fragmented role image of the interpreter and the compartmentalization of his/her tasks into being dependent on varying settings is partially responsible for the heterogenous research picture and the ensuing assumption of Community Interpreting still being a non-professional activity today as in Sauerwein (2006) following Knapp-Potthoff/Knapp (1997).

This chapter will give a short overview of the most important attitudes with respect to the interpreter's visibility in Community Interpreting relevant to the

present mix of static and dynamic *Discourse Interpreting* parameters and their interplay in an actual interpreter-mediated communicative situation (cf. Chapter 5).

3.1 'Verbatim' Rendering or 'Conduit Role'

Rooted in demands for quality in conference interpreting, the most widely acknowledged demand on an interpretation is today still that it should be faithful to the original in "message and style" (Gile 1992: 189; 1995: 26). A great number of interpreting studies on quality sees accuracy among the most important criteria for high-quality interpretation (for an overview of quality considerations in interpreting cf. Pöchhacker 2002: 153ff)[23]. This demand needs to be qualified with respect to interpreting interactive talk. Before discussing this aspect in more detail (cf. Chapter 5 below), however, we will outline some representative considerations on faithful renderings or 'verbatim' interpreting.

Reddy (1979) is the first to label the interpreter by the 'conduit metaphor' to describe commonly-held assumptions about communication, implying that the way we talk about language ('getting one's message across'; 'sending the wrong message, etc.) reveals what is tacitly assumed about the nature of communication. The term 'conduit' was later used by Laster/Taylor (1994: 114) to describe the demand for word-for-word translation from interpreters in legal settings:

> "The interpreter, as conduit, must be a direct channel of communication between the party and the questioner. Interpreters are required to provide a literal interpretation from one language into another…For the court to fairly assess the evidence given by a NESB[24] person, the interpreter must provide a complete and accurate rendition into English. Literalism is essential to ensure accuracy."
> Laster/Taylor (1994: 114)

The 'conduit metaphor' implies a whole framework of basic assumptions about language, e.g. that language functions like a conduit, transferring thoughts from one person to another and that words accomplish a transfer of ideas by containing the thoughts or feelings in the words and conveying them to others; people can extract

[23] For a discussion how quality assessment interrelates with coherence see Kusztor (2000).

[24] NESB is an acronym for Non-English-Speaking Background

the same idea, thought or feeling by simply receiving the words. Viewing the interpreter's role as 'conduit' offers an approach which is defined solely by the core function of 'message transmission', performed by a third party, whose presence is ideally viewed as 'invisible' as possible. The 'conduit model' in essence views the interpreter as a language 'modem', a non-thinking linguistic 'transferring machine' for speakers who do not share the same language to communicate with each other. It assumes linear communication in which there is no interaction between the interpreter and the primary speakers. Communication between the primary speakers is achieved only via the accurate, faithful and neutral 'replay' by the interpreter. In this sense, meaning is assumed to be fixed monologically by the speaker rather than being created by circumstances and rather than varying by other participants. Thus, the conduit role prevents the interpreter from evaluating the interpreting process and/or the content of communication.

Goffman (1981) suggests that – when exploring the Community Interpreter's role – one should naturally associate it with the normative expectations of the role. His 'nominative role' model is defined by the commonly shared ideas about a certain activity, i.e. what people in general think they are or should be doing when acting in a certain role. In interpreter-mediated events, these expectations focus on the delivery of messages between speakers, their accuracy and adherence to meaning without any personal bias involved. The 'normative role' of the interpreter is thus what interpreters think they do when they perform well, or at least appropriately behave as interpreters. Norms become shared through official codes of conduct, rules and regulations and through educational programs. Interpreters therefore need to be aware of the codes of conduct and norms, too.

The 'conduit role' is largely attributed to court interpreters even today, Berk-Seligson (1990) was the first to challenge the adequacy of this role with her empirical study into the actual performance of court interpreters against the *code of conduct* in the United States, requiring court interpreters to translate closely and accurately according to the standards of professional conduct:

- The interpreter shall provide an accurate interpretation of what is said, without embellishments, omissions or editing (i.e. epithets should also be interpreted)…
- The interpretation should be as close to verbatim and literal in content and meaning as possible…
- The interpreter shall NOT correct an erroneous fact of statement that may occur in a question posed to the non-English speaking person, even though the error is obviously unintentional or simply a slip of the tongue: likewise, the interpreter shall not correct an obvious error in the testimony of a non-English speaking person.

  (Berk-Seligson 1990: 232)

From another perspective, Morris (1993) describes legal theory as 'language switching' [25] and shows that there is a predominant 'legal fiction' in that L2 (Language 2) equals L1 (Language 1), and that the instrument of this equation uses no discretion or freedom of will whatsoever in achieving the goal set by the law" (Morris 1993: 136). Morris (1995: 25) later documents the tension which results from the legal profession's insistence that interpretation (of a specific judicial process) should be the exclusive domain of lawyers and judges and that translation – the activity allotted to the court interpreter – should consist of 'verbatim' rendition of utterances and nothing more than that. Specifically, interpreters may not mediate by relaying their own understanding of speaker meanings and intentions: this must be left to the court.

Wadensjö (1993/2002: 357) uses Goffman's term of 'normative role' to describe an idealized interpreter's role as a 'copy machine' duplicating what is said by the primary parties' in another language. 'Telephone' is also frequently used to describe an interpreter's role in 'dialogue interpreting': the interpreter is compared to a channel, an instrument conveying information and he/she merely technically affects the words, messages and utterances of the monolingual parties. From a normative point of view, the dialog interpreter is required to make every original utterance a copy recoded in another language. The 'normative role' later specified as 'verbatim' translation and associated with neutrality, detachment and impartiality is commonly associated with the professional code of ethics for community interpreters (e.g. Berk-Seligson 1990; Morris 1993, 1995; Fenton 1997; Mikkelson 1998, 2000).

[25] 'Language switching' was used by Morris (1993: 136) to mean the activity carried out by interpreters in court.

Fenton's study (1997) of the adversarial courtroom in New Zealand reveals that in court proceedings, "the interpreter was here declared a conduit pipe, a mere machine, transmitting the message …in one language and in the other language, like an electrical instrument over Community Interpreting a long distance". In this sense, "the interpreter as a person was … excluded, not meant to take an intelligent, thinking interest in the proceedings" *(ibid*.: 30*)*. Thus, interpreters are 'mere ciphers' and their role is narrowed to that of 'a mechanical or electrical device' *(ibid.*: 30*)*.

Later on, Mikkelson (2000) identifies these features in the 'Code of Ethics' for court interpreters. She describes the fidelity requested by the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT) as:

> 5. Accuracy
> a) Truth and Completeness
> i) In order to ensure the same access to all that is said by all parties involved in a meeting, interpreters shall relay accurately and completely everything that is said.
> ii) Interpreters shall convey the whole message, including derogatory or vulgar remarks, as well as non-verbal cues.
> iii) If patent untruths are uttered or written, interpreters and translators shall convey these accurately as presented.
> iv) Interpreters and translators shall not alter, make additions to, or omit anything from their assigned work.
> Mikkelson (2000: 49)

This code comes from Australia, a common-law country where verbatim records are made of court proceedings and where witness statements are summarized by the judge. Thus, it is very important for the judge to hear a complete interpretation in the source language to gain an accurate perception of the whole proceedings. That is to say, any editing takes place only on the judge's part rather than the court interpreter's part.

In addition, as the parties in litigation are in conflict with each other, they both want to make sure that the interpreter does not distort language in a way that favors the other side. According to Article 4 of the *Code of Conduct for Court Interpreters* of the International Federation of Translators (FIT), "The court interpreters shall at all times be neutral and impartial and shall not allow his/her personal attitudes or opinions to impinge upon the performance of his/her duties". If the interpreter has close ties with one of the parties (e.g. kinship or a business relationship), or has a

personal or financial interest in the outcome of the case, there is a conflict of interest and the interpreter is considered to be disqualified.

Research into Community Interpreting today has largely abandoned this narrow interpretation of the interpreter's role (cf. Moody 2007) to focus on describing the factors and conditions that are responsible for an interpreter's variation of the source message.

The present study is in line with this new perspective on the motivations and explanations for an interpreter's more active role in the communication triad. Before we develop this thought further, however, we will look at the other extreme of understanding the interpreter's role, i.e. the role of the interpreter as 'cultural broker' or advocator.

3.2 'Cultural Broker', 'Advocator' or 'Conciliator Role'

An opposing perception of the community interpreter as 'cultural broker' came from sign language interpreting (e.g. Cokely 1992) and Roy (2000) and by institutional interpreters employed by the government or working for communities such as hospitals as community workers. It was explicitly rooted in the sociolinguistic discourse paradigm reflected in the 1995 'First International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health and Social Service Settings' in Toronto/Canada and led to a series of 'Critical Link' conferences in Vancouver (1998), Montreal (2001), Stockholm (2004) and Sydney (2007).

This role proposes that the interpreter join the primary speakers into creating, maintaining and achieving successful communication. Interpreters in this sense are thus regarded as active participants by their contribution of explaining certain cultural aspects which may impinge on the conversation at hand, or suggesting some advocacy or conciliation to the clients.

Approaching interpreters as 'cultural brokers', 'advocators' or 'conciliators' take more factors into account (e.g. hidden meanings and strategies as well as interpersonal relationships) in addition to merely linguistic translation. This perspective focuses on embedding the interpreter's role in cultural, class, religious and other social factors and has prominently been represented by the following authors.

Roberts (1997: 12) holds that the 'client' in Community Interpreting belongs

invariably to a minority group whose culture – even more so than language – is not understood by the majority group who organizes and offers the services. This is why interpreter-mediated events have been officially labeled 'cultural interpreting':

> We define interpreting as including the communication of conceptual and cultural factors that are relevant to the given interaction as part of the lingual transmission… This model of interpreting service was developed out of an awareness that communication is seriously impeded by insensitivity to the role of culture in the content and manner of communication, especially in formal interactions.
> (Giovannini 1992 cited by Roberts 1997: 12)

Advocacy implies defending, pleading for or actively supporting the client. In other words, the community interpreter is seen as a guide and counselor as well as a power broker working in favor of his/her 'underprivileged' client who "advises the client about rights and options in the situation"…, "ensures that the client has all relevant information and controls the interaction" and "challenges racially/culturally prejudiced statements or conclusions" on the part of the service provider (Giovannini 1992 cited by Roberts 1997: 13).

Hsieh (2004: 89) shows that Cross Cultural Health Care Program (CCHCP)[26] training defined the advocate role as "any action an interpreter takes on behalf of the patient outside the bounds of the interpreted interview". In other words, 'advocate' is an action taken by an interpreter to remedy problematic situations on behalf of an underpriviledged communicative partner. In her empirical research into bilingual health communication, Hsieh (2004: 172-178) distinguishes two ways of medical interpreter's advocacy: 'overt' advocacy and 'covert' advocacy. In 'overt' advocacy situations, interpreters essentially act on the patient's behalf by seeking information, providing answers and requesting services for a patient without consulting with the patient. In 'covert' interpreting, however, interpreters use 'covert' advocacy communicative strategies to be invisible and yet advocate for the patients by

[26] The CCHCP is a Seattle-based organization dedicated to improving health care access for ethnic minorities. It collaborates with minority communities, trains health care providers and interpreters, and develops publications for educating health care providers about the minority populations they serve.

encouraging patients to act as self-advocates or allowing patients to appear as their own advocates (for examples cf. the application in chapter 6).

Most recently Ibrahim (2007: 207-208) observes from his Malaysian court interpreting data that interpreters act more as advocates by getting involved in three clear stages of communication with other involved individuals:

- "pre-session (before the court is in session),
- in open court (during the hearing), and
- post-session (after the hearing)".

Frequently, in addition to the normal feelings of nervousness and confusion, the unrepresented defendant in Malaysian courtrooms faces the challenge of attempting to put his/her own case and cross-examine prosecution witnesses: the sophisticated and complex activities of the trained legal professional (*ibid.*: 208). It is in this situation that the interpreter is sometimes called upon to 'help': not only to interpret, but to provide procedural advice to defendants, which merges into the role of 'advocacy'. In Ibrahim's opinion, a Malaysian court interpreter is far more than 'just' an interpreter in the traditional sense. "(S)he is, among other things, a bilingual intermediary, clerk of the court, and advocate to unrepresented accused…" (*ibid.*: 209).

3.3 Other Roles and Settings

Between the two extremes of 'verbatim' (as being the more traditional) and 'mediating' (as being the more modern and progressive) roles of the Community Interpreter, other roles have been assigned to the interpreter.

Anderson (1976/2002: 220) differentiates three interpreter attitudes or behaviors: 1) the interpreter who concentrates on the factual topic 2) the interpreter who puts himself/herself at a distance from the communication and is indifferent with respect to its outcome and 3) the interpreter who supports his/her client.

Within health care settings and especially within psychotherapy interpreting, Drennan/Swartz (1999: 181ff) differentiate four different institutional roles of the interpreter (in South Africa): the interpreter as (1) 'language specialist' within a multidisciplinary team with the inherent problems of fragmentation of care and confidentiality, (2) as 'culture specialist' requiring a combination of highly skilled linguistic capabilities plus cultural and clinical knowledge (3) as 'patient advocate'

with the difficulty that intervening on behalf of an individual patient may come into conflict with the authority and clinical competence of a range of other professionals (4) as 'institutional interpreter' with the inherent problem that interpreting was required in administrative (e.g. disciplinary hearings, salary negations etc.) as well as clinical contexts which require extensive expertise and experience and may lead to conflicts.

On the basis of an empirical study on the psychotherapeutic triad, Opraus (2003: 120ff) differentiates six types of transfer (1) a mainly linguistic transfer which corresponds more or less to the conduit role outlined above (2) a pragmatic transfer in the sense of a situation transfer which lets the interpreter ask for clarifications in the sense of an implicit co-therapist (3) an information transmitter, leaving it to the interpreter whether he/she relays information or not (4) an explicit co-therapist in which case the interpreter would him/herself have to be a therapist (5) a cultural mediator with the interpreter acting as a bridge between different cultures (e.g. in the areas of nonverbal language, social norms and socio-political systems, interaction patterns) (6) a support for the patient which – Opraus concedes (*ibid.:*127) – is beyond the limits of a psychotherapeutic communication.

As Leanza (2005:170) described in her overview of roles of the Community Interpreter along with Jalbert (1998) proposed a typology of varying roles of the interpreter as:

- translator with a minimal presence of the interpreter;
- cultural informant who helps e.g. health care providers;
- Culture Broker or Cultural Mediator (as we discussed in 3.2);
- Advocate in a value conflict situation when the interpreter may choose to defend the patient against the institution and
- bilingual professional when the interpreter becomes e.g. the healthcare professional.

(Jalbert in Leanza 2005:170f)

On that basis, Leanza herself proposes her own typology:

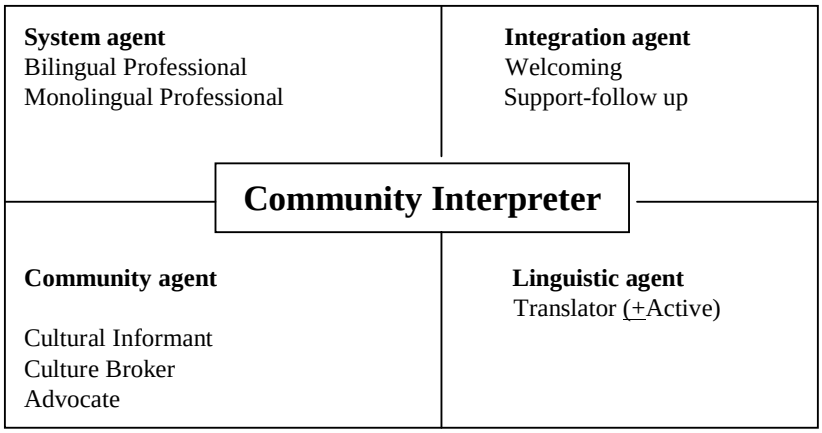


Figure 1: Community interpreter's roles according to their relation to cultural difference (Leanza 2005: 186)

Angelelli (2006: 182ff) discusses how four roles that interpreters can play correspond to or contradict the California Standards for Healthcare Interpreters (2002): the interpreter as (1) message converter, (2) message clarifier (3) cultural clarifier and (4) patient advocator. She concludes that

> "most interpreters make personal decisions about the roles that they will assume during an interpreting session, based on the number and perceived importance of the interlocutors and of the topic…In fact, they may opt for all these role choices in a single session…"
> (Angelelli 2006: 182f).

She further concludes that due to the tensions arising from the role, ethics and expectations of the health care professionals, the Standards are at odds with real world and work requirements and need to be revised periodically to account for new findings in research.

By definition, while this is certainly a valid postulate, we argue from the principle that a collective standard can only partially account for the 'real world', i.e. in terms of what constitutes 'collective' in the real world. Individual situations and problems of misunderstandings that the interpreter faces in the 'ad hoc' situations are beyond a description on a collective level, i.e. are not accessible on a collective level. Therefore, while updating a standard regulation may be desirable, one can not feel a collective mandatory to satisfy the need of the individual interpreter in an authentic

individual situation.

The problem with distinguishing clear-cut roles for the Community Interpreter is pointed out by Moody (2007):

> "Models or metaphors for the interpreter's role can be helpful but they tend to be theoretical ideals which prescribe a certain role for the interpreter. Experienced Community Interpreters may, in fact switch models in the middle of an assignment, depending on the circumstances and the expectations of the consumers. In determining what the interpreter should do, it is preferable to study and describe what the really good interpreters actually do and begin to base our conceptions of the roles and tasks of the interpreters on such descriptions."
> Moody (2007: 193)

Many authors, however, have associated the varying roles of a Community Interpreter with the institutional framework in which the interpreting takes place, claiming that the interpreter's role is largely co-determined by the institutional setting, a view within which discourse considerations have gained increasing prominence in the past decade (e.g. Berk-Seligson 1990; Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Tebble 1996, 1998; Mikkelson 1998, 2000; Meyer 2000, 2004; Pöllabauer 2003, 2004; Sauerwein 2006).

The most traditional – and most constrained – situation is certainly that of the court. As early as the end of the 1990s, Mikkelson requests that "the legal profession should finally realize that interpreters do not function as automatic translating machines from one language to another, and that the ideal of verbatim interpretation does not hold up when confronted with real-life interpreted interactions between human beings. Court interpreters should be given the tools to perform this critical task properly, and then they should be allowed to use their professional judgment as to the best way of carrying out the task" (Mikkelson 1998: 43).

A little later Berk-Seligson (1990) provides empirical evidence for this claim, demonstrating that even a court interpreter was not 'just' interpreting, but became actively involved in the discourse process as an individual participant by asking for clarification of a term or idea, repeating what she did not hear, ask permission to speak when proceedings became confusing, or even controlled the flow of testimony by "urging or prompting a witness to speak or by getting witness and defendants to be silent" (Berk-Seligson 1990: 86). In her court proceedings' analysis, she shows that relaying complex English passive constructions, which are used by attorneys in

a very deliberate way to avoid attributing blame in their cross examinations, is highly problematic in Spanish because the standard passive in Spanish is dispreferred while a variety of alternative formulations are available and none of the alternatives is a literal translation of the English passive. Thus, in some cases, the interpreter shifted the voice in accordance with different communicative situations and purposes.

The situation today is not much different (cf. Lipkin 2008: 86f). The conventions of military courts in Israel were explained by Hajjar (2005) as follows:

> "In any court room, understanding is a charged term; even without the problem of language barriers and the mediating role of translators, there is always the question of whether the various parties are communicating and comprehending accurately in exchanges often fraud by explicitly contradictory and competing interests"
> (Hajjar 2005: 146-147)

The conditions of the court room can be said to be very similar to police (e.g. Sauerwein 2006) or asylum hearings (e.g. Pöllabauer 2004).

Sauerwein (2006) develops four categories, i.e. interrogation phrases, rituality degree, interpreter's roles, interpretation actions[27] to analyze the interpreting process in police interrogation scenarios. She discovers that beyond the role of 'language transformer', interpreters perform additional roles such as 'conversation manager', 'cultural faciliator', 'police's helper', '(pseudo-) lawyer', 'information filter' and 'expert'[28]. After analyzing the empirical data according to the four categories, she points out that there is a correlation between the interpreter's role performance and the setting in as much as the interpreter does not hold one role, but takes different roles according to the demand of the settings. The police interrogation scenario, as a highly-ritualized institutional setting, seems to involve the interpreter to assist in helping the police fulfill the interrogation ritual (e.g. contact conversation, charge, briefing, interrogation of a person, etc.) in addition to his/her primary role as language and cultural facilitator.

[27] Translated by the author from the German original: VN/B-Phasen, Ritualisierungsgrad, Rollen des Dolmetschers, Translationshandlungen)

[28] Translated by the author from the German original: Sprachwandler, Gesprächsmanager, Kulturmittler, Hilfspolizist, (Pseudo-) Anwalt, Informationsfilter, Sachverständiger.

At the other end of the spectrum from court interpreting we find health care and related settings which offer more leeway for an interpreter's interaction and empathy. Pioneered by Wadensjö (1998) and grounded on Goffman's analytical framework of the nature of the social organization as well as Bakhtin's (1981, 1984) dialogic theory of language and interaction, the interpreter is seen as an engaged actor in the communicative triad. Wadensjö's (1998) empirical study is based on a large data base from interpreted situations in Swedisch health care clinics and police stations with the interpreter solving not only problems of 'translation' but problems of mutual understanding in situated interaction. Wadensjö finds that what the interpreter really does is (1) 'relaying', i.e. translating the message when directed 'to' the interpreter and/or (2) 'coordinating' the interaction as flow of talk with the participants to achieve their goal in the interaction. The interpreter may even delete utterances if they violate social roles or expectations. Wadensjö classifies turns initiated by the interpreter as either 'text-oriented' (e.g. requests for clarification, comments on prior utterances) or 'interaction-oriented' (e.g. requests to go ahead and talk or stop talking, management of turn-taking).

Wadenjö treats the 'pas de troix' of "'translating' and 'coordinating' the primary parties' utterances" (Wadensjö 1998: 105) as the basic and fundamental event of interpreting. While differentiating 'relaying by displaying' and 'replaying as representing', Wadensjö explores how interpreters relate as narrators of others' speech to convey the impression of the self as a person using the words of others or to '"represent the expressiveness of preceding talk' (Wadensjö 1998: 247). Thus, an interpreter's role, as both a social role and a role that performs an activity, is realized through interaction with others. Interpreters both listen and speak within shifting 'stances' of their own participation, shifting from 'relaying' to 'coordinating' the interaction.

This is a very important thought underlying the present study. However, here we do not see the interpreter's role as an 'either-or' category ('verbatim' or 'mediator') but rather positioned on a potentially changing continuum between 'conduit' and 'mediating' roles (cf. Chapter 4).

Wadensjö's work has had considerable influence on Community Interpreting researchers like Brian Harris, Roda Roberts and Holly Mikkelson as well as on the 'Critical Link' movement for the development of such research. Her viewing the

basic interpreting situation as a 'pas de trois' is reflected in Mason's 'triadic exchange' (2001) and her influence is resounded noticeably in today's works on health care interpreting (e.g. Pöchhacker (2000), Pöchhacker/Shlesinger (eds) (2007), Tebble (1999) or Bührig/Meyer (2004), the latter being the first to investigate doctor-patient dialogs in terms of achieving the communicative purpose of informed consent.

Baker et al. (entry of Community Interpreting) (1998) and recently Rudvin (2007) point out that family members who accompany patients play roles that go beyond providing language assistance. They offer comfort, and when it comes to interpreting, they automatically count on having the patient's trust which is an indispensable asset in the interpreter's task of setting up and explaining their role at the outset of a medical encounter. They 'manage' the flow of communication between all participants, encouraging patient and doctor to address each other directly and eventually assist with closure activities such as follow-up instructions and patient referral to auxiliary services. In this way, interpreters have assumed a role which goes far beyond a language specialist or facilitator.

Wadensjö's differentiations may well be seen as applicable to interpreting in educational settings in sign language interpreting as Metzger (1999) and Roy (2000) show us so vividly and to Community Interpreting in general (e.g. Grbic/Pöllabauer (eds) 2006 or Hale 2007). In Metzger's (1999) view, it is unrealistic that an interpreter remains completely neutral and she claims that utterances in general – be they interpreter-mediated or not - must be mentally processed to arrive at meaning. She interestingly notes that any understanding of meaning is influenced by the listener's world knowledge and awareness of the speaker's perspective – both parameters are considered important within the present study – and that the meaning of an interpreted utterance will pass through several additional 'filters' on its way to the target message. We will use the term of *'filters'* here to portray the interdependence of static and dynamic parameters in Chapter 4. Before we begin with our own descriptions, we will, however, briefly turn to Roy (2000) and some more recent literature.

By examining turn exchanges in interpreter-mediated conversation, Roy (2000) also establishes the interpreter as a full-scale participant in the communication event, with potential to influence both the direction and the outcome of the interpreting event. As the only bilingual and bicultural person in a talk, the interpreter can

logically maintain, adjust and if necessary repair problems in communication because "speakers cannot know possible transition moments in other languages, nor can they know what pauses are or how turns end" (Roy 2000: 99). Interpreters are doing "more than searching a lexical bank, or syntactic rules, to create coherent utterances and turns. They act on understandings and expectations of the way social scenes emerge in interaction, as well as on social and cultural knowledge of the "ways of speaking" within particular situations" (*ibid.*). In this regard, interpreters are actively involved in managing the communication process and repair communication problems. Roy concludes from a short interpreted meeting between a hearing professor (Deborah Tannen) and a deaf student (Clayton Valli) that each participant is in fact exchanging turns with the interpreter in accordance with the norms of their own language:

> "Both speakers nod their heads, smile and silently laugh …at moments that co-occur with utterances they understand in their own languages ….phenomena around turns, such as pauses, lags, overlapping talk, and simultaneous turns, are going to occur naturally and as they are created by all three participants. The on-going recognition of such discourse features are part of an interpreter's competence and the resolution of discourse confusion, if necessary, belongs primarily to the interpreter…"
> (Roy 1989 quoted in Moody 2007: 197)

It is this active role of the interpreter in the interest of achieving a shared communicative goal beyond temporary misunderstandings and possible confusion that is at the heart of the present dissertation.

Pöllabauer (2003, 2004) introduces the term 'solidarity' to refer to the fact that in asylum hearings, interpreters do not only seek to assist the officers in reaching their communicative goals by assuming a coordinating function, but may also feel obliged to assume the role of 'auxiliary police officers' (Donk 1994: 148 cited by Pöllabauer 2004: 157). Pöllabauer mentions that the interpreters are often even more insistent than officers on receiving answers to certain questions and become indignant with certain statements or simply render answers which may pose a threat to the asylum seeker's or officer's '(positive) face'[29] without initiating face-saving strategies. This aspect of a seemingly unmotivated emphasis in the interpreter-

[29] 'Positive face' is used here in the sense of Brown / Levinson (1978: 61).

mediated question also appears in our application in Chapter 6. In her recordings of asylum hearings at the Federal Asylum hearing Office in Graz, she states that when interpreting in asylum hearings no consensus exists as to the role and responsibilities of interpreters. Neither the officers nor the asylum-seekers regard the interpreters as 'invisible' neutral mediators. On the contrary, the interpreters' behavior and interventions make them highly visible: they shorten and paraphrase statements, provide explanations, try to save their own and also the other interlocutors' face and intervene if they consider it necessary (Pöllabauer 2007: 41).

Angelelli (2003b: 16; 2004b: 10) proposes a model to show that the interpreter is visible with all the social and cultural factors that allow him/her to co-construct a definition of reality with the other co-participants to the interaction. She believes that the interpreter is visible 'with all his/her deeply held views on power, status, solidarity, gender, age, race, ethnicity, nationality, socio-economic status, plus the cultural norms and blueprints of those social factors that are used by her/him to construct and interpret reality'. Angelelli continues to point out that in Community Interpreting scenarios, "the interpreter brings not just the knowledge of languages and the ability to language-switch or assign turns. The interpreter brings the self".

Based on the systemic linguistics paradigm, Tebble (2004) takes the tenor perspective of discourse studies to study the participants, their identification, their social roles and status, their temporary or permanent relations with each other, the degree of formality and the level of technicality they use in the discourse. In medical Community Interpreting situations, Tebble (2004: 48) mentions that the interpreter "is not a mere conduit, she is a real person in that triad and without whom the consultation can hardly occur". The interpreter's role is to "fully convey the message, they must pay attention to the nuances of the interpersonal features found in the messages between doctor and patient".

4 The Notion of Discourse Interpreting: Theoretical Considerations

4.1 Discourse and Discourse Analysis as a Theoretical Framework

The common sense notion of 'discourse' is derived from the Latin 'discursus' (walk around) and 'discurrere' (to walk back and forth) and has developed into the meaning of 'conversation' and 'exchange of ideas' in the 17th century (cf. Warnke 2002: 128). It usually refers to a form of language use or more specifically to 'language use in social interaction" (van Dijk 1997a: 1). The label 'discourse' today has an overwhelmingly broad range of application – from the philosophy of communicative processes in a society at large (where 'discourse' refers not merely to the language use, but also to the ideas or philosophies propagated by them) to the empirical analyses of 'talk' in conversational interaction not only in spoken but also in signed languages (cf. Roy 2000). As 'coherent uttered text' ('zusammengehöriger, geäußerter Text', translation by Lihua Jiang) (Warnke 2002: 129), the concept may integrate different meaning aspects in different languages, i.e. a simple everyday conversation in English or an academic presentation or lecture in French (cf. Keller 2004: 13).

Central to the concept of 'discourse' in the scholastic field is the problem of meaning constitution, understood by Habermas (1971: 104) as 'establishing a consensus about what is communicated between the communicative partners' which can be achieved only through including the pragmatic dimension of meaning. The idea of a consensus is later on taken up in linguistics by Grice's 'cooperative principle' in conversation (1975), which in turn is reflected later in Ehlich and Rehbein's 'functional-pragmatic discourse analysis' for oral communication with interpreter-mediated discourse seen as a 'cooperation between permanently unequal speakers and hearers' (Ehlich according to Rehbein 2001: 928, translation by Lihua Jiang).

The term 'discourse analysis' is usually attributed to Harris (1952) who set out to produce a formal method "for the analysis of connected speech or writing which does not depend on the analyst's knowledge of the particular meaning of each morpheme" (Harris 1952: 357).

We can distinguish at least two opposing approaches: (1) 'discourse analysis'

understood as a 'system' of knowledge and values, an orientation largely taken by philosophy and the social sciences in the 1970s where it is closely linked to the concepts of Habermas (1971) and Foucault (1981) with a focus on the abstract structures of (written) texts and (2) 'discourse analysis' understood as the dynamic study of (spoken, oral) talk-in-interaction (Brown/Yule 1983).

The latter approach is today widely used[30] for analyzing 'language in use', e.g. naturally produced utterances and turns at talk in dialogs, conversations and communicative events in their sense-constituting sequence 'beyond the sentence level' i.e. in their coherence. It is in this sense that 'discourse analysis' is used in this study with particular emphasis on the tenet that discourse analyses should not limit themselves to texts "as static object, but as dynamic means of expressing **intended** meaning" (Brown/Yule 1983/2000: 24, bold print by Lihua Jiang).

In translation studies, Hatim (1997/1998) and Hatim/Mason (1990/2001) relate the notion of discourse to translation processes, their concept of 'discourse', however, has remained unclear and therefore does not lend itself to application in interpreter-mediated scenarios. Indebted to Foucault (1981), they establish discourse on two (not clearly separated) levels: system and text and explain discourse as:

- "…modes of talking and thinking, which, like genres, can become ritualized" (Hatim/Mason 1990/2001: 71); and
- "…material out of which interaction is moulded as well as themes addressed", at the same time being "seen as the institutional-communicative framework…" (Hatim 1997/1998: 68).

In this study, 'discourse' is mostly used in its modern technical meaning of differentiating it from (written) text by including oral dialogs which are "mündliche … und dialogische 'Spracherzeugnisse', die in sich zusammenhängend, kohärent, sind" Strauß/Haß/Harras 1989: 602)[31], involving cooperation in the interest of a common communicative goal of 'speakers/writers who have topics,

[30] It is widely applied today in areas such as sociolinguistics, pragmatics, psycholinguistics and communication studies, especially conversational analysis which all approach the subject with their own assumptions, dimensions of analysis and methodologies. However, although differing from each other in several ways, they share similarities which form a central set of unifying principles for the academic study of discourse (e.g. Schiffrin 1994)

[31] 'oral…and dialogic products of language which are inherently …coherent' (Translation by Lihua Jiang).

presuppositions, and who assign information structure and make reference. It is hearers/readers who interpret and who draw inferences" (Brown/Yule 1983/2000: ix). It integrates Rehbein (2001: 928) and Ehlich's understanding of ‚discourse'as "Sprachliche Tätigkeit von zwei oder mehr Aktanten, die in einer Sprechsituation kopräsent [sind]", wobei "Sequenzen und Verkettungen sprachlicher Handlungen emergieren"[32] and "Konnektivität häufig der Mitkonstruktion des Hörers überlassen ist"[33].

It is the constitution of communicative, 'intended' meaning in its complex forms reflecting feelings, interests, relationships and inferences or assumptions, which is so problematic when describing interpreter-mediated discourse communication. Although the presence of the interpreter's influence on constituting meaning is acknowledged by practitioners and a great number of interpreting researchers (for a more detailed account cf. Chapter 2), no consensus has been reached so far on which phenomena can be accommodated under which term and different expressions are used by interpreting researchers to account for the interpreter's influence on meaning constitution. Meyer (2004: 71-84) by using Rehbein's (1977: 265) categories of discourse analysis to investigate interpreter-mediated doctor-patient communication, shows that the interpreter's processing of the source-language discourse is strongly determined by their understanding of the doctor-patient-relationship and their knowledge of the respective methods and the medical issues.

Establishing communicatively coherent meanings includes assumptions and hypotheses about the communicative partners' profiles, perspectives and interests and the contents and functions of their messages. It is therefore a vital component for the description of the interpreter's role in establishing coherence in a sequence of messages which the communicative partners cannot establish on their own. It is on the basis of such assumptions that the interpreter makes decisions on which parts of a message are to be rendered verbatim, are deleted, condensed, modified or 'mediated' in the interests of achieving an agreed-upon communicative goal. Therefore, these different meaning assumptions need to be made transparent which will here be done

[32] "from language activity of two or more actors, who are co-present in a situation" "sequences and connectivity of language evolves" (Translation by Lihua Jiang).

[33] "establishing connectivity is often left to the co-construction of the hearer" (translation by Lihua Jiang).

by differentiating the perspectives as well as its possible implied dimensions of a message according to their factual, appellative, self-indicative and relationship indicating dimensions known as the Communication Square Model (CSM) or Four Tongues – Four Ears Model (Schulz von Thun 1981) suggests. We will differentiate isotopic continuity according to these different meaning dimensions.

This study will offer a framework for the interpreter within which decisions about his/her action latitude in an actual interpreting scenario can be made transparent. Against the general background of 'discourse analysis', it integrates the following theoretical dimensions:

- *The Theme-Rheme Communication Model* (FFM) (Mudersbach 1981 as applied e.g. by Gerzymisch-Arbogast 1987) to show the constitution of a message in terms of themes and rhemes;
- A message's (implied) *meaning dimensions* differentiated according to the factual, appellative, self-indicative and relationship communicative meaning concept of the Communication Square Model (CSM) or 'Four Tongues – Four Ears Model' as proposed by Schulz-von-Thun (1981);
- The concept of *coherence* as thematic continuities and rhematic differentials as laid out by Mudersbach (2004);
- The concept of *isotopy* (Gerzymisch-Arbogast 2004) as complementary to thematic continuities along the factual, appellative, self-indicative and relationship dimensions of a message.

In the following sections these theories are briefly discussed in relation to their relevance for the present study against the background of interpreter-mediated communication models.

4.1.1 Discourse Categories Used in this Study

Discourse and the paradigm of 'discourse analysis' provide a suitable and flexible framework of description within which the specific parameters of interpreter-mediated communicative situations such as the cooperation principle, the communicative objective and the notion of coherence can be suitably positioned and interrelated because:

- the objects of 'discourse analysis' are naturally produced utterances and turns at talk in dialogic exchanges to convey information in general or domain-specific communicative events. This understanding allows for integrating the interpreter's presence.
- 'discourse' is based on the cooperation (principle) of the *Communicative Partners* to achieve a commonly agreed objective of the communication. The cooperative principle geared towards an agreed upon objective is also applicable to interpreter-mediated communicative situations.
- 'discourse analysis' aims are the description of conversational processes and regularities which also allows for the integration of the interpreter as a 'third party'.

Essential for the present study is Grice's concept of cooperation of the Communicative Partners as understood by Rehbein (2001) and the establishment of communicative meaning and coherence in the light of the partners' assumptions in (dialogic) turn exchanges. Positioning the interpreter as a mediating partner within the general framework of discourse analysis and describing his/her action latitude and options on the basis of these assumptions therefore seems adequate.

Whereas in non-interpreter-mediated communication, the communicative partners are both responsible for establishing intended meanings and controlling *coherence* and continuity in their interaction, in interpreter-mediated communication the interpreter largely assumes this responsibility in the interest of the 'permanently unequal speakers and hearers'. It can then be said that aside from the linguistic and cultural mediation tasks, the interpreter also has a communication mediating or managing task which consists in being responsible for moderating the communicative process by understanding intended meanings and securing sense continuity (*coherence*) during turn exchanges in interpreted-mediated discourse. The interpreter influences and potentially controls the *coherence* establishing process of the interaction. Its detailed description is, therefore, a central concern of the present study.

This study proceeds from the idea that the description of the *discourse interpreter's* action latitude in interpreter-mediated communication can be adequately positioned by discourse analysis parameters such as a description of the *communicative situation*, the *communicative partners* and their cooperation in

achieving an agreed-up common *purpose* in an oral interactive exchange of information governed by a shared goal and objective, and by the *interpreter's* co-responsibility for 'making sense', i.e. establishing *coherence* even in the face of non-matching *interests*, cf. below.

Within this general framework, we will here concentrate on the question of how coherent messages in interpreter-mediated communication can be established and described as a regularity to differentiate a variety of interpreting options for the interpreter. In that we will view *theme-rheme* progression and *isotopy* (e.g. Gerzymisch-Arbogast 2004, Gerzymisch-Arbogast et al. 2006a) as indicators for *coherence* (Mudersbach 2004). We will go beyond existing studies in that we position the *Theme-Rheme Communication Model* (FFM) and its parameters (Mudersbach 1981) within this general framework of 'discourse analysis' and adapt it to interpreter-mediated communication to depict the process of meaning constitution by the interpreter as a message in terms of thematically (known, i.e. already introduced) continuing information (concepts, objects and events) in Mudersbach's terms (2004) and rhemes as information differing from the already introduced information units as rhematic differentials. This differentiation is needed for establishing *topic continuity* and thus *coherence* in a sequence of messages. For simplicity reasons we will here, keep the terms *theme (T)* and *rheme (R).* The study introduces a number of new concepts into theme-rheme identification, which are crucial for the present study:

- the concepts of presupposed (overlapping) *knowledge* profiles of the *communicative partners* including the *interpreter*
- the concept of (overlapping) *focus of attention* of the Communicative Partners and the interpreter in a particular communicative situation and
- the assumption of different *perspective*s for perceiving the communicative meaning of a message (cf. below) in its theme/rheme structure.

4.2 Interpreter-mediated Communication Models

The present study proceeds from the basic triangular communication models (Ogden-Richard 1923, Bühler 1934) and integrates the interpreter as it has been suggested in various interpreter-mediated communication models (e.g. Seleskovitch 1984, Gile

1992, Feldweg 1996, for an overview of process models in interpreting cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 95ff). In interpreter-mediated communication, a *communicative partner's* message 1 (M I) formulated in the (linguistic) signs and concepts of language system A, is filtered through the interpreter's reception and reproduction processes. It is usually assumed that the interpreter receives the message formulated in the (linguistic) signs and concepts of language system A, which undergoes a 'black box' encoding and decoding process, and reproduces the message to another *communicative partner* as message 2 (M II) formulated in the (linguistic) signs and concepts of language system B after the interpreter's cultural transfer activity and decision-making of different meaning dimensions of the message has been completed. The second *communicative partner*, as a receiver of message 2, via the *interpreter* assumes the position of a sender and sends another message 3 (M III) back to the first *communicative partner* via the *interpreter*. It is through these stages that interpreter-mediated communication is assumed to flow as is shown in the diagram in Chapter 5. In the interpreting research literature, several models exist that depict the flow of messages from source input to interpreted output (an overview of processing models reflecting different research paradigms is offered by Pöchhacker 2004: 92-108). We will here restrict ourselves to the basic meaning triangle supplemented by an *interpreter's* presence. This reflects the models of Seleskovitch (1984), Gile (1995) and Feldweg (1996).

Seleskovitch (1984: 185) perceived the 'mechanism' of interpreting as a 'triangle process', at the pinnacle of which was the construction of sense. The 'sense', 'concept' or 'idea' illustrated in the traditional triangular communication models was supplemented with the interpreter. Her 'deverbalization' model stresses that the essential process at work in Translation[34] is not linguistic 'transcoding' but the interpreter's understanding and expression of 'sense'. 'Sense' is understood by Seleskovitch (1978: 336) as 'nonverbal', i.e. dissociated from linguistic form in cognitive memory. The idea is that translational processes are essentially based on non language-specific ('deverbalized') utterance meaning rather than linguistic conversation procedures ('transcoding').

[34] 'Translation' in capitalized letter includes both written translation and oral translation (interpretation or interpreting), according to the Leipzig School description.

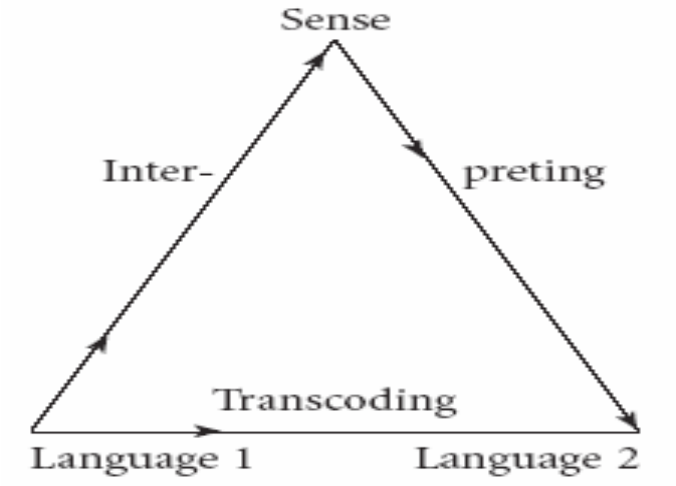


Figure 2: Seleskovitch's triangle model (1984: 185)

The communication triangle also underlies Gile's model of verbal communication in a Translation setting (1995: 27). The basic components of his model include aims and intentions (i.e. informing, explaining, persuading) of verbal communication scenarios, and discourse consisting of informational content (the 'Message') and its 'Package' as illustrated in figure 2.

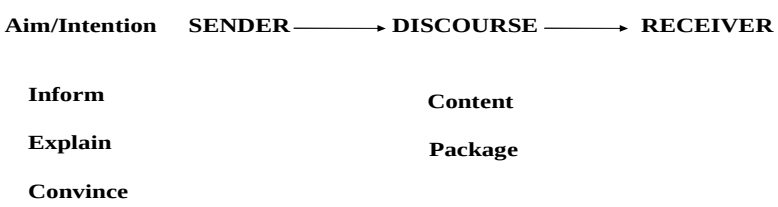


Figure 3: Gile's Model of verbal communication in a Translation setting (1995: 27)

Compared with Seleskovitch's triangle model, Gile's verbal communication model adds the component of aims and intentions of an act of communication, which – as an assumed category – is an important factor influencing the interpreter's actions. In interpreter-mediated communication scenarios, due to the bedirectionality and relation to a certain communicative situation, aims and intentions of different

communicative partners are more complex than conference interpreting scenarios in that the message of communicative partner A, as a rule interrelates with the previous (interpreted) message of B. Thus, a description of a *communicative situation* in its time and place characterization, type of scenario, shared *focus of attention*, *interest* of *communicative partners* and purpose of communication is of great importance to analyze the interpreter's potential actions. In Gile's model (1995: 27), both 'Content' and 'Package'[35] of verbal signs are selected as a function of the characteristics of the target 'Receiver' as perceived by the 'Sender', in particular their knowledge of the language, subject, and context and their personal and cultural attitudes toward the Sender and his or her ideas. This has special significance in interpreter-mediated communication as each communicative partner proceeds from his/her own perspective of constructing a message with a certain intention in a certain way within a certain *focus of attention* in a particular *communicative situation.* The interpreter's presence in this bilateral communication scenario adds to the complexity of 'normal' communication scenarios even if we do not consider the language and cultural diversity aspect.

Feldweg's (1996: 186) communication model of a simultaneous interpreting process describes the information flowing back and forth between communicators. This model includes the components[36] of 'communicative environment', 'sender', 'receiver', 'interpreter', 'message' and 'feedback'.

[35] In speeches, the 'Package' is made up of the words and linguistic structures of the speech, as well as the voice and delivery, plus a non-verbal signal. In this sense, 'Package' refers to the linguistic and peri-linguistic choices made by the Sender and to the physical medium through which they are instantiated (Gile 1995: 26).

[36] The components are translated by the author and their original German versions are: Umwelt ('communicative environment'), Sender ('sender'), Empfänger ('receiver'), Dolmetscher ('interpreter'), Mitteilung ('message'), 'feedback'.

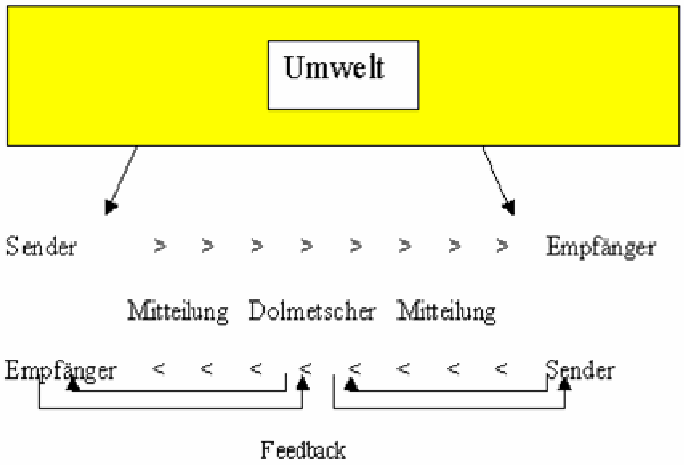


Figure 4: The communication model in conference interpreting (Feldweg 1996: 186)

Similar to Gile's communication model, Feldweg also considers communicative situation components. In addition to Gile's linear communication process, Feldweg's model accounts for the possibility of feedback between the primary communicators and the interpreter. The process is described in terms of a 'sender' sending information to an 'interpreter'. After acknowledging the 'sender's' information, the 'interpreter' assumes a 'sender's' role and passes the information on to the 'receiver'. As communication takes alternative turns between the primary 'sender' and 'interpreter' as well as between the 'interpreter' and 'receiver', 'feedback' comes in to assist in the comprehension and production processes.

This view is of special interest to *Discourse Interpreting* scenarios in the sense that communication proceeds with all the interlocutors' dynamic assessment and interpretation of each other's utterances.

In the above communication models, Seleskovitch puts emphasis on the non-verbal 'sense' of a message while leaving out the description of communicative situations. Gile adds the aims and intentions component to an interpreting event scenario, thus providing the basis for addressing the complexity of interpreting the bilingual interchange of messages. Feldweg introduces 'feedback' as a form of interaction in interpreting scenarios, but does not include hidden meanings and meaning continuity (*coherence*) in his model. establishing *coherence* in a sequence of interpreted messages will be at the center of the present study (cf. Chapter 5).

4.3 The FFM Adapted for Interpreter-mediated Communication

Within the broad framework of a triangular communication model with an added interpreter component and within the framework of discourse analysis, the present study will proceed from the *Theme-Rheme Fan Fixation Model (FFM)* [37]as proposed by Mudersbach (1981)[38].The model shows how the communicative message is established in terms of *themes* and *rhemes* from a *speaker's* and a *hearer's* point of view. It will here be supplemented by the interpreter's dimension and perspective (cf. below).

The basic notions of *theme* and *rheme* used here are those presented in Gerzymisch-Arbogast (1985, 1987, 1993, 1994) in which *theme* is understood to be the informational unit in an utterance that *speaker/author* anticipates to be 'known' to the intended *hearer/reader*, while *rheme* is understood to be the informational unit that *speaker/author* anticipates to be 'new' to the intended *hearer/reader*. The interpreter assumes the roles of a *hearer* and a *speaker* at the same time.

In the following, the *FFM* is briefly outlined[39] as it applies to non-interpreter-mediated communicative situations: Any message is perceived as a communicative event in which a speaker wants to relay some kind of information to a hearer. The speaker chooses (and in the ideal case the hearer understands it that way[40]) the information to consist of something that is known to the hearer (*theme*) and something that is new to the hearer (*rheme*). In order for the communication to be successful (and be successfully described), certain presuppositions are assumed to influence the production and understanding of a message and need to be made transparent when analyzing messages and their exchanges in terms of *theme* and *rheme* entities:

- the *communicative situation* (time, place) in which the communication takes place;

[37] This model is outlined in Gerzymisch-Arbogast/Mudersbach (1998: 63).

[38] This model is later applied by Gerzymisch-Arbogast (1987, 2003 and 2005) to monologic texts and Gerzymisch-Arbogast/Will 2005 with reference to simultaneous interpreting.

[39] The parameters from the *Theme-Rheme Fan Fixiation Model (FFM)* are introduced in this dissertation in the English version as translated by the author.

[40] The case in which does not fall into this category is not considered here.

- the *communicative partners* in terms of their knowledge profiles. The knowledge profiles are described from the *communicative partners' perspectives*, i.e. the *speaker* views the *hearer* from her *perspective* and vice versa. This *perspective* includes assumptions on the (knowledge) profile of the *communicative partner* as part of the communicative meaning of a message, with the inclusion of the *interpreter*, the *perspectives* change to reflect the *interpreter's perspective* in understanding as well as reproducing a message;
- there must be an overlap of the *communicative partners' knowledge* profiles in terms of the linguistic, domain-specific, cultural and other kinds of knowledge they share. This overlap is here called the *shared knowledge profile* by *speaker* and *hearer* (and possible other *communicative partners*) and includes the *communicative partners' perspectives* in terms of their interests and assumptions. Again, with the *interpreter's* adding his/her own *knowledge* which overlaps with both the *hearer* and *speaker's knowledge* profiles;
- a shared *focus of attention* of the *communicative partners* with respect to the communicative event in a given situation, which again applies to the *interpreter* as well on which they base their communicative exchange;
- the *topics* chosen by a *speaker* (and expected by a *hearer*) must fall within the *shared focus of speaker and hearer* if continuity of sense is to be established in a sequence of messages and smooth communication without potential interventions (e.g. corrections, feedback) is the common communicative aim, with the exception of the clarification and mediation efforts, the interpreter does not speak for his/her own but reproduces the primary speakers' messages.

The parameters of a standard (non-interpreter-mediated) communicative situation therefore generally include:

- the *communicative situation* (time, place, type, norms, modality)
- the *communicative partners* (speaker A, hearer B) and their *(shared) knowledge* profiles seen from each other's *perspective*
- the *communicative partners*' (shared) *focus of attention* on the communicative event

- the communicated *message* (M) in terms of *theme (T)* and *rheme (R).*

The parameters[41] are shown in their interrelationship as follows:

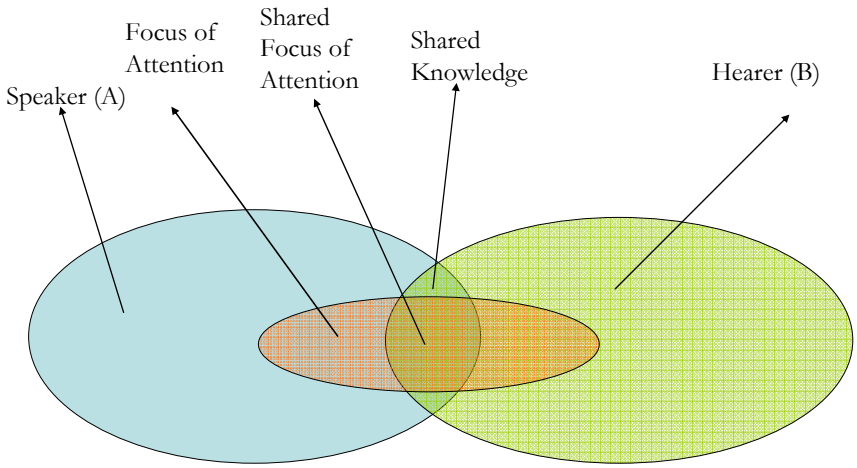


Figure 5: A Theme-Rheme Communication Model (FFM) (adapted from Mudersbach 1981)

The *FFM* is used in this study to depict the constitution of a message in terms of *themes* and *rhemes* from the interpreter's knowledge profile and *focus of attention* and to explain the difficulty of establishing (and controlling) communicative continuity by the *interpreter* during an interpreter-mediated exchange. It is therefore necessary to describe the key *FFM* parameters in more detail. In the following the key *FFM* parameters, i.e. the *communicative situtation*, *communicative partners* and their (shared) *knowledge* profiles and (shared) *focus of attention* in a standard communicative event are discussed.

4.3.1 The FFM Communicative Situation

The *communicative situation* is part of the *FFM* description because it affects the expectations of the *communicative partners*, the information they exchange and their subsequent responses and behaviors. Generally speaking, its description includes the

[41] Their original German designations are: Kommunikationssituation (the communicative situation), Sprecher und Hörer (Speaker and Hearer), Wissenstand des Sprechers, Wissenstand des Hörers, Gemeinsamer Wissenstand von Hörer und Leser (i.e. the Communicative Partners' (shared) knowledge profiles), Aufmerksamkeitsbereich (in einer bestimmten Kommunikationssituation) (focus of attention), Gemeinsamer Aufmerksamkeitsbereich (in einer bestimmten Kommunikationssituation) (e.g. shared focus of attention) (translation by the author)

setting and the place of the communicative event e.g. political, everyday or domain-specific. It also includes physical, social, historical, psychological and cultural circumstances as is variously described in the literature (e.g. Kalina 1992, Pöchhacker 1994, Feldweg 1996). In Pöchhacker's (2003: 167) analysis of the communicative situation in Conference Interpreting, he follows Herrman's (1982: 49) description to include subjective dimensions of the situation which influence the communication actions "zur Bezeichnung der subjektiven Umweltinterpretation und -orientierung des einzelnen Handelnden (Kommunikators)"[42]. The concept can be understood from two sides: on the one hand, from the outside observer's perspective with the description including the 'objective' time and place factors and on the other hand, from within an actor's description of the communicator's perspective as a complex arrangement and interaction space which is constituted by individual communicators' *perspectives* of the *communicative situation*. Analysis of the *communication situation* may also include the occasion of the interchange, the time of day (e.g. Apfelbaum 2004, Meyer 2004) and norms, conventions (e.g. Hale 2004, Sauerwein 2006) that apply to the communicative exchange (e.g. Roy 2000). The physical circumstances of a communication situation may include factors such as environmental factors (heat, lighting and noise) in addition to the physical distance between the *communicative partners* (e.g. the seating arrangements). The other dimension of the *communicative situation* is related to the *communicative partners*' dynamic perspective of by receiving and producing certain verbal or nonverbal messages. In this sense, the *communicative situation* is seen as a blueprint of the participants' joint effort to communicate in order to reach an agreed-upon objective implying a dynamic process through which all types of *knowledge* are 'ad hoc' brought into the interpretative process.

4.3.2 The FFM Communicative Partners and their (Shared) Knowledge Profiles

In standard communicative events, the *FFM* assumes in a very general way that communication can only come about if the *knowledge* profiles in terms of language,

[42] "to designate the subjective interpretation and orientation of the environment by the individual communicator" (Herrmans (1982: 49) translation by the author.

culture, domain and everyday knowledge overlap to a certain extent, i.e. *communicative partners* need to speak the same language, share a certain amount of cultural values and have a certain amount of background *knowledge* in common. This parameter is particularly relevant for interpreter-mediated communicative events for it is exactly in the cases where language and cultures do not match that the *interpreter's* function and role comes in to mediate existing mismatches with respect to language, culture and often domain background *knowledge* (in medical or legal settings this is very obvious). The *interpreter* thus steps in to provide the lacking overlap of *knowledge* profiles to make communication possible. It is a largely neglected factor in interpreter-mediated communication that communicative meaning and sense constitution in an interchange not only involves language and cultural factors but largely depends on what *knowledge* can be presupposed in the partners which is particularly relevant to most *Discourse Interpreting* settings, e.g. doctor-patient or legal communication. It is thus considered vital in the present study to make the (assumed*) knowledge* profiles of the *Communicative Partners* transparent so that the discourse *interpreter* can accommodate her performance and strategies accordingly.

The *communicative partners*' *knowledge* profiles may show many differences beyond language, culture and knowledge which also need to be accounted for in communication such as race, sex, age, level of physical ability, personality, self-confidence, attitudes, values, social experiences as seen from different *perspectives* of the *communicative partners* which may raise significant problems for the *interpreter*, e.g. in many asylum seeking meetings the *interpreter* finds it difficult not to side with one of the parties involved as has recently been reported by Pöllabauer 2003, 2004 or by Sauerwein 2006. In addition to the *communicative partners*' differences in *knowledge* profiles in terms of world knowledge, language and cultural knowledge, domain-specific knowledge may constitute complex sources of miscommunication.

4.3.3 The FFM Communicative Partners and their (Shared) Focus of Attention

The *FFM* further assumes that in a communicative event all of the *communicative partners*' attention is – to some extent – focused on the communicative event, from

which the *topics* are chosen. In other words: the *focus of attention* provides a more general framework for situating the *topics* of a conversation. In standard *communicative situations*, the *focus of attention* provides for a framework of *coherence* for a sequence of utterances, e.g. while (from a *hearer*'s point of view) a sequence of 'I had a late breakfast – I love horses – I have suffered from insomnia' may be considered cohesive by the recurrent deixis of 'I', it is not necessarily implying *coherence*, because it lacks a *focus of attention* presupposed and attributable to a particular communicative event.

While *communicative partners* are assumed to share the *focus of attention*, their thoughts may also be distracted to something else which is why *speaker* and *hearer* also have a separate focus, i.e. their attention may be distracted by something else which is not accessible to the other communicative partner.

In interpreter-mediated communicative events, *communicative partners* may be distracted or otherwise unfocussed, e.g. by a lack of background *knowledge* when for instance a patient asks the *interpreter* to explain a medical term or phrase s/he did not understand. This is important for the *interpreter* to note because she can easily intervene to re-establish focus in the interest of a successful communication. The assumed overlap is here called shared *focus of attention* by *speaker* and *hearer* and/or *communicative partners*[43] and will later include the *interpreter* (cf. Chapter 5). It needs to be decided whether in a *communicative situation* such 'unfocussed' interchanges are to be handled independently by the *interpreter* who thus takes an active, 'non-verbatim', mediating role in the interest of effective communication in that he/she provides e.g. clarifications in order to ensure continuity of focus for the speaker/hearer. Or to which extent the clarification of misunderstandings and the provision of additional knowledge rest with the *communicative partners* who handle such 'unfocussed' requests themselves.

The *focus of attention* is a parameter which has not been widely acknowledged in interpreting studies.It will be another important parameter here because of its

[43] The *shared focus of attention (Aufmerksamkeitsbereich)* is a parameter in the *'fan fixation' model FFM* (Mudersbach 1981 cited by Gerzymisch-Arbogast 1987: xix) which is necessary for establishing *coherence* in a sequence of utterances. While cohesion may be established through the recurrent use of the deixs 'I' in agent position, the sequence of utterances may not be coherent unless there is a joint *focus of attention.*

effect on the action latitude of the interpreter and therefore must be made transparent in the communicative process (cf. Chapter 5).

4.3.4 The FFM and Individual Perspectives

It is one of the most important parameters of the *FFM* that the *knowledge* profiles and their overlap and the *focus of attention* are described relative to the *communicative partners'* perspective of each other and the interpreter's 'interpretation' of the speaker's and hearer's perspectives in a message. This means that *knowledge* and attention is not depicted in absolute but in relative terms as it is seen from the *interpreter's* view. In structuring a message for example, a *speaker* will put the hearer 'into perspective' if he/she wants to make her message understandable, i.e. make certain assumptions of the *hearer's knowledge* and *interests*, his/her perception and interpretation of the message. This is a crucial parameter for interpreter-mediated communication as it will fall within the responsibility of the *interpreter* to make sure that the *perspectives* of the *communicative partners* match. Therefore, we need a more explicit meaning model that can account for 'hidden' dimensions of meaning and we will here integrate from Schulz-von-Thun's 'Four Tongues – Four Ears Model' (1981) which is briefly described in the following section.

One of the most crucial parameters for this study is the idea that meaning is constituted by the *interpreter* as he/she assumes the perspectives of the *communicative partners*. These perspectives include the assumption of (shared) *knowledge* profiles and *focus of attention* above. Problems in communication may arise from a mismatch of what is perspectivized by the interpreter and/or the *communicative partners*, e.g. if the actual background *knowledge* of partner (A) does not match the *knowledge* from the *perspective* of (B). The example quoted in our problem statement in Chapter 1 shows that while (from an observer's point of view) the father had no knowledge of English, this was actually not the case and while the daughter was focusing on the aim of the communication (for the father to get the legal papers as an immigrant), the father was distracted from this common focus of the conversation and voiced his anger. It can easily be noted what complex problems such a mismatch in *perspectives* may cause for the *interpreter* who then cannot but 'mediate' in the sense of moderating or managing the discourse by matching the

different *perspectives* in the interest of achieving the agreed-upon aim of the communication.

While this aspect has largely been neglected in the interpreting research literature, it is considered to be of paramount importance here in the establishment of the communicative meaning of a message which rests on what (from a *speaker's perspective*) a speaker assumes the *communicative partner(s)* to know and focus on. Whether a hearer understands the message in the way it is intended by the speaker therefore rests to a large extent on whether the speaker's assumptions match the actual *knowledge* background and expected *focus of attention* of the hearer and it is one of the most crucial factors of the *interpreter* to 'mediate' such reciprocal assumptions by the primary speakers.

Because of the paramount importance of communicative meaning for interpreter-mediated communication, the notion of perspectives here not only includes the assumptions of *knowledge* profiles and *focus of attention* as presuppositions of communicative meaning but also includes different meaning dimensions of the message itself. Therefore, the *communicative meaning* perspectives of a message are further differentiated according to the communications square of factual, appellative, self-indicative and relationship dimensions as proposed by Schulz-von-Thun (1981) which will be further described in section 4.5 after extending the FFM to its coherence dimension in the following section.

4.4 Establishing Communicative Meaning ('Sense') in Interpreting

If we proceed from considering the establishment of communicative meaning a key problem in an interpreter-mediated event, we need to proceed from a theoretical framework that adequately models the complexity of the meaning parameters involved. While the perspectives with respect to the *knowledge* profiles and the *focus of attention* are presupposed elements of meaning constitution, we also need to distinguish different levels in the meaning itself. One of the most differentiated models designed for this purpose is the Watzlawik-based communication square model (better known as 'Four Tongues – Four Ears Model') by Schulz von Thun (1981). It applies to all *communicative situations* where factual and interpersonal dimensions continuously interact and reflects both the *speaker's* and the *hearer's perspectives* in interactive communication. It thus lends itself to the *interpreter* who

is at both ends of the communicated message, i.e. who is a recipient (hears with 'four ears') and a producer (speaks with 'four tongues') of messages. It is thus suitable for application to interpreter-mediated communication.

4.4.1 Essentials of the Communication Square Model

The model suggests that any communicative event has four dimensions and we can summarize it as follows [44]

Whenever we communicate, four utterance dimensions and their interplay are activated. Anything we say – whether we realize it or not – simultaneously contains four types of messages:

- A factual message (i.e. that what is spoken about) ;
- A self-indicative message about the speaker (i.e. what is revealed about the personality of the speaker) ;
- A relationship message (i.e. how the speaker relates to the hearer, what the speaker thinks of the hearer);
- An appellative message (what the speaker wants the hearer to do for him/her).

The four 'tongues' of the speaker/author are matched by 'four ears' of a hearer/recipient. It can be said that when we communicate with each other, all *communicative partners* speak with four tongues and listen with four ears.

On a factual level of communication, the information is in the foreground, i.e. data, facts, results. There are three criteria that govern the factual level, i.e. the criterion of truth (i.e. is what is being said true or not), the criterion of relevance, (i.e. is what is being said relevant to the topic under discussion or not), and the criterion of sufficiency, (i.e. are the facts presented sufficient for the discussion of a particular topic or do other facts need to be considered?). All three criteria apply to the *interpreter's* situation, i.e. it is generally acknowledged that the *interpreter* needs to relay the information truthfully (e.g. Pöchhacker 2004: 154, Hale 2007: 5). It is also understood that because not every word can always be interpreted the criterion of relevance is of importance (this will later be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5).

[44] The following English version follows the description of Gerzymisch-Arbogast (2009).

And there is a consensus in the literature that the interpreter must make sure that the criterion of sufficiency applies if a message is to be interpreted coherently (Wadensjö 1998: 201, Hale 2007: 91).

A speaker/author will present facts in what s/he thinks is clear and understandable against the background of her perspective of the other communicator's background *knowledge* profile. A recipient reads/listens to such facts and data, forms an opinion and may ask questions if they need clarification. It is an unresolved question to date in the interpreting literature to what an extent and in what circumstances the *interpreter* is granted the latitude of acting independently in this case.

Every utterance also contains a self-indicative message of the speaker which may be explicit (e.g. indicated by expressions like 'I think', 'I stand for', 'in my opinion') or implicit, which – according to von Thun – makes any message a small sample of a speaker's personality.

While a speaker/author implicitly or explicitly gives some indication about him/herself, recipients acknowledge how speakers present themselves with their self-indicative ears and form their own opinion about what the speakers tells him/her about himself/herself, what kind of person she is, what her orientation, inclination or mood is. The interpreter must be able to put herself into the speaker's and hearer's perspective to assume what either of the *communicative partner's* perception is of the other and potentially needs to be able to balance or offset perceptions which will jeopardize the attainment of the communication's purpose.

An utterance also reveals something about the relationship between speakers and hearers. The relationship message is implied in how the *communicative partners* address each other, in the wording we use, the intonation, the body language that accompanies a message. The relationship indication is a delicate and powerful dimension, for which the *communicative partners* often have a very sensitive and sometimes even overly sensitive (relationship) ear. The relationship messages the *communicative partners* send and receive – and of which the *communicative partners* may not be aware – decide on how the *communicative partners* feel treated by the other, what the *communicative partners* think of each other. The quality of many factual messages depends on the quality of the relationship message sent or received.

The relationship message is therefore a crucial dimension for the *interpreter* to understand and moderate if necessary.

The appellative message is also an inherent part of any message. In communication, the *communicative partners* will, as a rule, want to achieve something for their efforts, exert some influence on a state of affairs, a development. The *communicative partners* do not only send out a neutral signal but also appeal to to the others. Overtly or covertly there are wishes, claims, advice, suggestions for effective action etc. implanted in their talk. The appellative ear is therefore particularly open for the question: what should be done, think or feel now and is as such an important meaning dimension for the *interpreter* to be aware of a mediate in a given scenario.

4.4.2 Four Dimensions in Interpreter-mediated Communication or: Interpreting Discourse with four tongues and ears

- The factual dimension

As we have seen in Chapter 2 and 3, practically all literature sources agree that the content should be factually interpreted. We can also say that the *communicative partners* are always both, speakers and hearers and the roles alternate with the interpreter mediating the turns of the interchanges. In the course of the mediating effort information is condensed via well-known strategies such as deleting, paraphrasing, integrating, and summarizing (van Dijk 1980) within the categories of "truth", "relevance" and "sufficiency".

While truth may be easy to establish, the relevance problem is a difficult problem for the interpreter and implies decisions with respect to the operations of deleting, paraphrasing, integrating and summarizing. To date these decisions have been made intuitively, the situation conditions largely remaining opaque and unsystematized. The same applies to the sufficiency criterion. In interpreter-mediated communication which is often characterized by the asymmetrical interpersonal relationship of expert-lay persons, it is an open question today whether and/or under which circumstances the *interpreter* is 'allowed' to independently supply lacking background information to comply with the sufficiency postulate in communication.

- The self-indicative dimension

Although often forgotten and sometimes downplayed, the message of how *communicative partners* see and position themselves in communication invariably becomes notable to others. Using certain phrases and expressions may make people who do not share the same *knowledge* feel 'not addressed' and thus rejected or even intimidated. As a consequence they will not be inclined to accept a factual proposition, no matter how justified and convincing the factual argument is. The implied self-indicative dimension can therefore be said to interrelate with the factual dimension. It also interrelates with the appellative dimension and may compromise a speaker's implied appellative claim that others accept his/her ideas.

This is, of course an important consideration for the *interpreter* to be aware of and potentially 'mediate' and balance negative self-indicative elements in the interest of securing the attainment of a common objective.

- The relationship dimension

The same is true for the relationship dimension, which is widely realized in the interpreting literature when addressing such problems as the interpreter's sympathy or 'footing', or discussing the asymmetric relationship in e.g. doctor-patient and lawyer-client relationships.

Failures in respecting the relationship dimension may result – whether we think this is justified or not – in a rejection of a factual statement. This may seem highly subjective and volatile (changeable) but needs to be taken into consideration when 'mediating' exchanges.

- The appellative dimension

As a rule the *communicative partners*, including the interpreter, are motivated by the wish to obtain acceptance for what is said or proposed and need to feel that they are making a worthwhile contribution. However, the wish to be accepted may vary by personality, gender and/or cultural convention of the speaker and hearer. In some cases such wishes can be expressed as explicit claims, sometimes they come across as implications which always leave room for doubt about motivations and attitudes.

All these dimensions interrelate when making decisions about communicative meanings and what is interpreted in which way. It is therefore important for the interpreter to take this meaning dimension into account.

4.5 Coherence and Isotopy in Discourse Interpreting

4.5.1 Coherence as a Concept

Coherence is an important parameter in discourse analysis as a standard for judging whether a message makes sense or not. The concept is generally attributed to Bellert (1970) who introduced the operation of 'inferences' as a necessary component in text comprehension involving the active participation of the reader. The concept has been differently defined from different angles depending on whether world *knowledge* is considered an element in the concept and the resulting methodological problem of depicting world *knowledge*. Halliday/Hasan (1976) understand what they call 'cohesion' as a purely text-internal category describing detailed lexico-grammatical relations in a text. World *knowledge* features prominently in de Beaugrande/Dressler's (1980) differentiation of (1) cohesion as a category relating to the surface structure of a text and including parameters like e.g. recurrence, parallelisms, anaphoric and cataphoric reference, deixis and modality and (2) *coherence* as a category indicating sense continuity of a text (1981). The differentiation of cohesion and *coherence* was proposed at about the same time by van de Velde (1981) and is today the most widely accepted understanding of *Coherence* although a further differentiation into a tripartite concept by Hatekeyama/Petöfi/Sötzer was later introduced (1989) with a stronger differentiation on the grammatico-semantic level. Later concepts differentiate between local and global coherence (Strohner 1990, Schnotz 1994, Storrer 1997).

The idea of an active participation on the *community partners'* part in establishing *coherence* is widely acknowledged in interpreting with Wadensjö's views (1998: 153) standing as an example here. She states that the Community Interpreter's task is to do a certain part of others' sense-making, which includes the task of coordinating their communicative activities. *Coherence* is understood as the joint efforts of *communicative partners* to make sense of utterances. In addition to the *coherence* of propositional meanings of the spoken words and expressions, the contextual or situated meanings of words, sense is described by Wadensjö as being based on the 'participation framework', continuously negotiated in and by talk, i.e., on the basis of how *communicative partners* position themselves in relation to each other; who is understood to be addressed, by whom and how, and thus, who is

obliged to respond and how. Her understanding stresses the cooperation among all the *communicative partners* with the interpreter as a part. This view is also held by Roy (2000: 99) who puts forward that *interpreters* are doing more than searching a lexical bank, or syntactic rules, to create coherent utterances and turns. They act on understandings and expectations of the way social scenes emerge in interaction, as well as on social and cultural knowledge of the "ways of speaking" within particular situations. However, both authors do not go into detail to explain what kind of elements constitute the concept of *coherence* and how *coherence* is methodologically established.

We will in this study proceed from de Beaugrande's basic differentiation of 'cohesion' and 'coherence' (de Beaugrande/Dressler 1981) and will specify the term of sense continuity by defining *coherence* as establishing a meaningful relation between what has been said before to how what has been said is continued in the sense of an interrelationship of *themes* and *rhemes* as proposed for the understanding of texts by Mudersbach (2004). The concept will here be adapted to apply to interpreter-mediated exchanges and is described in its aspects relating to its use in this study in the following section.

4.5.2 Establishing coherence in interpreted-mediated communication

In line with Mudersbach (2004: 250), we will proceed from the differentiation of the terms 'coherent', 'incoherent' and 'a-coherent', depending on whether the elements (of a turn exchange) are explicitly related to each other (coherent), are incompatible with each other (incoherent) or have nothing to do with each other (a-coherent)[45]. This differentiation is later (cf. Chapter 5) needed to co-determine which messages an *interpreter* – in her or his mediation task – may delete (e.g. a-coherent messages), which messages need to be adapted and moderated (e.g. incoherent messages) and which need to be rendered into another language (e.g. coherent messages) in the sense of their being 'condensed', 'integrated' and/or 'summarized' (in van Dijk's wording 1980: 41).

[45] The terms 'cohesion' or connectivity' are not used or discussed in this study.

Coherence is here understood as depicting the continuous interrelationship between *themes* and *rhemes* in a turn exchange of an interpreter-mediated communication. Establishing *coherence* presupposes a situation framework within which the interaction takes place and which is characterized by (cf. the FFM parameters outlined in 3.2):

- the parameters of a *situation* (type), characterized by a certain place and time frame
- the *communicative partners* and their *knowledge* profiles which may differ but overlap to a certain extent, and
- a *focus of attention* of the communication with an explicit purpose which is recognized by the *communicative partners* and
- the *communicative partners*' *interest* in the communication. While the *interest* may ad hoc differ between the *communicative partners* it needs to overlap to a certain extent to guarantee cooperation in the attainment of a common purpose as a pre-requisite for cooperation in the attainment of this purpose of the communication.

The idea behind this concept is that communicative meaning, i.e. sense constitution in a sequence of messages in an interpreter-mediated exchange is established by (1) linking (thematic) elements and (2) progressive (rhematic) elements which carry the information proper. A message is thus constituted by the interchange of thematic elements indicating continuity and progressive elements conveying new information. The thematic elements contain the *coherence* establishing elements, the remaining progressive part of the message indicates the ongoing informative elements, which are different from the thematic parts and are thus called differentials.

In order to establish *coherence,* an interpreter-mediated communication is differentiated into (1) an interpreting scenario with an *attention focus* (2) a turn exchange between the *communicative partners* and (3) a *Message* as a component of the turn exchange. For example the communication may take place in a legal scenario, the turn exchange may consist of a question-answer sequence and the message may consist of a question or the answer. A turn exchange consists of a *tetradic sequence* (Mudersbach 2008, as described in Sunwoo 2008) in that it comprises

Turn Exchange n:

- A *communicative partner* A's utterance
- A *communicative partner* B's reaction
- The acknowledgement of B's reaction by A

The acknowledgement of A's acknowledgement by B.

Turn Exchange n+1

Turn Exchange n+2 etc., each consisting of the four (tetradic) components of which the first three are conventional and the last one is optional (cf. Chapter 5)
Thematic are in this context either entities which make reference to the preceding next higher level of turn exchanges (e.g. from turn exchange n+1 to turn exchange n) or to the topic of a preceding unit of the same level (e.g. message 2 to message 1). The thematic elements establish links to the preceding unit or to the next higher (superordinated) level (which constitute isotopies) and are, therefore, coherence building entities. The rhematic entities contain the differential parts which exist on the same level (message (1), (2), (3) or (4) in turn exchange n or in turn exchange n+1).

For all types of *coherence* (message-related, turn-exchange-related and scenario-related) the following applies: From a unit U 2 a relationship is established to either the preceding unit U 1 of the same or a higher level. This relationship may be explicit or implicit. Implicitly constituted relationships are hypothetically constructed by reference to a supra-ordinated aspect (cf. Mudersbach 2004: 259).

4.5.3 Isotopy

4.5.3.1 Isotopy as a concept

The concept of *isotopy* was first introduced into linguistics by Greimas (1966/1986) and has been modified and expanded in numerous ways by the Greimas school, notably by Rastier (1974/80, 1989, 1995, 2002). Greimas' concept of isotopy is based on a relational meaning concept made up by the categories of semes, classemes and sememes. The minimal isotopic unit as 'iterativity along a syntagmatic chain of classemes' (Greimas/Courtés 1982: 163) is between two lexemes. This 'iterativity along a syntagmatic chain of classemes' is not limited to the syntagma or sentence level and is as such a potentially transphrastic phenomenon

that can appear continuously in discourse and is therefore relevant for meaning constitution and for consideration by the *interpreter*.

Despite its conceptual and methodological unclarity, the concept of *isotopy* as defined by Greimas and his school has gained rapid acceptance in semiotics, poetics and linguistics. Isotopy is today firmly established as a concept in text linguistics, e.g. as an indicator of text *coherence.* It is from this discipline, specifically from text analysis, that it found its way into the field of translation – mostly as an instrument to ensure the full comprehension of the source text (e.g. Stolze 1982 and 2003, Thiel/Thome 1988, Thiel/Thome 1996). Its transfer conditions including its potential invariance in translation have, however, hardly been discussed in the translation literature (cf. Mudersbach/Gerzymisch-Arbogast 1989).

4.5.3.2 Isotopy and Coherence in Interpreter-mediated Communication

The concept of *coherence*, as a rule, implies inferences and world knowledge as a factor in establishing *coherence* (e.g. van de Velde 1981 or de Beaugrande/Dressler 1981) or not (e.g. Halliday and Hasan 1976). World knowledge actualized by contextual information is also a factor in establishing *isotopies* via 'afferent' semes, with afference defined as an 'inference that allows the actualization of an afferent seme' (Rastier 2002: 255).

Isotopy and *coherence* are thus closely linked concepts and their homogenous description has been proposed by way of semantic networks (Mudersbach/Gerzymisch-Arbogast 1989, in its relation to translation cf. Gerzymisch-Arbogast 2004) on the basis of leksemantic meaning theory (Mudersbach 1983)[46]. Isotopy is also closely related to theme rheme analysis (cf. Gerzymisch-Arbogast/Kunold/Rothfuß-Bastian 2006) and in Rastier's terms the dominant *isotopy* would equal the text *topic.*

46 'Leksemantic meaning' theory (Mudersbach 1983) proceeds from de Saussure's notion that each sign in the language system is defined by its place, its 'valeur' vis-à-vis other signs in the system. It differs from this notion by combining the description of lexical meaning with context-specific meaning in a graded framework of interconnected meaning networks. The relational framework for determining the meaning (valeur) of a lexeme (sign) is the text in which a particular lexeme appears, i.e. the text as a coherent whole (system)..

Text *coherence* is indicated by the various *isotopies* of a text and/or by identifying a dominant top level *isotopy*. If the separate *isotopies* do not blend into a top-level *isotopy*, this may be due to 'islands' in the text, i.e. partial meaning networks which are not linked to the main or other meaning networks. This would result in coherence gaps – if we tried to establish *isotopies* solely on a text-immanent basis. Instead, however, it is argued that individual interpretations of the hearer/*interpreter* will attempt to close these gaps by trying to connect the partial networks by appropriate additional hypotheses (inferences) in order to restore a fully coherent overall meaning network.

The hypotheses resulting from the ad hoc integration of an individual's understanding of a message are here classified in terms of representing the factual, self-indicative, relationship and/or appellative dimensions of a message and can be related to different coherence levels in a communicative exchange, i.e.

- A factual *isotopy* as a *coherence* dimension
- A self-indicative *isotopy* as a *coherence* dimension
- An appellative *isotopy* as a *coherence* dimension and
- A relationship indicating *isotopy* as a *coherence* dimension.

These different isotopy levels can now be checked with respect to their continuity and thus with respect to their relevance in interpreter-mediated communication. Along with topic continuity as an informational unit, they provide an indicator for *coherence* of 'hidden' meaning dimensions. Upon such analyses decisions can be made by the interpreter whether to render all or part of these *isotopies* (verbatim, condensed and/ or mediated) as *coherence* establishing elements of the discourse and in the interest of the communicative goal or whether they can be neglected for interpretation purposes.

5 A Triadic Discourse Interpreting Model (TRIM): Concept and Filters

5.1 The Concept of Discourse Interpreting Defined

Against this theoretical background we will show in the following chapter how the individual *interpreter's* action latitude in an interpreter-mediated communicative situation can be described by the term *Discourse Interpreting* (DI) which specifically depicts the *interpreter's* co-responsibility for establishing coherence by discourse *interpreting filters* in the interest of achieving a pre-determined communicative goal and objective.

We will first suggest a definition which will be followed by a mix of descriptive parameters and their interplay.

> ***Discourse Interpreting***
>
> *is a type of interpreting, in which non-specialized or specialized discourse is interpreted bi- or multi-culturally with the understanding that the interpreter as a cooperative third party in the discourse triad assumes co-responsibility for achieving a pre-determined goal and objective of the interpreter-mediated communication and is therefore co-responsible for establishing discourse coherence.* [47]

Assuming co-responsibility for successful bi- or multilingual communication implies the identification of assumed meanings and the establishment of *coherence* in a sequence of utterances and may include discourse management activities in case of conflicting actual *interests* of the communicative partners to the extent that the *interpreter* thinks this is necessary for the discourse process to achieve the pre-determined communicative objective. *Discourse Interpreting* can generally be classified according to the individual scenario in which it takes place, e.g. 'legal discourse interpreting' or 'medical discourse interpreting' or 'business discourse interpreting' or 'everyday discourse interpreting', depending on the type of setting.

The concept here goes beyond the conceptual field of Community Interpreting as presented e.g. by Apfelbaum 2004: 27 in that the definition includes the categories of

[47] This definition is a revised definition based on the original German version in Gerzymisch-Arbogast/Jiang 2006.

'bi-directionality' but is not restricted to face-to-face situations as also Wadensjö's definition (1998a: 49) and suggests and adds as new categories (1) the identification and reproduction of hidden meanings and the establishment of hypotheses in the interest of discourse continuity, (2) the co-responsibility of the interpreter for establishing coherence, and (3) the necessity of a pre-determined discourse objective to (4) the mediation of a potential conflict of actual interests of the communicative partners by the interpreter.

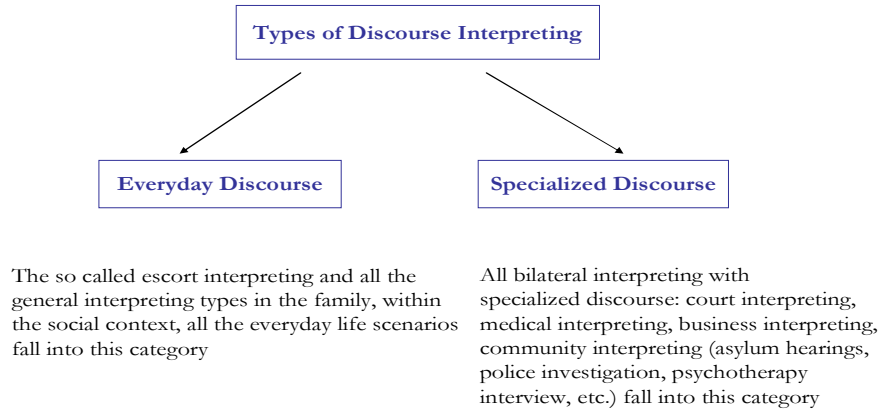


Figure 6: Types of Discourse Interpreting

5.2 Discourse Interpreting Parameters

Proceeding from this definition and the theoretical foundations outlined in chapter 4, it is suggested that static (5.2.1) and dynamic parameters (5.2.2) interplay in a triadic discourse communication when an interpreter produces a target message. This interplay is here assumed to take place in the form of a number of *interpreting filters* (IF) (5.4) through which a source message M passes to become a target message M'. *Interpreting filters* reflect the translating and coordinating decisions of the *interpreter* when formulating a target message in varying degrees of invariance to secure adequacy and *coherence* of messages from the *perspective* of the *interpreter*. This is referred to as the *Triadic Discourse Interpreting Model* (TRIM).

The filters rest on the traditional triangular communication models (cf. Ogden/ Richards 1923, Bühler 1934) and add the interpreter's presence as has been suggested in various forms (e.g. Seleskovitch 1984, Gile 1995, Feldweg 1996, cf.

above). Within the present model, the *filters* interrelate static components describing the parameter 'ingredients' of a basic interpreter-mediated communication (5.2.1) and dynamic components (5.2.2) showing the flow of an original message M through a series of filters as decision-making stages to become M'.

It must be stressed here that this model is not to be misunderstood as a cognitive model. The description of the interdependent 'flow' of influential factors on the *interpreter's* output message as described in the following does not claim to represent the cognitive dimension of decision-making processes in an interpreter's brain when choosing the adequate way of interpreting information. It rather serves the purpose of identifying and describing factors which influence the more or less active role of the *interpreter* in the actual interpreting process. Such factors are here assumed to be reflected in a series of '*interpreting filters*' (as described in section 5.4) which influence the *interpreter's* individual (re)production (output) activities within a given interpreter-mediated discourse scenario. With that we introduce and describe parameters in their interplay which so far have not been considered in the Community Interpreting literature and we hope to offer new explanatory data for discourse interpreter-mediated communication and open up new avenues of research.

In its static part, relevant basic parameters as 'ingredients' for the analysis of interpreter-mediated communication, are identified and described. The communication is triadic in that the message transfer is between three *communicative partners* A, B and the *interpreter* I, all related to a message M. In describing relevant parameters in an interpreter-mediated communication, it distinguishes between relatively stable knowledge parameters on a system's level (5.2.1.1) and relatively flexible situation-specific parameters (5.2.1.2) and shows how they interact to influence the interpreted message M'.

Static parameters describe as *knowledge* parameters (1) the assumed *shared background knowledge* in terms of holistic structures which interrelate content and functional elements to reflect the *assumed world knowledge* in the *communicative partners* A, B and the *interpreter* I. It is assumed to encompass linguistic, cultural, domain and *general world knowledge* as the more or less *shared stock of knowledge* which is necessary for them to communicate as seen from the *interpreter's* perspective as well as the shared *focus of attention*. It also includes (2) characteristic situation-specific *knowledge* about the actual discourse situation, i.e. type, time and

place characterizations, a shared *focus of attention* of the *communicative partners* (from which the topic of the communication emanates), the *purpose of the communication* and the *interest* of the *communicative partners* in the discourse.

Dynamic parameters in this model (5.2.2 and 5.3) show the interplay of these parameters in a *tetradic* speech act sequence (cf. Mudersbach 2008, as applied in Sunwoo 2008) of turns in interpreter-mediated communication. The original *Tetradic Model of Speech Acts* (Mudersbach 2008) shows the interaction of *communicative partners* in a monolingual situation in its four dimensions:

- A *communicative partner* A's utterance
- A *communicative partner* B's reaction
- The acknowledgement of B's reaction by A
- The acknowledgement of A's acknowledgement by B.

The sequence is interdependent: each turn influences the following turn(s). The reactions and acknowledgements can be positive or negative. If negative, this may be due to unwillingness by one of the partners to cooperate. The *communicative partners* may not be aware of this 'prima facie' but the *interpreter* needs to realize these underlying meaning dimensions to detect e.g. 'double bind' strategies of a partner. The *tetradic* sequence is here shown in its interaction with an interpreter as a 'third party'. All possible other turns or turn exchanges (e.g. misunderstandings and their clarification or corrections by the interpreter) are explainable within this (recursive) *tetradic* cycle but will here not be shown in all their details.

Within the tetradic exchange, the dynamic part of the *Discourse Interpreting* parameters involves understanding and (re)producing an interpreted message. Methodologically we proceed from a three-phase process analogous to the three-phase-translation process (cf. Nida/Taber 1969, Gerzymisch-Arbogast 2002, Floros 2003, Hale 2007, Will 2009) in contrast to the two-dimensional cognitive models used in the interpreting literature (Seleskovitch 1978 and 1984, Gile 1995, Albl-Mikasa 2006), but we will here exclusively concentrate on the (re)production phase.[48]

[48] We use the denomination customary in translation science (as do Gerzymisch-Arbogast 2002, Floros 2003, Will 2008), however, other names are also used (cf. Nida/Taber 1969) and the Community Interpreting literature uses different names, too, e.g. 'comprehension-conversion-delivery' (Hale 2007: 14ff).

It is assumed that the source message is influenced by the interpreter's understanding of the message and by his/her decision on which information (of the source message) to transfer and how to transfer it in the interpreting process. The question of 'what' is to be interpreted is here assumed to be determined by the *actual discourse objective* and *coherence* criteria depending on what the interpreter is able to – 'locally' (cf. Mudersbach 2004: 260) and on the basis of the previously interpreted *actual discourse* – qualify as *coherent*, a-coherent and *non-coherent* (cf. Mudersbach 2004: 250). Further criteria assumed in the interpreting filters are (1) the *general communicative goal* and an *actual discourse purpose*, (2) the *coherence* of the source message as understood by the interpreter and measured by *topic* and/or *isotopic* continuity, (3) potential *knowledge* differentials which the *interpreter* needs to balance and (4) the *interest* of the partners as perceived by the *interpreter* in reaching a specified *actual discourse purpose* (for the detailed description of the *filters* cf. 5.4).

The interpreted message M' reflects the *interpreter's perspective* and thus may differ from the primary partner's *perspective* of the original messages M in that it has been 'filtered' through:

- *A general communication goal* and *actual discourse purpose filter* asking the interpreter to decide whether a message M is perceived as compatible with the specified discourse purpose;
- A *coherence filter* asking the interpreter to decide whether he/she perceived the actual message M to be within the specified shared *focus of attention* and/or within one (implicit or explicit) *isotopy* of the discourse and can thus be qualified to be *coherent*. *Coherence* is differentiated according to an informational unit (*topic* continuity) and/or an (implied) meaning unit (*isotopic* continuity);
- A *knowledge filter* asking the interpreter to decide whether – in the perception of I – the message M is compatible with A's perspective of B's knowledge in that it falls within the *shared knowledge of A and B* or whether explanatory or other compensary actions are necessary;
- An *interest filter* asking the *interpreter* to check whether the perceived message M is compatible to both partners' and in the interest of achieving the specified purpose of the communication.

The message M' rendered by the *interpreter* is positioned on a scale from 'invariant' ('verbatim rendering'), 'partially invariant' in two versions: 'partially invariant I' ('substituted (i.e. expanded or reduced) rendering') partially invariant II (*interpreter's* asking for 'clarification'), 'variant' ('coordinated' or 'mediated') or 'zero' as a result of passing through the above *filters*. This scale reflects the continuum of the *interpreter's* action latitude which can now be described as being motivated by a series of interrelated decisions by the *interpreter*. The following sections will describe possible latitude options for the decisions and actions of the *interpreter* based on the results obtained when passing through the *Discourse Interpreting filters.*

5.2.1 Static Discourse Interpreting Parameters

Within the static parameters we will, in the following, differentiate between

- knowledge-specific parameters which are relatively stable 'ingredients' and describe the characteristics of objects or *communicative partners* (cf. 'static holemes', Mudersbach 2001: 173) and
- situation parameters which represent more transient 'ad hoc' individual circumstances depending on the discourse processes. They are, therefore, transitory in character and subject to change by and within a discourse (cf. 'kinematic holemes', Mudersbach 2001: 174).

In the literature, parameters influencing the *interpreter's* actions have been dealt with extensively, primarily as a means for differentiating Community Interpreting from Conference Interpreting (for an overview cf. recently Obermayer 2006: 40ff) but less so for providing explanations for the *interpreter's* modified target messages in an actual situation. The parameters identified and described in the literature vary in type and potential influence on the *interpreter's* action latitude. Literature has not systematically kept apart systems-related (*knowledge*) parameters and discourse-related (*situation*) parameters as is shown below. The existing classifications are summarized in the following as they relate to this study.

In the following sections, the parameter classifications of Gentile et al. (1996), Alexieva (1997), Mason (1999 and 2000) and Pöchhacker (2000) are portrayed as they relate to the present study. They were chosen because – as eminent authors in the field – they represent a continuum in the degree of abstractions from very

concrete situation-bound (Gentile et al. 1996) to very abstract categories (Pöchhacker 2000) and thus lend themselves as a reference frame for positioning the present categories.

Gentile et al. (1996: 77) sees the factor 'situation' as the most relevant differentiating factor and suggests as crucial parameters for Community Interpreting:

- the (physical) distance between the interpreter and the *communicative partners*,
- the presupposed knowledge of the *communicative partners*,
- the status of the *communicative partners*,
- the bidirectionality of the *interpreter's* actions and
- the number of turn exchanges.

With respect to the parameters used in this study, the physical proximity is included in the situation-specific parameters, the pre-supposed knowledge in the *knowledge* parameters as is the status of the *communicative partners* (which we consider to be largely motivated by a knowledge differential). The bidirectionality is here considered as a general defining criterion for *Discourse Interpreting* as is the frequency of the turn exchanges being seen as a constitutive principle of *Discourse Interpreting* rather than a parameter influenced by *knowledge* and situative factors when determining the *interpreter's* action latitude.

Alexieva (1997: 153) stresses the 'mode of delivery', '(indirect) contact', 'distance' between *communicative partners* (which parallels the numbers of turn exchanges), the *communicative partners* in their 'language competence', 'involvement in the textual world', 'status' and 'role' (which may lead to conflict), the 'topic of the event', 'text-building strategies' (including the degree of spontaneity and the observance of Grice's maxims) as well as 'place' and 'time'.

It is interesting that Alexieva considers the aim of the interpreted event as an important parameter in that shared or conflicting goals of the communicative partners may be a cause of conflict. However, Alexieva considers the goal of the communicative partners only in terms of the communicative partners' individual goals whereas in this study we differentiate the *general goal of the communication* motivating the interpreter's presence and the *actual discourse purpose* as pre-requisites underlying any interpreter-mediated discourse within which the individual goals of the partners may vary or be in conflict. The goal in our terms relates to the

communication as such (for example requiring a patient's consent for an operation or a legally valid statement of the plaintiff in court) and is given from an 'outside' authority to govern the communicative interchange. It is the pre-requisite motivation for an interpreter-mediated exchange.

It is sub-specified by the *actual discourse purpose* which is of vital importance because it influences the *interpreter's* decisions when a message M passes through the *Discourse Interpreting Filters* (Dis IF) to become M', i.e. in determining the interpreter's action latitude. The *communicative partners*' individual goals which may be shared or in conflict with each other are here reflected in the parameter of *'interest'* (cf. '*interest filter'* below).

Alexieva's seven factors or scales of interpreter-mediated events are reflected in the parameters presented here and are weighted and re-structured for our purposes according to their relevance for determining the interpreter's action latitude:

- 'distance vs proximity' is here integrated into describing the (place and time) of the situation;
- 'non-involvement vs involvement' is here positioned as scalar values on the action latitude scale (5.5) and is largely determined by the *discourse purpose*;
- the values of 'equals/solidarity vs non-equals/power' is here integrated into the description of the *communicative partners* and their interests;
- The 'cooperative/direct vs non-cooperative indirect' is here not used because a) it constitutes an 'outside' post factum standard and b) it seems conceptually problematic to equate 'cooperative' with direct and 'non-cooperative' with indirect in general.
- The 'shared vs conflicting goals' is here included in the *interest* parameter which is considered highly relevant for the interpreter's actions.

Mason (1999, 2000) differentiates the following distinctive features for Dialogue Interpreting (in contrast to Conference Interpreting) for which the main criterion is the face-to-face interaction (Mason 2000: 216) and which includes what is variously referred to in English as 'Community, Public Service, Liaison, Ad Hoc or Bilaterial Interpreting' (Mason 1999: 148):

- The dialogic form of interaction
- The spontaneity of discourse
- The short duration of turns

- The bidirectionality of the interpreter mediation.

These parameters are here considered pre-supposed general constitutive features of any *Discourse Interpreting* event and are therefore not included here as triggers for a specific action by the *Discourse Interpreter.* Parameters like shifts of 'footing', the consequences of not observing the norms of communication (e.g. those of general politeness), lexical considerations which are also discussed by Mason (2000: 220) are here considered to be dependant on a combination of situation- and *knowledge*-specific parameters but are not specifically discussed.

Pöchhacker (2000) – in discussing different approaches of distinguishing Community Interpreting from Conference Interpreting – proposes the "Handlungszusammenhang" [49] and 'Prestige' as the crucial factors that set off Community Interpreting from Conference Interpreting'. He argues (2000: 14) that while Conference Interpreting is internationally-oriented, Community Interpreting is intra-socially oriented and predominantly involves linguistic and social minorities of a country with Conference Interpreting enjoying a much higher prestige as it is documented extensively in the literature (e.g. Gentile et al. 1996: 41, Snell-Hornby et al. 1999). Since these very abstract differentiations do not directly relate to influencing the *interpreter's* actual behavior, they are not considered here within our framework to portray the action latitude of the *interpreter* in an actual scenario.

5.2.1.1 Knowledge-specific parameters

5.2.1.1.1 Shared Knowledge of A, B and I

Within interpreting studies, different kinds of *knowledge* types are known to influence the interpreter's behavior, the most quoted in literature being those of linguistic, cultural and domain *knowledge* reflected in the contrasting discourse partners in legal and health care interpreting settings (e.g. Wadensjö 1998; Angelelli 2000, 2004b; Meyer 2004; Hale 2007). These accounts, however, for the most part do not systematically depict the *stock of knowledge* presupposed in the *communicative partners* and the *interpreter* and are therefore not able to portray the

[49] 'context of actions' (translation by the author)

commonly *shared knowledge* stock or the pre-supposed *knowledge* differential between the *communicative partners* and the interpreter.

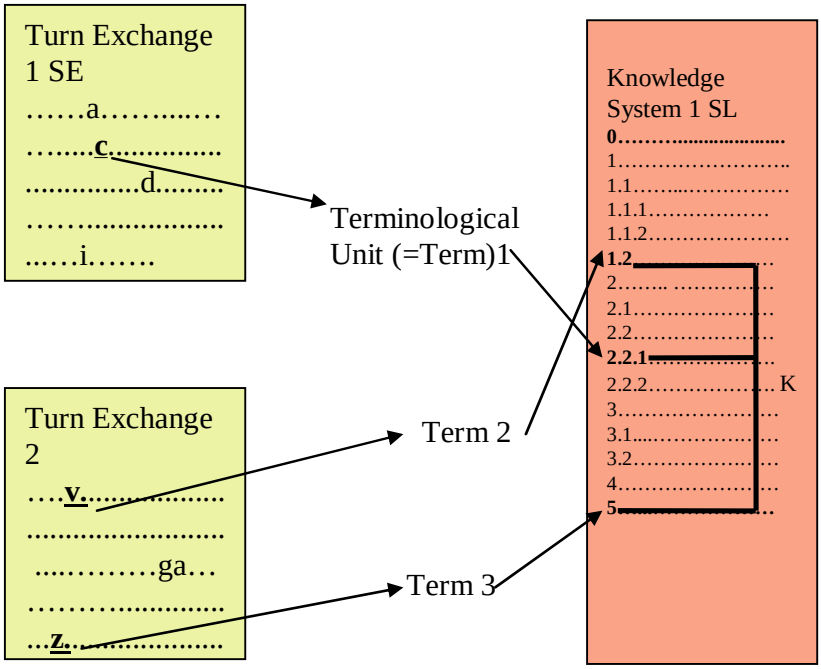
In the literature, the description of *knowledge* for translation and interpreting purposes has been widely documented (for a recent overview with respect to translation and interpreting cf. recently Dam et al. 2005). Beyond the simple cognitive differentiations of declarative and procedural knowledge, concepts like 'frames', 'scenarios' or 'schemata' have been used to systematically describe *knowledge* components and processes in great detail (e.g. Konerding 1993 for an exhaustive monolingual hierarchisation of 'frames' in German). However, few attempts have been made to systematically interrelate *knowledge* components in their content and functional dimensions and correlate them with text, which is a pre-requisite for translation and interpreting purposes. This is here suggested to be possible with the *holistic* principle developed by Mudersbach (1991) and applied to cultural translation by Floros (2003) and to simultaneous interpreting by Will (2009). By way of the general *holistic* thought principle (Mudersbach 1991, 2008), expressions in communication are related to superordinated macrostructures and assumed *knowledge systems* which represent the background *knowledge* necessary to understand the texts to which they relate. A knowledge system is developed from an authentic discourse situation and is elaborated by further research into a particular *topic* to reflect e.g. a cultural component in a text. It is set up so that it does not only include other explicit expressions or other units of the discourse, but also hypothetically related expressions not present in the original text (e.g. implicit *knowledge* entities) to form a functionally and hierarchically organized *knowledge system*. The *knowledge systems* can be represented by a thesaurus-like structure or a semantic network (cf. Gerzymisch-Arbogast/Mudersbach 1998).

The description of a monolingual *knowledge system* (in *communicative partner* A and *communicative partner* B), a *shared knowledge* stock of the *communicative partners* A and B) and the presupposed knowledge in an *interpreter* is exemplified here as follows. The minimum pre-supposed *knowledge systems* that an interpreter must have to handle a *Discourse Interpreting* assignment can theoretically be described in three steps: firstly, the relevant *knowledge systems* assumed in the *communicative partners A and B*; secondly, a *shared stock of knowledge* of the *Communicative Partners*; thirdly, the presupposed *knowledge* of the *interpreter*

encompassing the *shared stock of knowledge* assumed in the *communicative partners* plus the interpreter's *knowledge*.

Step 1: Establishment of the knowledge systems assumed in the Communicative Partners

The knowledge systems assumed in *Communicative Partner A* can be shown in the form of a holon (Gerzymisch-Arbogast/Mudersbach 1998) as applied in Will (2009). Instead of an individual text as exemplified in Will (2009), we will here proceed from a communicative situation with *Communicative Partners* A, B and *Interpreter* and show in an exemplary from how the *knowledge systems* of A, B and *Interpreter* overlap or rather what the *interpreter* needs to contribute in terms of *knowledge* when trying to enable A and B to communicate. This can be graphically shown as follows:



Knowledge System of Communicative Partner A (established from previous turn exchanges of a domain-specific setting)

SE – Source (Text) Exchange

SL – Source Language

K – Knowledge Unit

Figure 7: Knowledge System assumed in Communicative Partner A (from Communicative Partner B's perspective (Will 2009)

Based on the law systems in Hong Kong (cf. http://www.judiciary.gov.hk/en/crt_services/pphlt/html/guide.htm) and practicing barristers' Code of Conduct in the courtroom proceedings in Hong Kong (cf. http://www.hkba.org/the-bar/code-of-conduct/code_of_conduct13.htm), the *knowledge* systems assumed in *communicative partner A* and *communicative partner B* can be roughly concretized in the applied corpus as follows (cf. Chapter 6). It follows that the *interpreter's knowledge* system must include some of A's and B's knowledge plus professional interpreting knowledge.

Communicative Partner A (Barrister Persecution)

1 English Linguistic Knowledge
1.1 British English
1.1.1 Registers
1.1.1.1 Formal English in the bilingual courtroom
1.1.1.2 Colloquial English
1.1.2 English Syntactic Structure
1.1.2.1 English question types
1.1.2.1.1 English tag questions
1.1.2.1.2 English general questions
1.1.2.1.3 English special questions
1.1.3 English Clause Types
1.1.3.1 English Attributive Clause
1.1.3.2 English Cause and Effect Clause
1.1.3.3 English Conditional Clause
1.1.4 Emphasis in English
1.1.4.1 Phonetic Emphasis
1.1.4.2 Words Repetition

2 Legal Knowledge
2.1 Hong Kong Laws
2.1.1 Criminal Laws
2.1.1.1 Rape
2.2 Structure of Hong Kong Courts
2.2.1 High Court
2.2.2 Local Court
2.3 Trial procedures
2.3.1 Prosecution counsel will outline the case to the jury.
2.3.2 Prosecution counsel will call the witnesses
2.3.3 The judge may ask questions of a witness in order to clarify any matters.
2.4 Barrister's Code of Conduct
2.4.1 Avoiding questions which affect the credibility of a witness
2.4.2 Prohibition of misleading of the Court
2.4.3 Refraining from asserting personal opinions

3 English Cultural Knowledge
3.1 Relationship in English Culture
3.1.1 Persecutor and Defendant
3.1.2 Partner
3.1.3 Teacher and Students
3.2 Housing in English Culture
3.2.1 Private apartment
3.2.2 Public housing unit
3.3 Marriage in English Culture

3.3.1 Religious marriage
3.4 Sport in English Culture
3.4.1 Tennis

4 World Knowledge
4.1 Make hypothesis
4.2 Make logical inquiries
4.3 Deductive reasoning
…

Communicative Partner B (Defendant)
1 Chinese Linguistic Knowledge
1.1 Cantonese Chinese
1.1.1 Registers
1.1.1.1 Formal Cantonese in the bilingual courtroom
1.1.1.2 Colloquial Catonese
1.1.2 Chinese Syntactic Structure
1.1.2.1 Chinese question types
1.1.2.1.1 N/A
1.1.2.1.2 Chinese general questions
1.1.2.1.3 Chinese special questions
1.1.3 Chinese Clause Types
1.1.3.1 N/A
1.1.3.2 Chinese Cause and Effect Clause
1.1.3.3 Chinese Conditional Clause
1.1.4 Emphasis in Catonese
1.1.4.1 Phonetic Emphasis
1.1.4.2 Words Repetition

2 Legal Knowledge (N/A)

3 Chinese Cultural Knowledge
3.1 Relationship in Chinese Culture
3.1.1 Persecutor and Defendant
3.1.2 Partner
3.1.3 Teacher and Students
3.2 Housing in Chinese Culture
3.2.1 Private apartment
3.2.2 Public housing unit
3.3 Marriage in Chinese Culture
3.3.1 Religious marriage
3.3.2 Sham marriage
3.4 Sport in Chinsee Culture
3.4.1 Tennis

4 World Knowledge
4.1 Make hypothesis
4.2 Make logical inquiries
4.3 Deductive reasoning

5 Interpreter's knowledge (cf. Figure 8)
5.1 Anticipation Techniques
5.2 Code of Interpreting Ethics
5.3 Communicative Techniques
5.3.1 Managing Discourse
5.3.2 Condensing Discourse according to relevance
…

Step 2: Establishing a shared knowledge stock of the Communicative Partners

On the basis of an explicit formulation of the *knowledge systems* in *communicative partners* A and B, the *shared knowledge stock* can now be formulated as the *knowledge* components ('holemes') that they have in common.

The shared stock of *knowledge* between the *communicative pPartner A* (Barrister) and *communicative partner B* (Defendant) is very small due to the their linguistic *knowledge* differential of British English and Cantonese Chinese, their cultural *knowledge* differential of academic English and non-academic Chinese cultures and domain *knowledge* differential of the barrister taking a superior professional questioner position while the defendant being subjected by law to answering questions. In view of the *shared stock of knowledge* between *communicative partners*, due to the large discrepancy, the *interpreter* thus comes in to bridge the gap and enable successful communication.

Step 3: Establishing the presupposed *knowledge* of the *interpreter*

The presupposed *knowledge* in the interpreter encompasses the *shared knowledge* of *communicative partners* A and B plus some of the *knowledge* of the individual *communicative partners* and his/her interpreting skills (http://www.courtinfo.ca.gov/programs/courtinterpreters/becoming-faq.htm) plus discourse management strategies; thus, *interpreters' knowledge* systems cover a greater amount of *knowledge* than either of the *communicative partners*. *Interpreter's* presupposed *knowledge systems* can thus be graphically depicted in the following figure (the solid arrow shows the relationship of the same holemes and the broken lines shows that the non-exsitence of the holemes):

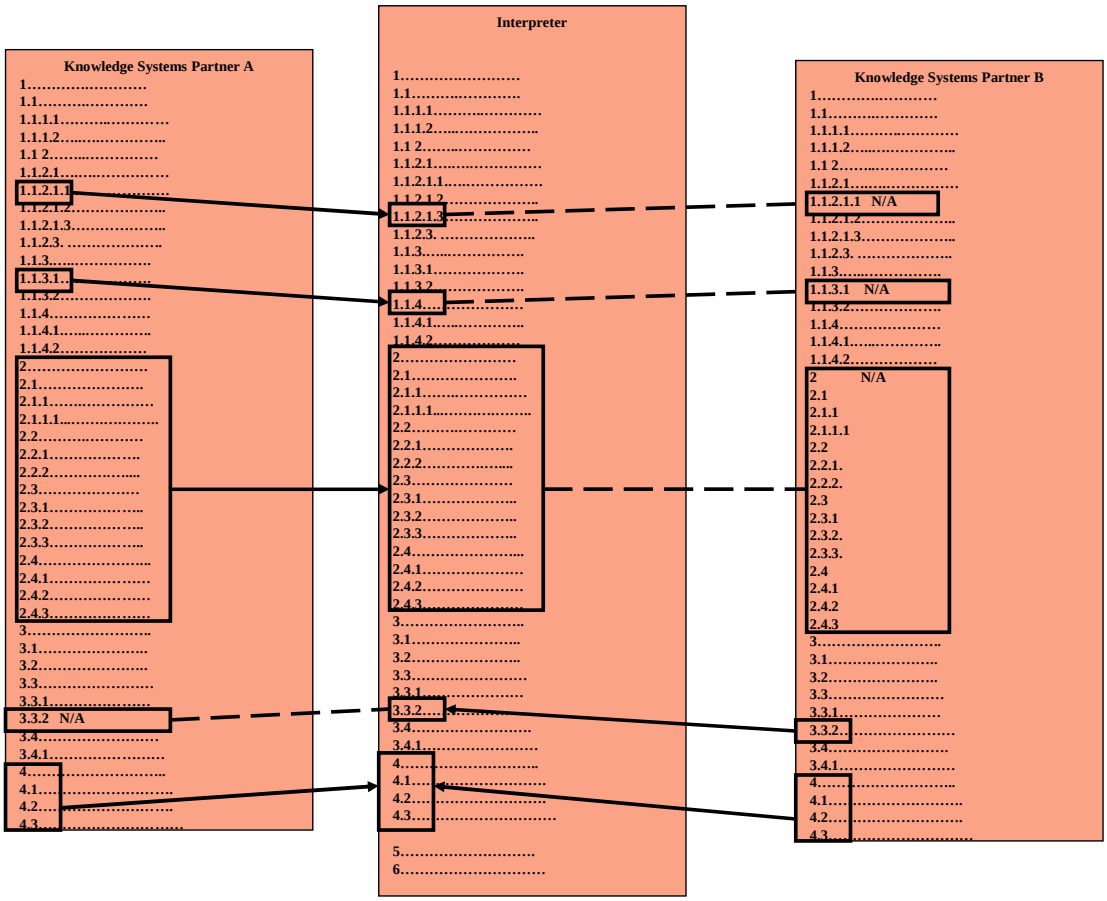


Figure 8: *Knowledge Systems* assumed in *Interpreter*

The comparison of different *knowledge systems* in the above shows that some knowledge is shared by A and B (holeme 4), some *knowledge* is partially shared by A and B (holeme 3), some *knowledge* does not exist in one of the communicative partners (holeme 2 of *Communicative Partner A*), so the assumed *knowledge systems* in the interpreter need to include the *shared knowledge*, *partially shared knowledge* and individual communicative partner's *knowledge* which may not exist in the other communicative partner's *knowledge systems* so as to bridge the gap between *communicative partners*. In addition, the interpreter also has his/her own *knowledge* consisting of linguistic and cultural *knowledge*, domain *knowledge*, interpreting skills, discourse management strategies and interpersonal communication skills (holemes 5 and 6). Therefore, we can see from the above figure that the interpreter's *knowledge* covers the largest stock in interpreter-mediated communication.

5.2.1.2 Situation-specific Discourse Parameters

The situation-specific parameters influence an interpreter's actual action latitude against the background of the *knowledge* parameters outlined above. They here include

- The *discourse interpreting type* including circumstances of time, place and degree of domain specificity of the *interpreter*-mediated event, e.g. a courtroom or hospital discourse;
- The general *goal of the communication* as seen from the 'outside', independent of the actual discourse (partners), to which all *Communicative Partners*, including the *interpreter* as a third party, must agree to and commit themselves, e.g. obtaining a patient's informed consent as a prerequisite for medical examinations or treatments;
- The *purpose of the actual discourse interpretation* which is derived from the *general communication goal* and which reflects the *interpreter's* strategies within an overall purpose e.g. to interpret the marriage ceremony of a couple. This may also include a number of concrete specifications like the preferred interpreting mode in terms of a 'verbatim' interpretation or a (cultural or knowledge) 'mediation' and the extent to which an *interpreter's* interaction is desired (cf. below).
- The *discourse partners' individual interests* underlying their participation in the interpreter-mediated event which may be shared, compatible or conflicting and may necessitate mediation strategies by the *interpreter* and
- The specification of a shared *focus of attention* which the topics of the discourse evolve and which governs the event, e.g. to account for possible interpreter interventions in the case of a-coherent messages.

These parameters will now be described in more detail in the following.

5.2.1.2.1 The Discourse (Interpreting) Type

The type of discourse in the interpreter-mediated event influences the *interpreter's* action latitude in that it may be of an everyday type or domain-specific (e.g. medical, legal, psychological interviews, police or asylum hearings, etc.) requiring more or less strict norms, conventions or rules of communication and behavior which the *interpreter* needs to be aware of and respect. In general, place and time

considerations (cf. below) have to be seen in conjunction with the type of the interpreter-mediated event.

Everyday interpreter-mediated discourse seems to make up the lion's share of interpreter-mediated events today and settings can range from interpreting within the framework of political receptions to interpreting for community authorities or at sports and cultural events. In their bibliometric analysis Grbic/Pöllabauer (2006: 25) find that 44% of the data (533 works on Community Interpreting) is not attributable to any specific setting. Studies (e.g. Marics 2006) seem to suggest that quite a considerable amount of action latitude is acceptable here in the form of – using Wadensjö's classification (Wadensjö 1998: 107), 'substituted renditions' (i.e. expanding or reducing the original, cf. Wadensjö 1998: 107) – 'summarized' 'renditions', 'non-renditions', 'reduced renditions' or (implicit or explicit) 'coordination strategies' (when the interpreter takes on an active role without making this explicit to other communication partners (cf. also 'backchannel behavior' Knapp 1987: 447) self-reparations or revisions, and 'clarification turns'.[50] It is, however, not systematically retrievable which parameter (constellation) is responsible for which type of interpreter's rendition and the question to which degree the *interpreter* may deviate from the classical norms of turn exchanges and take over the role of a 'true third party' within clarification and coordination strategies, remains unclear (other than very general comments that the degree to which this can be allowed is dependent upon the *interpreter's* experience, credibility and age (Knapp/Knapp-Potthoff 1987: 185).

In domain-specific discourse, the medical and courtroom discourse settings have traditionally been the most researched and are well documented (e.g. representatively by the works of Berk-Seligson (1990) for the courtroom and Meyer (2004) for hospital *Discourse Interpreting* types). As was described in the previous section on *knowledge* parameters, *interpreting* domain-specific discourse may presuppose:

[50] Rosenberg (2001: 222-6), by expanding on categories proposed by Wadenjö 1992, 1998), Davidson (1998), Roy (2000) and Metzger (1999), proposes the following categories of the interpreter's renditions: (1) close renditions (those that contain complete interpretations of the original), (2) expanded renditions (those that expand on the content of the original) (3) zero renditions those that were entirely uninterpreted and (4) non-renditions (those contributions that are not interpretations of the original but are the interpreter's own comments (phatic, banter, clarifications, repetitions, understood, off-task).

- a high level of contrastive domain-specific *knowledge* (which is usually constituted by the terminology specific for a particular domain like medicine or law, for knowledge constitution that goes beyond terminology in Simultaneous Interpreting cf. recently Will 2009), but also
- *knowledge* on norms and procedures which need to be known and observed by the *interpreter* (with respect to legal norms cf. Foley 2006)[51]

in addition to the usual interpreting know-how and communication management techniques.

In legal discourse (e.g. Berk-Seligson (1989a and b) on court interpreting) questions of accuracy, cross-cultural pragmatics, the strategic use of questions and the importance of style (e.g. Hale 2004, Mason/Stewart 2001) are of predominant importance. In medical discourse, the *interpreter's* role, the feasibility of interpreter neutrality (Angelelli 2004b, Mason 2004) and the *interpreter's* impact on the interaction (Athrop and Downing 1996), in medical consultation (e.g. Meyer et al. 2003) as well as in services of health care and minority language speakers as *interpreters* have been in the center of attention.[52] In psychotherapeutic interpreter-mediated discourse, the factor of emotionality and stress are in focus (Opraus 2003, Cagala 2006), which is caused by conflicting individual *interests* due to e.g. problems of transference and counter-transference (cf. Nuc 2006).

The time element is an important feature in *Discourse Interpreting*. It is a well-known fact that even assuming perfect performance by the *interpreter*, an interpreted interaction takes much longer than normal communication between two people who share the same language. On the other hand, the discourse partners are willing to

[51] Pöllabauer (2004: 146-147) describes that asylum interviews follow a specific pattern of clearly defined individual bureaucratic procedures, usually beginning with a stage of establishing personal details even though the information may already be known to the institution. The representatives of the institution take the clients through these stages step by step and attempt to gather information which they assume to be relevant to the case. In this strictly regulated exchange of information, clients are cast in the position of supplying information while the representatives assume a "commander" role. As asylum seekers do not have the chance to directly assess and control the interpretation of certain statements, it therefore casts more responsibilities on the interpreter to get the necessary information across by eliciting a reply, deleting irrelevant information, shorten and paraphrase statements or provide necessary explanations.

[52] Of particular interest has been the description of procedures and legal implications when interpreting in briefings for informed consent or when problems arising from an asymmetric relationship of the Communicative Partners (doctor-patient) cause conflict due to conflicting doctor-patient goals (Bührig/Meyer 2004).

make adjustments given the alternative that communication might not be possible without such compromise. Time constraints are thus always a factor in *Discourse Interpreting* and are almost always responsible for summarizing renditions (cf. Gentile 1996: 35).

Other influencing situation factors that have been described as problematic to handle for the interpreter are asymmetric relationships in *communicative partners* where the relationship and self-indicative communicative dimensions (in the sense of Schulz-von-Thun 1981) are in the foreground as well as language level, the number of participants, the formality and size of meeting, interpreting techniques, 'taboo' topics, etc.

Time and place characterizations of interpreter-mediated discourse are widely discussed in the literature as being distinct from Conference Interpreting (either in the simultaneous or consecutive mode), which is typically monologic and hardly involves face-to-face interaction[53] (e.g. Alexieva 1997: 167). Differing from the prepared Conference Interpreting services, *Discourse Interpreting* is frequently performed on an 'ad hoc'[54] basis by whoever is immediately available such as family members, non-medical hospital staff or other patients are called on for assistance in communication.[55]

Even in court interpreting[56], due to the problem of expenditure and lack of professional court interpreters, many 'ad hoc' bilinguals are employed to assist in the court proceedings. Such untrained individuals may have little or no understanding of

[53] Dialog encounters also take place in Conference Interpreting, but the exchange among the interlocutors is less active.

[54] The 'ad hoc' characterization of *Discourse Interpreting* poses the conflict between spontaneity and professionalism, which adds to the complexity of the interpreter's interpreting task.

[55] Hsieh's (2004: 2) research into bilingual health communication shows that a recent study of emergency departments in Boston found that 10% of patients have LEP (abbrev. for 'Limited English Proficiency') status, among whom only 16% were helped in their communication by professional interpreters. A survey of Hispanic patients reported that trained interpreters were used only 1% of the time; participants reported either a healthcare staff member (55%) or a family member or friend (43%) most often serve as their interpreter.

[56] Presentation "Dolmetschenleistungen im Auftrag der Züricher Behörden-Gestaltungsfaktoren für die Aus-und Weiterbildung" by Christiane Lentjes Meile about the current court interpreting situation in Zurich at FIT Congress ‚Gerichtsdolmetschen' (Court Interpreting), Winterthur, 2 - 4 November 2006.

legal concepts, terminology or norms and less understanding of the interpreting tasks. Thus, the risks of inadequate communication are high.

Spatial arrangement is important for the *interpreter's* effective and efficient performance in *Discourse Interpreting.* Generally speaking, the *interpreter* is supposed to be in a position to facilitate the interpreting and will not lead either partner to infer or suspect that the *interpreter* is taking sides. A triangle of seating (for its variation cf. recently Nuc 2006: 286) is an optimal arrangement, which recognizes the primary *communicative partners* as the protagonists in the situation and leaves the *interpreter* to perform while allowing the primary *communicative partners* to fully engage in the communication. However, preferences vary in *Discourse Interpreting* settings and the principles are adapted to different physical environments. Familiarity with each type of environment is essential if the *interpreter* is to provide an optimum service. In a clinic or court, for example, the environment is quiet, clean and comfortable while people may be moving around or many interviews are conducted at the same time. Such circumstances affect the interpreter's concentration and *focus of attention* all of which have a bearing on the performance of the *interpreter*. With a view to save time, money and in cases of urgency, professional interpreters in *Discourse Interpreting* may also be booked for providing telephone or video interpreting services (cf. Wadensjö 1999 and Braun 2004, 2008). In the on-site interpreted encounter, the participants' exchange of turns at talk or the management of access and transition is smoother than in the telephone-interpreted encounter as the former involves more verbal feedback tokens (e.g. Wadensjö 1999).

5.2.1.2.2 The General Goal of the Communication[57]

The *general communication goal* is here understood as a result of a need that may arise anywhere in a community. If an existing need can not be fulfilled, the community will strive towards satisfying that need through appropriate actions which serve the purpose of satisfying the identified need. Within the migration context, for example, the need may arise to take care of non-residents from abroad which in turn raises the need for adequate administrative procedures in order to be able to do so. Asylum hearings for instance, form part of such procedures to grant residence permits which fulfil a society's needs for the integration of other citizens. If there is a language barrier between the local authorities and the foreign citizens in complying with the administrative procedures, an interpreter is necessary to overcome the language barrier.

As a rule, the *general goal* arising from an unsatisfied need in a community is set from an 'outside' authority. It is thus not to be confused with potentially differing *individual goals* or *interests* of discourse partners which may lead to conflict in an interpreter-mediated event (Alexieva 1997: 169) but should be understood in the sense that translation and interpreting are both purposeful activities rendered in the

[57] As Discourse Interpreting originated and developed with the increase of immigrant and indigenous population throughout the world with traditional immigration countries such as the US, Canada and Australia taking the lead, in order to enable those who do not speak the official language of a country to have equal rights and full access to public services such as legal, health education, government and social settings, the use of interpreter services is ensured by government policies and laws. The right to have interpreting service for immigrants, asylum seekers or foreign workers in administrative and legal procedures is guaranteed by various international and national treaties and laws. For example, in article 14 of the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, "In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality: (a) To be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him… (f) To have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court". In addition to the right in the legal settings, the primary government policy of using medical interpreters in the United States is Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The law states that "no person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be exclude from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or otherwise be subjected to discrimination" in any program receiving federal funds (documented by Fotier 1997: 166). It is under the broader social-context-influenced purposes that *Discourse Interpreting* takes place, thus the recognition of externally-imposed purposes is an important factor to analyze the interpreter's action latitude.

interest of the *communicative partners* who could otherwise not communicate with each other. In that sense all *communicative partners*, including the *interpreter* as a 'third party', have to agree to a commonly established goal which the communication tries to attain. This commonly established goal implies Grice's cooperation principle (1975) which is a prerequisite for discourse as understood by Ehlich (cf. Chapter 4) and is similar to what Goffmann understands by 'working consensus' (Ehlich 1959: 9).

5.2.1.2.3 The Purpose of the Actual Discourse Interpretation

The *purpose of the actual discourse interpretation* is derived from the general communication goal and reflects the *interpreter's* strategies within the overall goal of his/her efforts, e.g. to bridge the language (and cultural or communicative) barriers that exist between the *communicative partners* when trying to achieve the agreed-upon *general goal of the communication*.[58]

Within this commonly established goal, the discourse partners may have different *interests*. The more the *interests* of the *communicative partners* overlap, the less conflict will arise in the communication process and the less 'mediating effort' may be required by the *interpreter*. On the other hand, the more diverse the interests of the *communicative partners*, the more mediating efforts by the *interpreter* will most likely have to be made. In order for the communication to go forward successfully, a higher level of *interest* or a particular *discourse purpose*[59] for a certain

[58] For example, in asylum hearings settings, the immigration bureau needs to make sure that immigrants obtain the right papers. In courtroom settings, seeking truth for legal cases will be the high level interest of purpose. In healthcare institutions, getting the patients' case history and provide adequate diagnosis will be the purpose of all the healthcare staff. In specific communicative situations, the objectives of the interaction need to be agreed by the service provider and the client prior to the interpreting event. In interpreter-mediated communication, the interpreter exercises the control of the transfer of the messages, both in the factual and underlying forms, always bearing in mind the previously-agreed communicative purposes by all the interlocutors.

[59] So far as the translation purpose is concerned, Sunwoo (2008) uses the term "translation contract" (Übersetzungsvertrag, translated by the author) consisting of a contractor with his/her interest, the type of a target text, the communicative situation of a target text and profile of a target text and a target reader's interest to make the purpose of translation process transparent. However, this concept of purpose is mainly confined to the written translation field and still constitutes a deficit in the *Discourse Interpreting* research field. Even though some scholars have indicated the importance of agreed purpose for a particular communicative situation (e.g. Gentile's "briefing" et al. 1996 and Tebble's "contract" 1999), it is still uncertain what specific constituents will go to the pre-agreed document.

communicative scenario needs to be agreed and fixed as it reflects the higher level of interest or purpose of an institution or authority.

It is therefore advisable that the discourse partners in an *interpreter* briefing before the assignment agree on its specific purpose and draw up a 'checklist' which specifies the intended *actual interpreting purpose* and makes all discourse partners aware of the general shared aim they all try to achieve and how this is translated into the *interpreter's* actions. This may also include specifying the preferred interpreting mode in terms of what is commonly referred to as a 'verbatim' interpretation or a (cultural or knowledge) 'mediation' and the extent to which an *interpreter's* interaction is desired. The checklist in section 7.2 may provide some guidance for establishing relevant questions guiding the *interpreter's* decisions and actions.

In terms of type and norms of a *communicative situation*, for example, in the courtroom, the *interpreter* is a function of the legal system, thus, the practice of judiciary *interpreters* is greatly influenced by the adversarial, oral, and public nature of the proceedings and the presence of the jury. Interpreting the witness' testimony is a very delicate matter and the *interpreter* must take great pains not to intrude in the lawyer's carefully planned effort to present the evidence to the jury in a certain light, while in the meantime showing concerns about the defendant's right to understand the proceedings and participate in his/her own defense. The real dilemma for the legal or court *interpreter* arises when the court is conveying vital information to a monolingual defendant in the expectation that he/she will respond appropriately. Therefore, the major communicative concerns of an *interpreter* in the courtroom lie in securing the smooth proceeding of the legal rituals.

However, a medical setting involves a type of medical discourse guided by medical treatment purposes and professional medical knowledge structures; as a result, the process of mutual understanding is affected by the use of a certain vocabulary, certain syntactic structures and a specific organization of discourse. It is also likely that the conversational strategies used in bilingual medical scenarios are culturally bound.

In addition to be a co-diagnostician in the medical settings, the *interpreters* also have the concerns of conserving medical resources and managing appropriate and ethical performance. Sometimes *interpreters* may also have the advocacy concern for the patient. The advocacy may be explicit when the *interpreter* seeks information,

provides answers and requests services for the patient without consulting the patient. It may also be implicit when the *interpreter* allows patients to appear as their own advocates while in reality the *interpreter* have provided the means for the patients to do so. For example, when an American doctor asks "How long have you had the headaches" with the intention of eliciting a number of hours, days or weeks. This may lead the Chinese patients' understanding of "at what moment did you realize that you had a headache". The answer from the patient then tends to be narrative. Therefore, the appropriate diagnosing process in the bilingual medical scenarios will involve all the interlocutors' handling of the language, domain knowledge and cultural knowledge. To ensure the quality of the medical conversation between the doctor and patient, who are separated by their huge educational and experiential gap, the *interpreter* assumes a pivotal position.

5.2.1.2.4 Coherence

Against the concepts of *coherence* outlined in section 4.5, the *interpreter* here establishes sense continuity of the message flow. This is done in two ways

- by *thematic* continuity or
- by *isotopy* continuity

Thematic continuity is represented by *theme* identification within the *FFM* (identification of the shared *knowledge* parameters, shared *focus of attention* and topic identification within the *shared focus of attention*). Once a *topic* is identified, topic continuity or difference can then be identified in the sense of Mudersbach (2004). Topic continuity may be established by explicit or implicit theme progression. Explicit theme continuity develops via recurrent or derived topics, implicit theme continuity by establishing thematic progression via textual or world hypothesis of the recipient or analyst.

As was discussed earlier, the category shared *focus of attention* represents the *focus of attention* of the actual discourse partners, in other words the general *topic* of a discourse in the sense of a hypertheme. It is a principle of establishing *coherence* in discourse (Mudersbach 2004) that the *themes* of individual utterances in a sequence of utterances are chosen from the area of *shared focus of attention*. Under the assumption of the *theme-rheme fan fixation model (FFM)* model here, the *topics* of a discourse are established through reference to a previously agreed-upon commonly

shared *Focus of Attention* of the discourse partners. The shared *Focus of Attention* therefore is a vital *coherence*-establishing element in all phases of the interpreting process. It serves as a reference for the *interpreter* when preparing for an assignment or re-working a particular assignment as suggested for Simultaneous Interpreting by Will (2009). It serves as a an orientation during the interpreting process and supports the *interpreter* in warding off claims to act which may constitute (unethical) extensions of his/her job, for instance in law situations, when services in relation to lawyer-plaintiff interaction outside the courtroom requests (Hale 2007: 79) or reject working conditions that prevent the *interpreter* from producing *coherent* discourse, e.g. when courts allow only selective interpretations where the *interpreter* is permitted to interpret only parts of the proceedings, thus making it impossible that the *interpreter* establishes *coherence* of his/her renditions (Kadric 2000: 162). During the interpreting process itself, observing a *shared focus of attention* limits distractions, a sudden change of topics or unconscious linguistic mistakes. The following example shows this problem in interpreter-mediated communication.

> Counsel: did you see the doctor's wife, Mrs. G., in the surgery?
> Interpreter: Mrs. G.?
> Counsel: Yes
> Interpreter: That's the name of the doctor
> Counsel: Sorry, that's Mrs. N,, Mrs. N.
> Interpreter: Oh, I'm sorry
> Counsel: Sorry, you're right.
> (Hale 2004: 204)

In this example, the *interpreter's* clarifying intervention appears because the counsel (and subsequently) the *interpreter's* shifting his/her *focus of attention*. The *interpreter* takes action by interrupting the counsel's unconscious mistake about the name. Instead of interpreting the mistake and letting the witness question it, the *interpreter* decides to check it herself with the counsel. This saves time; however, while this conversation between the counsel and the interpreter is taking place, the witness is being excluded, possibly not understanding the contents of the exchange. With her intervention, the *interpreter's* action may have helped the counsel to maintain his/her power in the overall communication, as it, to some extent, saves him from losing face vis-à-vis the witness.

Isotopic continuity develops as chains of semantically connected lexemes, which

may form a second, third or fourth hidden meaning 'layer' as described later in section 5.4.4. It can therefore be established whether there are (hidden) relationship, self-indicative or appellative meanings and sense continuity of meanings which are relevant for the interpreting effort. Examples are found in the application Chapter 6.

5.2.1.2.5 The Discourse Partners' Interest

Within the *actual discourse purpose* to which the *communicative partners* have committed, the discourse partners may still have their own individual *interests* or ad hoc *interests* which may or may not overlap and be shared or conflicting.

For example, in health care, doctors are interested in making a thorough examination of the patient's symptoms and the patient may be interested in the complications that go along with the examination. A commonly cited example is the pointing out of undesired outcomes of treatment to the patient, a communicative problem because of legal, rather than medical requirements from the doctor's perspective. According to Bührig/Meyer (2004: 11), doctors do not necessarily adopt an impartial stance regarding the patient's decision; they want the patient to agree to the proposed treatment and therefore one-sidedly structure the briefing (Bührig 2001), i.e. they do not impartially provide information about complications but inform in such a way that the patient will hardly take this important information in consideration. *Interpreters* were found to "leave out, exaggerate or play down statements concerning the seriousness or frequency of complications as if they did not regard these utterances as relevant parts of the doctor's discourse" (Meyer 2003a: English abstract).

In some institutional discourse like asylum hearings, the officers functioning as institutional representatives, initiate questions and control the *interpreter's* turn-taking to get evidence for them to decide whether the asylum-seekers' answers are adequate for the purpose of the hearing. For the asylum-seekers, their *interest* in the interpretation lies in providing logical, (continuously) *coherent* statements for them to present their legitimacy as an asylum seeker. In this case, *interpreters* assume a vital influence on the outcome of these interactions. It is therefore advisable that hidden interests need to be made transparent and clarified in advance before the interpreting event so that the *interpreter* is aware of potential mediating problems and can structure his/her strategies accordingly.

In legal discourse, interpreting witness testimony is also a very delicate matter, "…the interpreter must take great pains not to intrude in the lawyer's carefully planned effort to present the evidence to the jury in a certain light. But what about the defendants right to understand the proceedings and participate in his/her own defense" (Mikkelson 1998: 35).

For instance, in the courtroom, the lawyers and the Bench are the powerful participants in the proceedings because the task of the witness/defendant/accused is to provide a relevant answer to the questions. The witness/defendant/accused is generally barred from making comments or refusing to answer questions. In this way, many questions are not asked in order to elicit information unknown to the questioner but rather to elicit information or responses that would favor or discredit a particular case. It is within this asymmetry relationship that the *interpreter's* extra actions are needed at certain stages (e.g. assisting legal institution's proceeding or brokering cultural discrepancy for his/her own language community group members). The doctor-patient interaction is essentially asymmetrical because doctors are familiar with the hospital or clinic and its procedures so that they are able to make decisions regarding their patients' health whereas patients (especially foreign patients) enter the consultation as outsiders and are most of the time unaware of the medical procedures that will be involved in their treatment. Taking care of the doctor-patient relationship from the interpreter's side is of great importance for a successful diagnosis.

Conflicts of interest may also arise in the process of a interpreter-mediated psychotherapeutic discourse when emotional stress, ambiguity, negative feelings or resignation arise among the partners within the triad relationship and cause a possible conflict of interest in the *interpreter* or his/her relationship with the therapist or the patient (Opraus 2003, Nuc 2006: 266ff).

We can therefore say that there seems to be a general consensus that in *Discourse Interpreting* situations the interpreter has to be aware of such (possibly conflicting) implicit *interests*[60]: "The client's expectations may conflict with the

[60] 'Interest' is here used similarly to Alexieva's notion of the "goals" of the interpreter-mediated event which may be shared or conflicting in an actual situation which may cause problems in the interpreting process (Alexieva 1997: 169).

interpreter's view of the professional role. Reliance on the *interpreter* to be advocate, cultural expert, guide and buffer between hegemonic culture and that of the client is the most likely source of stress" (Gentile et. al 1996: 29).

5.2.1.3 The Interrelationship of the Static Parameters

5.2.1.3.1 The FFM with Interpreter Presence

The interrelationship of the above parameters is shown in Figure 9 as below:

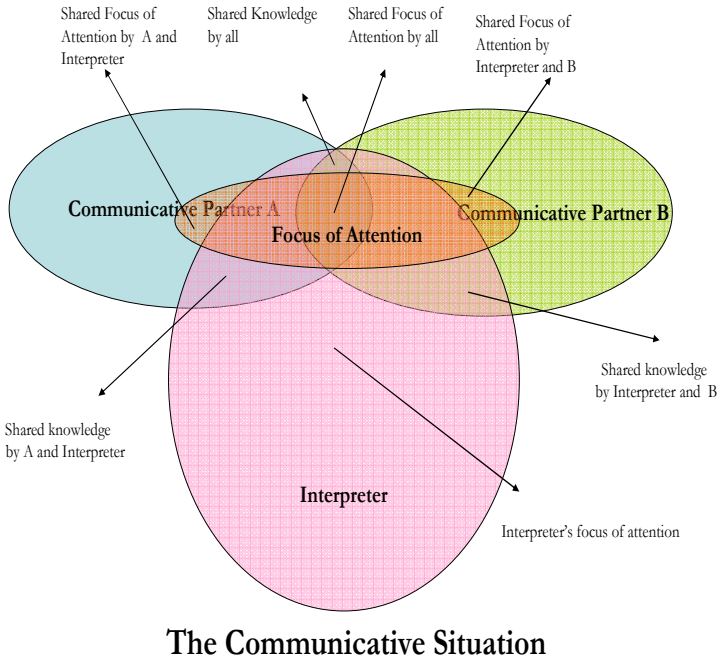


Figure 9: The Parameters of Discourse Interpreting (from Interpreter's Perspective)

The graph proceeds from the communication model presented in 4.3.

- It adds the *Interpreter's knowledge* base (5.2.1.1) which is shown to by far exceed that of the discourse partners to reflect the fact that the *interpreter* needs to encompass both languages and cultures plus the *interpreter's* know-how in terms of interpreting techniques and strategies plus mediating and communication coordinating expertise. The *interpreter's knowledge* base, may, however, be far less with respect to domain-specific *topics* of the discourse type. This is a typical situation for *interpreters*, i.e. that they as lay

persons are expected to 'mediate' the expert communication (with respect to knowledge management in simultaneous interpreting contexts cf. recently Will 2009).

- The graph also shows that the *interpreter* includes most of the shared *focus of attention* of the discourse partners which reflects the concentration level of the *interpreter* in that the *interpreter* at all times of the interpreting process must be ready to intervene in the discourse if the situation demands his/her clarifying, summarizing, restructurizing or coordinating messages in the interest of achieving a previously agreed discourse purpose.

Against the background of these interrelated parameters, which make the knowledge and *focus of attention* of the discourse *interpreter* transparent, we will now look at how an original source message is (re)produced by the *interpreter.*

5.2.2 Dynamic Processes of Discourse Interpreting

5.2.2.1 Interpreted Message Flow

We will here consider an interpreter-mediated exchange in its *tetradic* stages proceeding from a *Tetradic Model of Speech Acts* (Mudersbach 2008, as applied in Sunwoo 2008), which is here adapted for *Discourse Interpreting* purposes. The *Tetradic Model of Speech Acts* describes the interaction between *communicative partners* A and B in four steps which are interrelated and can apply equally to day-to-day, scientific or literary texts or discourse. The four-step sequence develops as follows (cf. chapter 4.5):

Tetradic Sequence without Interpreter:

- A *communicative partner* A's utterance
- A *communicative partner* B's reaction
- The acknowledgement of B's reaction by A
- The acknowledgement of A's acknowledgement by B.

The series of steps implies cooperation of A and B. Each step influences the next step in a positive or negative way, showing A's or B's cooperation. The sequence is *coherent*.

It is adapted for the purposes of *Discourse Interpreting* to integrate the *interpreter's* activities (I) into the exchange of a message I – IV between A and B.

Tetradic Sequence with Interpreter:

Stage 1: A sends a message M I to B

Stage 1' I interprets this message as M I' to B

Stage 2: B responds to A with message M II

Stage 2'I interprets message M II' to A

Stage 3: A acknowledges B's response by message M III

Stage 3' I interprets M III as M III' to B

Stage 4: B acknowledges A's acknowledgement by Message M IV(optional)

Stage 4':I interprets message M IV' to A (optional)

The sequence shows that the original message M I becomes M I' in the interpretation. M I' has gone through two 'modifications' of the interpreter I: perception and (re)production before it gets to B.

Stage 1

M I' is therefore subject to 'potential modifications':

- the *interpreter* (I) may not (fully) perceive A's message as it was intended by A
- the *interpreter* (I) may not (fully) reproduces A's message M I to B.

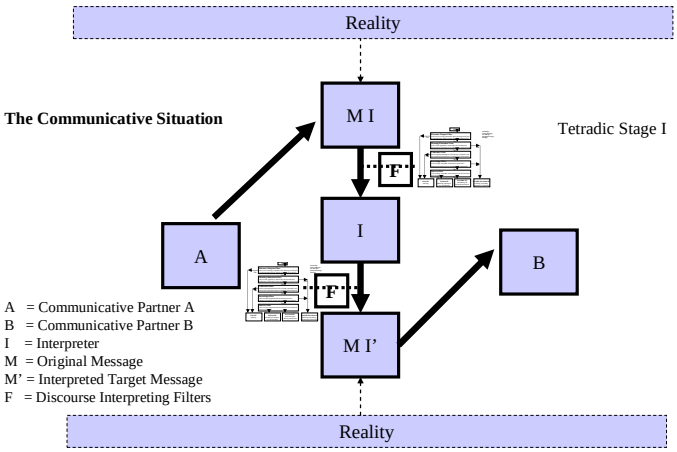


Figure 10: Stage I of Interpreter-mediated Tetradic Turn Exchange

Stage 2:

B then responds to a M I by M II on the basis of what was reproduced by I and on the basis of his/her own perception.

M II' is again subject to two 'potential modifications':

- the *interpreter* (I) may not (fully) perceive B's response as it was intended by B
- the *interpreter* (I) may not (fully) reproduce B's response M II to A.

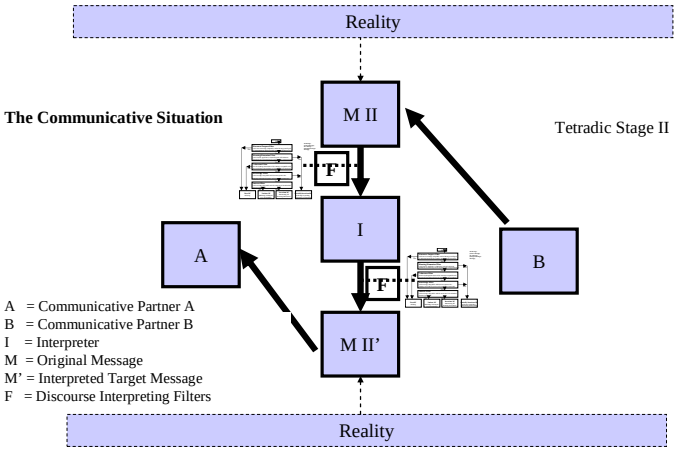


Figure 11: Stage II of Interpreter-mediated Tetradic Turn Exchange

Stage 3

A acknowledges a M II by a message M III to B on the basis of what was reproduced by I and on the basis of his/her own perception. The process is similar in Stages 3 and 4.

M III' is again subject to two 'potential modification':

- the *interpreter* (I) may not (fully) perceive A's acknowledgement as it was intended by A
- the *interpreter* (I) may not (fully) reproduce A's acknowledgement M III' to B.

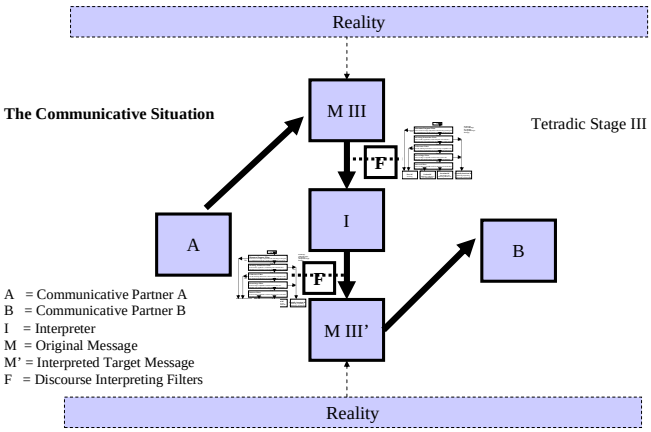


Figure 12: Stage III of Interpreter-mediated Tetradic Turn Exchange

Stage 4

B then responds to M III' by M VI on the basis of what was reproduced by I and on the basis of his/her own perception.

M IV' is again subject to two potential modifications:

- the *interpreter* (I) may not (fully) perceive B's M IV as it was intended by B
- the *interpreter* (I) may not (fully) reproduce B's M IV' to A.

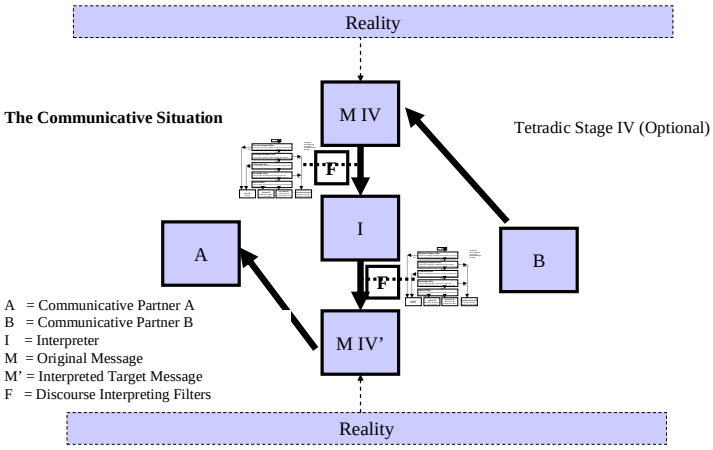


Figure 13: Stage IV of Interpreter-mediated Tetradic Turn Exchange

For simplicity reasons we will assume here that A has understood the ideally-interpreted message M IV by the *interpreter*. Then this is where the cycle would end and begin anew with stage 1. All possible other turns or turn exchanges are excluded from the model in its present form; however, the *tetradic* exchange is assumed to be recursive so that previous and subsequent interchanges follow the same principle. This assumption is necessary to establish *coherence* (cf. the analysis in section 6.3).

We will here assume that the *interpreter* ideally understands A's message in all of Schulz-von-Thun's four dimensions, i.e. the factual, relationship, self-indicative and appellative implications and will therefore neglect the comprehension problems here and only deal with the motivations that make the *interpreter* reproduce message M I the way he/she does, i.e. in a an *invariant* ('verbatim'), *partially invariant* (category 1 e.g. 'restructured' or category 2 e.g. asking for clarifications), *variant* ('mediated') or *zero* forms.

It can easily be seen that an interpreted-message exchange in its *tetradic* sequence is much more complicated than usually thought as it implies at least twelve

potential modifications in four assumed meaning stages:

- The perception and (re)production of (I) while interpreting A's original message M I to B
- The perception of B while understanding I's interpreted message M I' as a basis for his/her response M II
- The perception and (re)production of (I) while interpreting B's response M II to A
- The perception of A while perceiving I's interpreted message M II' as a basis for A's acknowledgement M III
- The perception and (re)production of (I) while interpreting A's acknowledgement MIII to B
- The perception of B while understanding I's interpreted message M III' as a basis for acknowledging A' acknowledgement in Message IV (optional)
- The perception and (re)production of (I) while interpreting B's acknowledgement M IV to A
- The perception of B while perceiving I's interpreted message M IV' as the basis for entering into a new message exchange

Within a *tetradic* exchange, the flow of the interpreted message in both its comprehension and production dimensions is assumed to pass through at least a *discourse purpose filter*, a *coherence filter*, a *knowledge filter* and an *interest filter*. The interest filter determines whether 'mediation' by the interpreter is necessary in the interest of reaching the pre-established overall *communication goal* or not. Section 5.4 will describe the filters in more detail. For simplicity reasons, we will concentrate on the reproduction dimension.

5.3 From M to M': Filtered Messages

When passing through an interpreter-mediated exchange, an original message (M) is 'filtered' by the *interpreter* into a target message M' on the basis of the *interpreter's knowledge* profile and in consideration of situational factors, particularly the *purpose of the actual discourse*.

This potential modification of a message in the interpreting process is here called an interpreter's *filtering* of a message. It potentially modifies the source message by its passing though a number of *interpreting filters* which operate on the original

message (M) to result in the interpreted message (M'). It is described in its typical characteristics as follows:

Discourse Interpreting[61] *Filters* screen a message M according to a number of factors during the process it undergoes from its original state (source message M) to its interpreted message (target message M') by the discourse *interpreter*. As a result of *Discourse Interpreting Filters*, the interpreted message M' is – when compared to the original M – classifiable as being either *invariant* ('close' or 'verbatim'), *partially invariant* in two categories: Category I ('restructured') and Category II (asking for clarification), *variant* ('mediation') or not existing at all, i.e. *zero.* These renditions will be described in more detail below:

5.3.1 Classification of Filtered Messages (M')

5.3.1.1 TYPE I: Zero Target Message M' (non-rendition)

This refers to a message which is not reproduced in the target discourse. Zero rendition refers to the complete deletion of a source message in its content and function.

Filtered Message, Type I, Example 1:

In the following example a young physician starts to speak with the baby who is on the examination table while the interpreter holds the baby's arms to facilitate the ear examination, the baby's mother also being present in the room. (D=Doctor, I=Interpreter, M= Mother)

274. D: Ok! Hey! (Playing with baby, speaking with baby)
Can I check your ears? Let's see that side…!
275. I: (making popping noise to distract the child)
276. D: Hey! Who's that? (still talking to baby) What is he doing? The ears look fine (to Patient's mother).
277. I:Ok. Los Oidos se ven bien también.
Ok. The ears also look fine.
278. M: Mhmm.
279. D:Hey! Hey! (trying to look in baby's mouth)

(Rosenberg 2001: 123)

[61] The definition of *Discourse Interpreting*, cf. section 5.1.

In the above excerpt, only the doctor's factual comment to the mother is interpreted, the relationship, appellative and self-indicative dimensions of the doctor's talk with the baby remain unaccounted for, i.e. fall within the category of *zero rendition*. This can be justified by them not being coherent for establishing factual coherence of the discourse.

5.3.1.2 TYPE II: Partially Invariant Target Message M', Category I ('restructured' type)

Most of the interpreted messages are of TYPE II, *partially invariant message*, category I, which may extend to any modification in the meaning dimensions which may take the form of lexical, syntactic, and stylistic variations as they become necessary when interpreting across languages and cultures. This category encompasses reduced, expanded, paraphrased and summarized renditions which may be necessary to make the interchange coherent and which are due to *Knowledge* differences in terms of languages, cultures and domain specificity in order to achieve the actual *discourse purpose*, such as 'expanded renditions' (Wadensjö 1998: 107-108) 'qualifier' and 'elaboration additions' (Barik 1994: 125-126), 'explanatory' and 'phatic' (Jakobson 1990: 75) and 'emphatic additions' (Cesca 1997: 482-493).

Filtered Message, Type II, Example 2:

A young female pediatric resident from the Philippines is interviewing a young Mexican mother about her infant's chief complaint. The following example will illustrate an expanded (turn 57 and turn 61) and a paraphrased (turn 59) filtered version M'.

56. D: OK, what about stooling pattern?

57. I: Y. ¿Qué tal hace del baño? ...¿Usted me dijo que tenía problemas?
And, how's she's going to the bathroom? ...You told me she was having problems?

58. M: Sí, o sea que..batalla para ensuciar.
Yes, that is to say...she has a hard time going.

59. I: Mhmm, she said she's struggling a lot to go to the bathroom.

60. D: Ok. And is umm, how many times does she go to pass bowel movements?

61. I: Y, ¿ cuántas veces hace del baño al día?
And how many times does she go to the bathroom a day?

(Rosenberg 2001: 165)

The interpreter was already aware of the chief complaint since she had spoken with the patient's mother upon her arrival to the clinic that day. Turn 57 shows the interpreter's expanded renditions which refer back to the prior conversation with the patient in order to elicit the information that the physician requested on turn 56. Another example shows the interpreter's 'reduced' or reorganized M'.

Filtered Message, Type II, Example 3:

22. D: OK, what does she mean by the simplest possible words? ...
23. I: Y...Usted dice las palabras más sencillas como, ¿cuáles serían?
And, you say the simples words like, which ones would they be?
24. M: Dice como "mamá, papá".
She says "mamá, papá".
25. I: Mamá, papá.(with English accent)
26. M: Teta...
Bottle.
27. I: Bottle.
28. M: Como, por ejemplo, el nombre de la niňa que es Candi, le dice Mimi.
Like, for example, the girl's name, whose name is Candi, he calls her Mimi.
29. I: Es… his sister he calls Mimi.

(Rosenberg 2001: 179-180)

In the above excerpt, a young female resident pediatrician is trying to determine how significant the patient's speech delay is. The mother has stated that the child only knows the "simplest words". As the doctor asks a series of follow-up questions, the interpreter summarizes the patient mother's answers. In turn 24 and 28, we can see that the interpreter is not conveying the entirety of the mother's utterances. In turn 25, the *interpreter* could have included "she says" in the rendition and in turn 29, the interpreter leaves out the information about the sister's real name and adds the information that the girl is the sister which would have been important on some level.

5.3.1.3 TYPE III: Partially Invariant Target Message M', Category II (asking for clarification)

The second category of *partially invariant target messages* appears when a message contains *coherence* problems for the *interpreter*, e.g. a 'hidden' *isotopic* meaning dimension from the interpreter's *perspective*, either for the interpreter himself/herself or for the other *communicative partner*. With a view to achieve the *actual discourse*

purpose, the interpreter may initiate questions to the original message producer for the clarification of the unclear meaning so as to secure a proper *coherence* in communication.

5.3.1.4 TYPE IV: Variant Target Message M' ('mediated')

The term *variant target message* includes all mediations of the *interpreter* in the interest of achieving the *actual purpose* of the discourse despite possibly conflicting ad hoc *interests* of the discourse partners.

Filtered Message, Type IV, Example 4:

In the following example taken from British Channel Four 'Cutting Edge' documentary about Polish immigrants to Britain, the *interpreter* downtones the original message:

IO (Immigration Officer):	OK, that was certainly more than a week ago.
	That was over two months ago.
I (Interpreter):	Dwa miesiace temu, prawda?
	Two months ago, is that right?
PW (Polish Woman):	Tak.
	Yes.
IO (Immigration Officer):	How is it that you're still in this country?
I (Interpreter):	Dlaczego tutaj dalej jesteś?
	Why are you still here?

(Mason /Stewart 2001: 67)

The Immigration Officer uses irony to implicate that the interviewee had lied about the length of her stay in England and the *interpreter* downtones the original utterance by 1) deleting the irony ('certainly') and re-formulating the target message with an addressee-oriented rhetoric question ('is that right'?) and 2) substituting the question accentuating the officer's doubt ('how is it that…') by a direct wh-question ('why'?)

5.3.1.5 TYPE V: Invariant Target Message M' ('close', 'verbatim' renderings)

The postulate of rendering an *invariant interpretation* is a much used claim among lay persons in communication and translation or interpreting areas. It reflects itself in the 'Code of Ethics' and many guidelines to Community Interpreting as requests for

'accuracy' or 'verbatim' interpretation (see section 3.1) and is particularly common and relevant in police hearings or court interpreting scenarios although court representatives openly concede that an interpreter, of course, needs to make sense of a message before he/she interprets (e.g. Klopfer's description of courtroom misinterpreted messages in Zurich *proceedings* 2006) [62] . Language and communication specialists agree that this request is naïve because it can not be met due to a number of factors which have been well documented in the literature, among them the *coherence* building strategies of the *interpreter* where individual hypotheses and world *knowledge* interact with the verbalized contents of a message.

We therefore will here not assume that a verbatim rendition is realistic and instead will use the term *invariant target messages* with the idea that invariance exists as far as meaning is concerned. The invariance refers to all meaning dimensions of Schulz von Thun's communication model (1981). It is thus a very rare type of interpreted message although it is widely spread as a possible and desired type of interpreted message in practice (see the examples below and the analysis in section 6.3) and in the literature (cf. Berk-Seligson 1990).

[62] Opraus (2003) for example still distinguishes four types of 'roles' of the interpreter and the 'wörtliche Übertragung' (verbatim rendering) being one of them.

Filtered Messages, Type V, Example 5:

Hsieh (2004) shows a medical interpreter's explanation of assuming a 'conduit' role by transferring all meaning dimensions indiscriminately:

> "The patient is seeing a lung doctor, a doctor specializes pulmonary disease. But also the patient has a long history of back pain, shoulder pain, and the pain in the knee cap. So, he has x-rays, CT scans, all over his body, his shoulder, his back, his lower back, his knee cap. And so, the patient was eager to show the doctor all the x-ray films, and the CT scan films, to show him, "This is the result, this is what I get." And you know, and the doctor was kind of like impatient, and said, "I only treat the lungs, I only look at the lungs. Don't show me those films. I won't look at it." I just felt that he's impatient. He is kind of rude and disrespectful. I just personally think that he is not respectful. Even though he specializes in lungs, he should put in a nice way, try to put it in a nice way, try to let patient know, rather than, literally says, "I only look at the lungs." So, what can I do? I just interpret exactly in the same tone, in the same expression. Because when I went through the training, we have to interpret everything exactly as what the doctor said, even have to interpret exactly the same tone, and the same expression, and the same use of words"
>
> Hsieh (2004: 151)

This example shows that verbatim renditions of invariant target messages can include all the meaning dimensions of a message. In the doctor's original message: "I only treat the lungs, I only look at the lungs. Don't show me those films. I won't look at it". The factual meaning dimension is that the doctor told the patient he treated only lung problems and was not interested in the patient's other problems. The relationship meaning dimension is the doctor's assumed impatience about the patient's showing all the x-ray films and the CT scan films. The 'appellative' meaning dimension is the patient's implied appeal to get the doctor's closer attention. The 'self-indicative' meaning dimension is the doctor showed his superiority in the healthcare communication. The *interpreter* kept all the meaning dimensions of this message by "even have to interpret exactly the same tone, and the same expression, and the same use of words" so that she has rendered an *invariant target message*.

As different language systems differ in their lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic dimensions, Wadensjö's category of "close renditions" (1998: 107), i.e. "the propositional content found explicitly expressed in the 'rendition' must equally be found in the preceding 'original', and the style of the two utterances should be approximately the same (in principle)" also belongs to what is here called 'invariant'

target message as in the following example (D refers to Doctor and I refers to Interpreter):

Filtered Message, Type V, Example 6:

46. D: Any cough?
47. I: ¿Tos?
Cough?
(Garbled…Doctor begins to examine the child)
48. D: Has she been pulling at the ears?
49. I: ¿Y no se..se talla en los oidos?
And is she not rubbing her ears?

(Rosenberg 2001: 85)

In turns 46 and 47 – even though it is not a word-for-word reproduction of the doctor's original utterance – the interpreter's one word rendition 'Cough' ('Tos') has the same propositional meaning as the doctor's two-word utterance 'any cough'?

5.4 Discourse Interpreting Filters

During the interpreter's filtering process, a number of *filters* are assumed to operate on the original message and influence the target message's (M') content and function. They are described here as *purpose*, *coherence* (in the sense of topic continuity and *isotopic* continuity), *knowledge*, and *interest filters* and are activated in that chronological order.

5.4.1 The *Discourse Purpose Filter*

The *discourse purpose filter* checks whether a message is compatible with the agreed-upon *purpose of the actual discourse*. It presupposes the cooperation of all discourse partners and their observing Grice's maxims (1975).

In filtering the original message M at this stage, the *interpreter* is guided by answering the following question:

- Is the source message compatible with achieving the general *goal of the communication* and the *actual purpose* of the discourse?

The above example in which the male Brazilian client makes a remark to the female interpreter about her looks would fall into this category: the client's message does not serve the overall goal of the communication and is not related to the actual

purpose of the discourse.

5.4.2 The *Coherence Filter*

The *coherence filter* links an individual message in its *topic* continuity and its *factual, appellative, relationship* and *self-indicative isotopy* dimensions to previous and following *tetradic* exchanges. It thereby provides for the overall continuity of discourse. It influences the target message in the interpreting process in that it requires judgments relative to whether a message in its many dimensions is in the *shared focus of attention* ('in focus') and thus relevant in the light of the entire interpreted event.

The questions the *interpreter* needs to answer here are:

- Are the topic plus the *factual, appellative, relationship* and *self-indicative* dimensions of the source message compatible with the *actual purpose* of the discourse?
- Are there signs that indicate whether one of these dimensions is isolated to a particular message (and thus may be neglectable and result in *zero rendition*) or whether it is a continuously (*coherently*) developed dimension (i.e. linked to/*coherent* with previous and/or anticipated discourse exchanges) in the sense of an *isotopic* level (see 4.5.3) which needs to be *interpreted*?

The *coherence filter* is a powerful filter from the *interpreter's* perspective and involves decisions as to the restructuring of a message (summarization, expanding, reducing) or the deletion of messages (zero renditions).

A *coherence filter* in the reproduction dimension also checks the local meaning dimensions to be transferred (separate *isotopies*) against global *coherence*. Being different from the reception dimension, *coherence* in the reproduction *filter* focuses on the transfer of the message in a way to close gaps between different separate *isotopies* and with a view to the top-level *isotopy*. Thus, interpreters may downtone a message by omitting the relationship and self-indicative meaning dimensions (in the sense of Schulz von Thun 1981), structure a message in the way to be fully comprehended by the other primary communicative partner, using additional information to clarify the original message, etc.

In normal communication scenarios, an individual's 'ad hoc' understanding of a

message in terms of the *factual, self-indicative, relationship* and/or *appellative* dimensions can be understood as establishing *factual, relationship* and/or *appellative isotopy* lines which may reveal hidden meaning layers which are not accessible by the informational *theme-rheme* category.

5.4.3 The Topic Continuity Filter

The *topic continuity filter* shows the *topic* development in discourse as an indicator of *coherence*. Topic identification here proceeds from the *FFM* (see Chapter 4) with the integration of the *interpreter* who – with his/her on-site decisions/judgment about the *communicative partners' shared focus of aAttention* or *perspective* – co-establishes *coherence* within the *actual discourse purpose.* In making these decisions, the interpreter is guided by answering the following question:

- Is there a change in the original message that needs to be reproduced in a target message?
- Is there a shift of *theme, shared focus of attention* or perspective in the original message that need to be made explicit or make it necessary to ask for clarification?

The *topic* structure of the material analyzed in Chapter 6 will later be specified in Table 2.

5.4.4 The Isotopic Continuity Filter

The *isotopic continuity filter* applies Schulz-von-Thun's assumption that any message contains at least four dimensions (cf. Chapter 4): a *factual*, an *appellative*, a *relationship* and a self-*indicative* dimension, which are equally applicable to a hearer ('four ears') and a speaker ('four tongues'). It complements the *topic continuity filter* in not relating to informational units but meaning dimensions which are established by their continuity and which may be hidden to the other *communicative partners*. An example is given in Chapter 6 when in Turn 17 and Turn 26 (cf. the topic continuity table) the barrister recurrently uses the word 'remember' to accentuate his doubting the defendant's credibility – a hidden *isotopy* that the interpreter does not recognize (cf. the interpreted message M' in Turn 27).

While the *factual* dimension may seem the least problematic (although it does

raise contrastive language and cultural problems), the *appellative* dimension is of great importance in *Discourse Interpreting* because the interchange is often made up by question-answer turns (e.g. in court situations or asylum hearings) which usually imply a strong *appellative* component (cf. the 'remember' example in Chapter 6). The relationship dimension is equally important because *Discourse Interpreting* environments frequently involve a-symmetric *discourse partners* (e.g. in doctor-patient relationships or the barrister and defendant in the courtroom) which require careful balancing by the *interpreter*. And while the self-indicative dimension may seem less crucial, it does provide the *interpreter* with a judgment as to the credibility of a *discourse partner* and/or conflict potential arising from the conflicting *interests* or styles of the *discourse partners*.

The *interpreter* therefore has to make sure that he/she comprehends the source message in its *factual*, *appellative*, *relationship* and self-*indicative* potential and that he/she filters the target message by deciding (a) which of the above *isotopic* dimensions are to be represented in the target message and (b) to which extent and (c) in which form.

We will neglect the comprehension dimension of *Discourse Interpreting* here and assume in this study that the interpreter fully understands all four dimensions involved and that decisions as to which dimension in which form, relate to the (re)production of the interpretation only. We will therefore concentrate on the decisions that fall within the *interpreter's* action latitude in reproducing a target message M'. In making these decisions, the *interpreter* is guided by answering the following question:

- Can the *factual*, *appellative*, *relationship* and *self-indicative* dimensions of a message be reproduced in a target message?

Filtered Message Example 7:

The following example is taken from a cross-examination in the courtroom:

Counsel:	Well you looked at uh, you looked at him in a very nasty way, didn't you?
Interpreter:	Pero usted a él lo miró feo.
	(But you looked at him in a nasty way.)
Witness:	(Pause) Casi que, o sea, no entiendo esas preguntas.
	(I sort of, I mean, I don't understand those questions.)
Interpreter:	You, the interpreter also speaks for herself, Your Worship, the answer was, your questions are very confusing.

Counsel: Well, with respect, Mr. P., they are not confusing at all.
(Hale 2004: 206)

In the preceding turns of the above interchange, the cross-examiner had asked the same question a number of times, i.e. whether the witness had looked at the defendant "in a nasty way", which is rendered verbatim by the *interpreter*. In frustration, after a pause, the witness answers "I sort of, I mean, I don't understand those questions". The *interpreter* addresses the magistrate and renders only the factual dimension, i.e. that the questions were confusing and leaving out the *appellative* dimension of needing some more feedback ('I (=the witness) don't understand those questions'), the *self-indicative* dimension of insecurity ('I sort of, I mean…') and the relationship dimension of speaking to an authority ('casi que, o sea…'). By not rendering all the meaning dimensions implied in the witness' answer, as would have been possible and appropriate, the *interpreter* causes the magistrate's misunderstanding who may have felt insulted at being accused of not being able to formulate his questions clearly ('they are not confusing at all').

Filtered Message Example 8:

The following example shows the realization of a witness' implied *self-indicative isotopic* dimension by the *interpreter* (Sol = Solicitor, Int. = Interpreter, Wit = Witness):

Sol- Did you, sorry Your Worship. Did you say to Ms X that you were gonna go into her home and strangle her?
Int- (Did you say to Mrs X that you were going to go to her house and strangle her?)
Wit- (No, I'm a very educated person to say that)
Int- No, I'm an educated person, I couldn't say that.
(Hale 1997: 207)

The above interpreted exchange takes place in the Australian courtroom in which the court *interpreter* paraphrases the witness' words so as to convey the *self-indicative isotopic* dimension implied in the message, i.e. that he's well-educated and has been raised in a proper way, so it would not be his manner to threaten someone in that way. As the *interpreter* understands the implied *self-indicative isotopic* line, she makes it explicit in her translated target message by making the cause-effect relationship in M' clearer.

5.4.5 The Knowledge Filter

The *knowledge filter* proceeds from the concept of *knowledge systems* and their *holistic* description (Mudersbach 1991). Elements of relevant *knowledge systems* become manifest (are 'concretized') in the message exchanges as e.g. linguistic and cultural manifestations (for a detailed description of their constitution cf. Floros 2003) or domain *knowledge systems* (for a detailed description cf. Will 2009).

The questions the interpreter needs to ask are:

- Is the message compatible with *communicative partner* B's language and cultural system and norms and conventions?
- Does B have sufficient (cultural, domain-specific, norm-related, communicative) *knowledge* (from the perspective of the interpreter) to understand the message without clarifications or expanding explanations?

The answers to these questions may lead to message restructuring decisions i.e. to restructured renditions and/or clarification interventions by the *interpreter*.

Filtered Message Example 9:

The following situation exemplifies the *interpreter's* providing additional information of the original message with a view to make the different meaning dimensions of an original message explicit within a actual *discourse purpose*.

> During a regular appointment with a Deaf patient, a psychiatrist determines that a change in medication will be needed. The doctor has already described the process of tapering off one medication while the new one is started but has not yet reached a therapeutic level. The psychiatrist is getting ready to conclude the interview and asks, "Any questions?" The patient thinks a moment without indicating that any question has come to mind. The interpreter says aloud, "Let me just ask if she wants to know about side effects," then asks the patient, in sign: "Do you want to ask about side effects of the medicine?"
>
> Eighinger / Karlin (2003: 41)

In the above example, when the psychiatrist asks if the patient has any questions, the patient does not offer an answer (maybe because he is not quick enough to ask, or intimidated by the situation or just does not know what to ask). It is in the interest of the patient and not against the *actual objective* of the discourse or the *global goal* of *the communication* that the interpreter takes an initiative to offer "Let me just ask if

she wants to know about side effects".

The following example shows how the *interpreter* offsets the domain *knowledge* deficit existing between primary communicative partners (H = Heathcare Provider, I = Intepreter, P = Patient).

Filtered Message Example 10:

H: Has he ever been given Adefovir before?

I: 他有没有给你，我想是一种药叫 Adefovir

(Did he give you—I think it's called Adefovir)

P: 没有

(No.)

I: Excuse me, the interpreter would like to clarify, do you mean is it a brand name of medication? Adefovir

H: Hepsera is the trade name, Adefovir is the generic name.

I: Adefovir 就是药名，品牌的药名

（Adefovir is the name of the drug, the drug name for the brand）

(Hsieh 2004: 178)

In the above interpreter-mediated encounter, the *interpreter* initiates a question to clarify the drug named by the provider without checking with the patient first. As the *interpreter* is not clear what exactly Adefovir is (a drug name, a medical equipment or a brand name) and the *interpreter* brings forth the question to make sure her understanding of Adefovir as the name of a type of medication is correct.

Assumed cultural *knowledge* is of great importance in mediating doctor-patient interactions. The patients from European and African cultures view information receiving as empowerment and believe that obtaining illness-related information as positive. Particularly interesting is the Western physician's concern for the Chinese patients' autonomy and self-determination conflicts with Chinese patients' family-centered culture. Without knowing these differences, Western physicians may be troubled by Chinese family's controlling behaviors and by the patient's indifferent attitude, whereas the Chinese patient and family members may be angered by healthcare provider's insensitivity by delivering bad news to the patient. The *interpreter* thus assumes an important role to transfer the information in the

culturally appropriate way so as to ensure effective medical communication

Another example is that of a Hispanic woman who had to sign an informed consent form for a hysterectomy. Her bilingual son was interpreting for her, and seemed to be translating accurately enough and the patient signed the form. However, when the patient learned the following day that her uterus had been removed, she was very angry, and threatened to sue the hospital. "Because it is inappropriate for a Hispanic male to discuss her private parts with his mother, the embarrassed son explained that a tumor would be removed from her abdomen and pointed to the general area. The patient felt her status – deriving in large part from the number of children she was able to bear – had been undermined" (Galanti 1997: 22). In the second example an Arab patient's mother-in-law was interpreting health material to the new mother from a culture that valued large families, the mother-in-law refused however to translate the information on contraception. It is just as likely that she might have pretended to convey the information while actually talking about something else (*ibid.*: 22).

Another excerpt will show the cultural *knowledge* differential between an English-speaking doctor and a Cantonese-speaking patient via bilingual nurse results in the *interpreter's* mediating action of omitting the "overweight" information.

Filtered Message Example 11:

Doctor: She can loose weight a little bit also because I think she can be a little overweight.

Interpreter: Yee San gew nay gam sik. Um moy um moy sik gum daw.
(The doctor asks you to reduce your food intake. Not to eat so much).

(Fredericks 1998 conference paper quoted by Meyer 2001: 87)

In this event, when the doctor uses the term of 'weight' and 'overweight' to address the patient's problem, the message, from the doctor's perspective, conveys that the patient is overweight and needs to lose weight. However, in the Chinese culture, there is a connection between obesity and physical illness. Thus, if the message was translated word-for-word by the *interpreter* to the Chinese patient, from the patient's perspective, the message conveys that the doctor addresses the patient's health problem in a rude manner which makes the Chinese patient feel

uncomfortable. Being aware of the implied knowledge information in the patient's understanding of the message, the *interpreter* has made an effort to avoid the 'overweight' expression and ensure a smooth diagnosis and communication process.

5.4.6 The Interest Filter

The *interest filter* is of paramount influence on the *interpreter's* actual filtering of the original message. It provides an answer to the following question:

- Is the source message compatible with the 'ad hoc' *interest* of the individual discourse partner A or B?

If the answer to this question is no, the *interpreter* will have to balance the diverging partners' *interests* in order to obtain the discourse purpose.

The following example shows how the *interpreter* filters the *communicative partner's* (AW) tone in the situation of conflicting *interest* between the Immigration Officer and the asylum-seeker (B1=Immigration Officer 1, AW=Asylum-seeker, D1=Interpreter 1)

Filtered Message Example 12:

B1:	grosse Fluss in ORT1?	
	big river in VILLAGE 1?	
AW:		Mhm.
D1:	Okay, and this big river, what is it	
362		
AW:	The name?	I tell you I don't know the name of
D1:	called?	Ahm.
363		
B1:	((4s))	Als politisch
		As a political
AW:		the river.
D1:	Den Namen weiss ich nicht.	
	I don't know the name.	

(Pöllabauer 2007: 47)

The asylum-seeker expresses impatience ('I tell you…') at the fact that he had already explained that he did not know the name of the river, which could have been perceived as an unwillingness to cooperate or insecurity. The *interpreter* deletes the

self-indicative isotopic meaning dimension. This may have been motivated by trying to secure the *purpose of communication-interview*, i.e. to get information and evidence from the asylum-seeker in an efficient way. If this unwillingness of the asylum-seeker, however, showed up in other exchanges and would thus form a *coherent* pattern or *isotopy*, the *interpreter's* mediating effort by toning down the original tone "I don't know the name" may not be an 'allowable' moderation of the original message.

At the end of passing through the *filters* of

- *actual discourse purpose*,
- *coherence* (*topic continuity* and *isotopic continuity*),
- *knowledge* and
- *interest*

a source message M will be interpreted into M' as *invariant*, *partially invariant* (I or II), *variant* or *zero* .

5.5 DI-Filtered Message Flow and Types

The discourse *interpreter's filtered* M' can now be positioned on a scale from *zero* to *invariant* M' with scalar values of *partially invariant* M' and *mediated* M' which are determined by the results obtained when passing through the *actual discourse purpose*, *coherence*, *knowledge* and *interest* interpreting filters. The assumption of *filters* makes it possible to specify the conditions under which the *filtered* M' come about, e.g.:

A *zero M'* presupposes an original message M that is not compatible with the actual discourse purpose or is not *coherent*.

A *partially invariant M', Category I* ('reducing', 'expanding', summarizing) presupposes M and M' to be

- within the *actual discourse purpose*
- not *coherent* in the sense of knowledge differentials from the interpreter's perspective;
- involving a *knowledge* differential between the *communicative partners* A and B which can be balanced by reducing, expanding, and/or summarizing M

in the filtering process

- devoid of conflicting ad hoc *interests* in the *communicative partners* A and B.

A *partially invariant M', Category II* presupposes to be

- within the *actual discourse purpose*
- not *coherent* from the interpreter's *perspective*, in that there is either a lack of explicit or implicit topic continuity or lack of *isotopic continuity* or implicit 'hidden' meaning;
- devoid of conflicting *interests* in the *communicative partners* A and B.

Downtoning or upgrading a message M therefore in M' does not fall into the *partially invariant category* but is – on the basis of the above filters – a *variant message.*

A *variant M'* ('mediation') by the interpreter requires the original message M and target M' to be

- within the *actual discourse purpose*;
- *coherent* in the sense of *topic continuity* and *isotopic continuity*;
- within a manageable *knowledge* differential between the *communicative partners* A and B and
- involving conflicting ad hoc actual *interests* on the part of the *communicative partners*.

Mediation must, in any case, reflect the *general global communicative goal* and specific *actual discourse purpose*.

An *invariant M'* presupposes to be

- within the *global communicative* and specific *actual discourse purpose*
- *coherent* in terms of all implied meaning dimensions,
- involving a *knowledge* differential between the *communicative partners* A and B which can be balanced by reducing, expanding, and/or summarizing M in the filtering process to become M' and
- devoid of conflicting *interests* in the *communicative partners* A and B.

It can easily be seen that this ideal version which is so often demanded as 'verbatim' interpretation by laypersons is hardly ever achievable. The above

categorization can be seen in the table below:

Target Message Types	**Filter Presuppositions ('+' refers to a 'yes' answer for a filter; '--' refers to a 'no' answer for a filter)**	
Type I: Zero M' e.g. deleting the whole message	**Discourse Purpose**	--
	Coherence	+
	Compatibility of Interest	+
Type II: Partially Invariant M' (Category 1) e.g. reducing, expanding, reconstructing, etc	**Discourse Purpose**	+
	Coherence	--
	Knowledge Differential	+
Type III: Partially Invariant M' (Category 2) e.g. asking for clarification	**Discourse Purpose**	+
	Coherence	--
	Topic Continuity (Explicit/Implicit)	--
	Isotopy Continuity (Implicit)	--
Type IV: Variant M' e.g. mediating techniques like downtoning	**Discourse Purpose**	+
	Coherence	+
	Topic Continuity (Explicit/Implicit)	+
	Isotopy Continuity	+
	Compatibility of Interest	--
Type V: Invariant M' e.g. verbatim or word-for-word translation	**Discourse Purpose**	+
	Coherence	+
	Compatibility of Interest	+

Table 1: DI-filtered Target Message Types

The visualization of the interpreter's filtering process of the original message (M) to the target message (M') is shown in Figure 16 below:

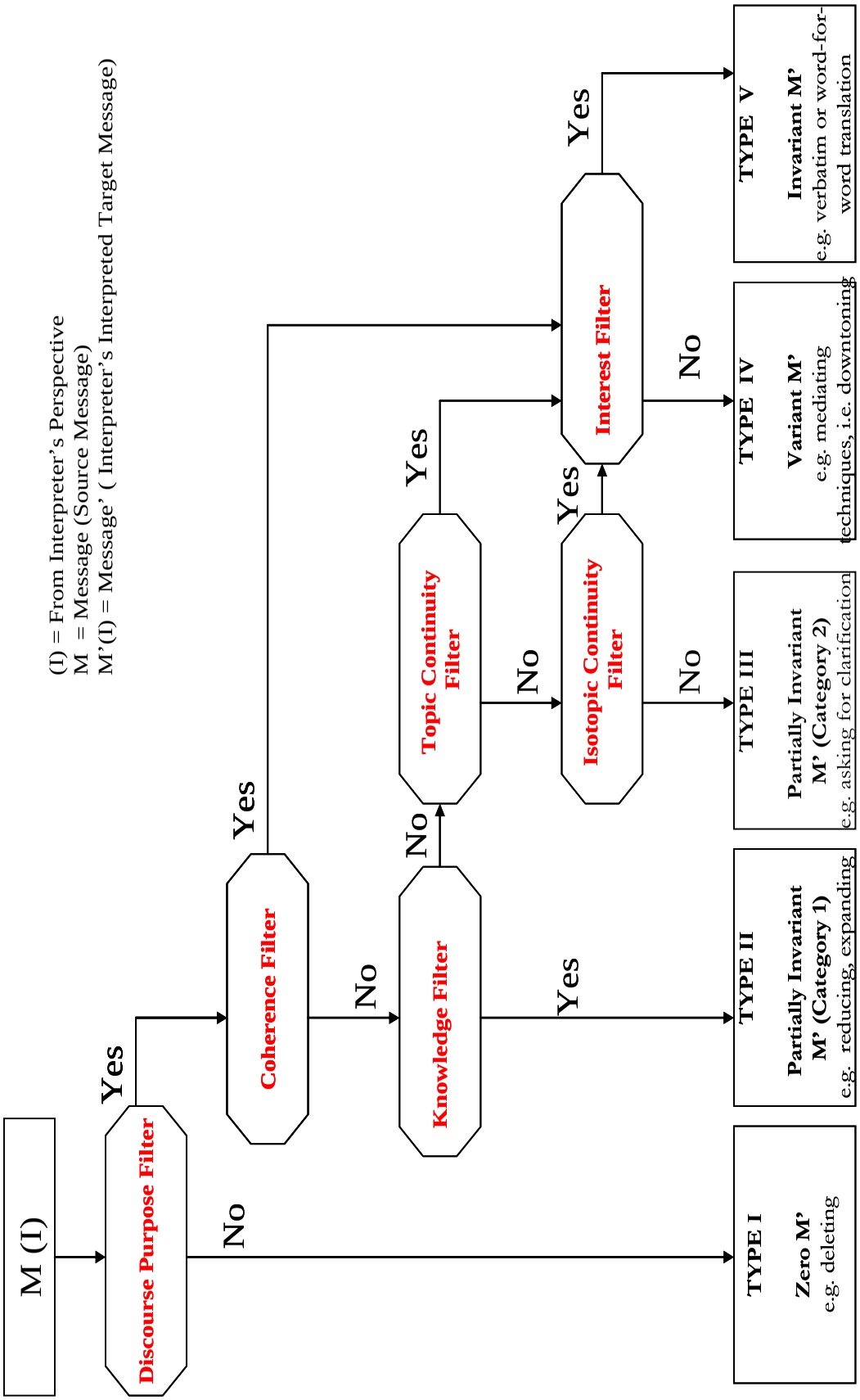


Figure 14: Interpreter's filtering process

According to Figure 16, source messages goes through different paths and yield different types of target interpreted messages as follows:

- **Path 1**

Discourse Purpose (--): Type I (Zero M')

- **Path 2**

Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) →Knowledge Differential (+): Type II (Partially Invariant M': Category 1)

- **Path 3**

Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Topic Continuity (--) → Isotopic Continuity (--): Type III (Partially Invariant M': Category 2)

- **Path 4**

Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Topic Continuity (--) → Isotopic Continuity (+) →Compatibility of Interest (--): Type IV (Variant M')

- **Path 5**

Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Topic Continuity (+) → Compatibility of Interest (--): Type IV (Variant M')

- **Path 6**

Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (--): Type IV (Variant M')

- **Path 7**

Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (+): Type V (Invariant M')

6 Application

6.1 A Glimpse on Discourse Interpreting in China

Professional interpreting activities in China mushroomed only after China had resumed its position in the UN. Before 1996, interpreting research in China has long concentrated on the interpreting skills involved in the process of interpreting. From 1996 to 2000, more efforts were devoted to the description of the interpreting process itself. Since 2002, with the introduction of Western theories, interdisciplinary perspectives have been integrated into China's interpreting field (e.g. Seleskovitch 'sense theory' 1976, 1978, 1984, Gile's effort model 1995, Setton's pragmatic and cognitive approach 1999, a detailed introduction can be found in Liu 2005 and Liu / Wang 2007).

However, almost all of the previous studies have focused on Conference Interpreting, i.e. the simultaneous and consecutive mode, while in the field of Community Interpreting, the Chinese voice is rarely heard with the exceptions of Leung's (2003) research into legal interpreting in the Hong Kong high courtroom scenario, Hsieh's research into bilingual health communication in the Chinese community in the United States (2004), as well as Jiang (2003) and Ren/Jiang's (2006) research into turn-taking mechanism in everyday discourse settings in Sichuan of P.R. China. With an increase of exchanges between nations and peoples, today's globalized world is calling for the participation of Chinese discourse into the interpreter-mediated communication research community.

In comparison with the Community Interpreting research scenario in mainland China, the socio-linguistic matrix peculiar to Hong Kong has been instrumental in encouraging the robust development of Court Interpreting in the former colony of Britain. Since China's cession of the territory to Britain some 100 years ago, the English language has been, for obvious reasons, the language of the law in Hong Kong. On the other hand, 98% of the population are Chinese, for whom the southern Chinese dialect, Cantonese, is virtually the 'lingua franca'. Against this background, there has emerged a great demand for court interpretation between English and Cantonese (Tse 1997). The following analysis is set against this background.

6.2 Methodology

The following analysis is based on the selected Transcript of Tape Number 12 of Case Number I, embedded within the broader communicative situation of sexual offences trials in the High Court of the Hong Kong in the fall of 2005. The Bilingual Laws Information System (BLIS) of the Hong Kong Government, accessible at http://www.legislation.gov.hk/eng/index.htm, contains Statute laws of Hong Kong in English and Chinese, Constitutional instruments, national laws and other relevant instruments, Collection of terms and expressions used in the laws of Hong Kong, as well as Subject indices of Ordinances, and therefore serves as a norm for all Hong Kong court proceedings. The analysis is partly in Chinese (Cantonese) and partly in English. The literal translation of the Chinese renderings of the interpreter is provided by the author and checked by Dr. Ester Leung (cf. Appendix III). In the following analysis, Turns 15 to Turn 41 are selected for analysis applying the TRIM Model outlined in chapter 5 in its static and dynamic dimensions.

The proposed parameters and their interplay will be applied in the selected transcripts with the following steps:

Step 1 Identification of static parameters of the selected transcripts;

Step 1.1 Identification of the *communicative situatio*n characterized by its time, place and norms;

Step 1.2 Identification of *communicative partner* A and B;

Step 1.3 Identification of the *Interpreter I;*

Step 1.4 Identification of knowledge-specific parameters;

Step 1.4.1 Identification of *knowledge stock of communicative partner* A and B;

Step 1.4.2 Identification of shared stock of knowledge of *communicative partner* A and B;

Step 1.4.3 Identification of the presupposed knowledge of the *interprete*r;

Step 1.5 Identification of situation-specific discourse parameters;

Step 1.5.1 Identification of the discourse interpreting type;

Step 1.5.2 Identification of the *general goal of the communication*;

Step 1.5.3 Identification of the *actual discourse purpos*e;

Step 1.5.4 Identification of the *focus of attention*;

Step 1.5.5 Identification of the *interest* of the *communicative partners*;

Step 2 *Coherence* establishment in *topic continuit*y (exemplary);

Step 2 Interplay of static parameters in dynamic process;

Step 2.1 Introduction to the corpus;

Step 2.2 Problems in the analysis;

Step 2.3 Knowledge background in the corpus;

Step 2.4 Segmentation into tetradic turn exchanges;

Step 2.4.1 Transcribed Message and Interpretation;

Step 2.4.2 Classification of M' (interpreted message);

Step 2.4.3 Reasoning for classification

6.2.1 Static Parameters

Steps 1.1 to 1.3

The *communicative situation* is the sexual offences trials at the High Court of the Hong Kong in the fall of 2005. The bilingual courtroom proceedings in Hong Kong abide by the norms available at the website: (http://www.judiciary.gov.hk/en/crt_services/pphlt/html/guide.htm);

The *communicative partners* are the native English speaker Barrister (*Prosecution*), the native Cantonese Chinese speaker Defendant, who is a 30-year electronics-salesman-turned badminton coach;

The *interpreter* is a female native Cantonese Chinese speaker, a professional court interpreter who has been very often recruited by the High Court to assist the court proceedings (background information is provided by Dr. Leung, the recorder and holder of the whole Hong Kong corpus cf. Appendix III).

6.2.1.1 Knowledge-specific Parameters

The Barrister (Persecution)'s knowledge as it appears in the material is assumed to consist of the Hong Kong English linguistic and cultural knowledge, necessary knowledge of the court norms and trial procedures in the High Court of Hong Kong which is presupposed by his questioning strategies. As stipulated in Conduct at

Court for practicing barristers in Hong Kong (cf. http://www.hkba.org/the-bar/code-of-conduct/code_of_conduct13.htm), "questions which affect the credibility of a witness by attacking his character, but which are otherwise not relevant to the actual inquiry, may not be put in cross-examination unless there are reasonable grounds to support the imputation conveyed by the questions". These norms have – to some extent – influenced the Barrister Persecution's questioning strategy in the trial process;

The Defendant's knowledge as it appears in the material is assumed to consist of a non-academic Chinese linguistic and cultural knowledge as in the cross-examination, and the Defendant speaks Chinese Cantonese and his specific Chinese cultural knowledge;

The shared stock of knowledge between the Barrister and the Defendant and is very small due to the their linguistic knowledge differential of British English and Cantonese Chinese, their cultural knowledge differential of academic English and non-academic Chinese cultures and domain knowledge differential of the Barrister taking a superior professional questioner position while the Defendant being subjected by law to answering questions;

The Interpreter's knowledge is presupposed to consist of at least linguistic knowledge, world or cultural knowledge, domain knowledge (e.g. in the court proceedings), interpreting knowledge (e.g. active listening skills, split attention, anticipation, etc.) and interpersonal communication knowledge (e.g. communication styles, conflict management, dealing with misunderstandings, etc)

6.2.1.2 Situation-specific Discourse Parameters

The *Discourse Interpreting Type* is a courtroom setting, i.e. the face-to-face interpreter-mediated rape trial in the High Court Proceedings in the fall of 2005;

The *General Goal* of the Communication is that according to the Hong Kong laws, the court needs to provide adequate language assistance to the Defendant throughout the court proceeding in the High Court of the Hong Kong;

The *Actual Discourse Purpos*e is assumed to be for the court to obtain necessary information from the evidence offered by Persecution Barrister's cross-examination of the Defendant;

The *Focus of Attention* is assumed to be the cross-examination by the Persecution Barrister's (from Hong Kong High Court Proceedings) of the Defendant (a 30-year electronics-salesman-turned badminton coach) to elicit court-required information. The topics in the analyzed corpus include

The *Interest* of the *Communicative Partners* is assumed to be conflicting but compatible so far as the successful communication is concerned. The *Interest* of the interpreter is assumed to be the language assistance to the Defendant and also to the successful court proceedings.

Coherence is established by: 1) *Topic Continuity* which is established as shown in table 2 below (italics refer to the indicators in theme-rheme progression[63], bold refers to the theme and the normal font belongs to the rheme).

Turn	BPE		Interpreter		Defendant	
3		**you**				
4		When tell skk?		**you** When tell skk?		
5						Ninety seven.
6				Ninety seven.		
7	*a:*	ninety seven				
8				Ninety seven.		
9	*when*	**she** thought she was pregnant				
10				**That** was when she thought she had a baby		
11						**I** really can't remember which day
12				**I** really can't =remember which day		

[63] A detailed description of indicators in theme-rheme progression, cf. Gezymisch-Arbogast/Will 2005

Turn	BPE		Interpreter		Defendant	
13					*Three years ago, mister counsel*	**you**
						questioned me like this [crying], I can't give you an answer)
14			*mister counsel it's three years ago*	**I**		
				can't give you an answer even if you continue with this question		
15		**skk**				
		was questioned for two and a half days to recount her experience three years ago				
16			(Well=about)			
17		**I**				
		am asking you about an IMPORTANT TRAUMATIC incident in your supposed relationship with s k k which you said was CARING and responsible				
	now	**You**				
		are seriously saying that you can't remember when was you TOLD her (.) this girl who loved you and who you loved				
	and	**You**				
		can't REMEMBER when it was that you told her you were going to marry someone else (.)				
		THAT				
		is what you're saying				
18			*About the incident three years ago*	**skk**		
				was questioned for two and half days.		
			Now	**I**		
				am asking you about a very important incident because it happened to you and the girl, according to you, this one who loved you and whom you would like to be responsible for and love. this girl who loved you.		
				You		
				really can't remember when you told her you were going to marry another woman?		

Turn	BPE		Interpreter		Defendant	
19						**I**
						told her
						I
						am telling you
					as far as	**I**
					now	can remember
					in nineteen ninety seven	**I**
						told her that I would be marrying l now to acquire a temporary housing unit
					because	**there was**
						not sufficient proof
					so	**I**
						would marry l now to obtain a bigger unit in the future.
20			*as far as*	**I**		
			now	can remember		
			in nineteen ninety seven	**I**		
				told s k k that i would be marrying l to acquire a housing unit		
			because	**there was**		
				not sufficient proof to get that at that time		
			and	**I**		
				told her that in the future a bigger unit could be obtained after the marriage		
21	*and*	**she**				
		what did say?				
22			And	**skk**		
				what did say after she heard that?		
23					**There was**	
					no response	
24				**There was**		
				no response		
25	(38.0) Pause					

Turn	BPE		Interpreter		Defendant	
26	*during the day*	**you**				
		gave evidence about this em				
	what	**you**				
		said about er s k k playing trick on l m f				
		you				
		remember that				
27			when	**you**		
				gave evidence		
				you		
				said about skk playing trick on lmf, didn't you?)		
28					Yes	
29			Yes			
30		telling she liked him and then telling she didn't like him				
31			*It was that*	**she**		
				was telling lmf at first that she liked him and later on she told him that she didn't like him, wasn't it?		
32					Yes	
33			Yes			

Turn	BPE		Interpreter		Defendant	
34		**that sort of (.) silly little trick that**				
		is of an immature girl isn't it				
35			*so*	**this**		
				is the sort of very immature, very silly trick of girl, isn't it		
36						**I**
						don't know if it is
37			**I**			
			don't know if that's true or not			
38		**that**				
		is pathetic isn't it?				
39				**This**		
				this kind of action,		
				It		
				is very ..em.. very silly kind of things (1.0) very (.)		
				is very very pathetic kind of things		
				is very silly.is very pathetic.)		
40	*sometimes*	**adults**				
		would do that				
41			*Sometimes*	**adult**		
				would do that		

Table 2: Theme-rheme progession and topic continuity in the analying data

2) *Isotopic continuity* is established by the Barrister's continuous emphasis of the concept of "remembering", e.g. twice in Turn 17 and once in Turn 26. Therefore, we assume that the Barrister's use of the concept of Defendant's "remembering" of the past event, is deliberately delivering the hidden message that the Defendant is not telling the truth so as to doubt the Defendant's credibility of the evidence. The interpreter obviously did not recognize this isotopy and the underlying strategy of the court.

6.3 The Analysis

6.3.1 Introduction to the Corpus

The following analysis is based on an excerpt of Transcript/Tape Number 12 of Case I in the CERG project by Dr. Ester S M Leung (Hong Kong Baptist University) and Dr. Xunfeng Xu (The Hong Kong Polytechnic University), which can be accessed at the web address http://cpdb-arts.hkbu.edu.hk/. In the excerpt, the Defendant is cross-examined by the Persecutor Barrister with the assistance of a court Interpreter. The whole proceedings of Case I consist of 18 transcribed audio-tapes, in which 6 tapes are Witness' and 12 tapes are Defendant's. In Case I the Defendant **t c s** (a 30-year electronics-salesman-turned badminton coach), was accused of raping three teenager girls (**s k k, l h y and l w y**[64]) from 1998 and 1999, the witness **l h y** was one of the Defendant's badminton students, a 13-year-old school girl, who was offering evidence about three rape incidents which the Defendant had committed against her. **Lmf** is one of **skk**'s former boyfriends. The analysis departs from the considerations that the primary communicative partners are the native English speaker (Barrister Persecution, BPE) and the native Cantonese Chinese speaker (Defendant, DC), which may propose potential cultural knowledge differentials which the interpreter needs to close. Interpreter's translation in Chinese and English are referred to as ICT and ICE in the transcript.

Before going into the analysis, several points are to be made clear for a better understanding of the analyzing data.

[64] All the abbreviations refer to different communicative partners in the court proceedings which will later on be referred in the analysis.

Symbol	Meaning	Example
=	latch (no pause between turns which can be considered as overlap phenomenon)	Turn 12 IET: I really can't = remember which day Turn 17 BPE: =i am asking you about
CAPITAL LETTERS	Emphasis	Turn 17 BPE: =i am asking you about an IMPORTANT TRAUMATIC incident
colons	drawn out syllable which can considered as hesitation phenomenon	Turn 7 a: ninety seven
{ } } {	Faster Slower	Turn 74 BPE: {have you ever taken her to your friend's house }
[ ]	describes nonverbal features of talk; or inaudible	Turn 13 [crying]
(2.5) (.)	pause, timed in seconds brief pause	Turn 42 BPE: are you saying suppose you know (1.5) she's (1.0)

Table 3: The transcription symbols in the analyzing data

6.3.2 Problems in Analysis: Adaptation of Tetradic Sequences

The following problems appeared in the analysis:

- In the original corpus, a Turn may contain more than one utterance. This analysis takes one exchange as the analyzing unit which is – if necessary – sub-segmented into utterances;
- If a tetradic exchange contains several utterances, it will be segmented into sense units, e.g. tetradic exchange 17 is segmented into four partial utterances, which are analyzed individually, but are still qualitatively attributed to the sequence they belong to.
- If there is at least one 'mediated' utterance (Type IV) in a tetradic exchange, it will lead to the qualification of the entire message as type IV, i.e. the tetradic

exchange is qualified as a variant exchange altogether. In all other cases, the majority of Types of a message interchange of M's will constitute the overall Type of the sequence of M'.

- The *Tetradic Sequence* consists mostly of Question-Answer techniques with few acknowledgments as e.g. in exchange 7 with the Barrister Persecution's repetition of the Defendant's answer to his previous answer. They are given here as sequence 1/1 (Question), Sequence 1/2 (Answer), Sequence 1/3 (Acknowledgement) and sequence1/4 (Non Applicable).
- If one of the *Tetradic Turn Exchange* sequences is interrupted, which constitutes a violation of communication rules, the interchange which follows the interruption is considered being embedded into the previous sequence (to which it relates), e.g. exchange 13 is embedded into exchange 11 to form a complete tetradic turn exchange sequence 2/2.

6.3.3 Knowledge Background to Initial Turns of Analysis Data

At the beginning of the data, the Barrister Defendant gives a short English summary of the three witnesses being questioned about their relationships and the rape cases with the Defendant in the past days' court proceedings and during the previous events, and the Defendant told the victim that he was marrying somebody else for the reason of getting better housing.

1:	BDE	=and then the next question my lord then asked this defendant was did you tell s k k and again his answer was yes then he explained that he told s k k because em he was going to get married with l to get the unit (.) so i suppose i believe as i said and that's why i have to put forward this stop hand indeed he said he did tell s in because they wanted to get a house no matter it was a sham or whatever they leave it aside
2:		[voices overlapped]

Analysis conventions:

(1) M refers to the original message; M' refers to the interpreter's interpreted message; the sequential number refers to a particular exchange in the

interpreting scenario; M' Type refers to the five types of interpreter's interpreted target message types (i.e. Type I refers to Zero M', Type II refers to Partially Invariant M'(Category 1), Type III refers to Partially Invariant M' (Category 2), Type IV refers to Variant M' and V refers to Invariant M'); LD refers to the language direction; SA designates the speech act; F refers to the *Discourse Interpreting Filters* and N/A is used to indicate that this category is nor applicable in the exchange under consideration;

(2) The exchange consists of the Barrister Persecution, the Defendant and the court interpreter;

(3) Those transcribed data in Chinese is accompanied with a literal translation by Lihua Jiang and verified by Dr. Ester Leung (the corpus possessor);

(4) The material has been adapted and segmented to *Tetradic Sequences* (cf. Chapter 5)

The following analysis proceeds from the corpus given in Appendix I and has been structured into *Tetradic Ssequences* (Appendix I).

Included in the *Tetradic Ssequence* (cf. chapter 5.2.2) of the interchanges are interruptions, clarifications, hesitation phenomena, overlap and self corrections which are related to the phases of the tetradic sequence to which they refer.

6.3.4 The Analysis of Five Tetradic Turn Exchanges

Tetradic Exchange 1

Sequence 1/1

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

BPE: Barrister Persecution's original English Message (M I)

3:	BPE	when did you tell s k k

Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M I')

4:	ICT	你係幾時話俾 s k k 聽 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (When did you tell s k k?)

Classification

M	3
LD	EN-CN
SA	Question
M’	4
M’ Type	Type V (invariant target message)

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters as follows:

(1) *Discourse Purpose*: the discourse purpose for this analysis has been identified to be the establishment of truth by the court concerning a rape case. The court situation with the *Communicative Partners* -BPE[65] and the Defendant implies a certain amount of interest incompatibility, the extent of which needs to be ‘felt’ by the interpreter and her respective interpreting efforts. The discourse purpose is here therefore considered to be fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed to exist because of the (a) continuity of the situation parameters as described in 6.2.1 of the sexual offences trials at the High Court of the Hong Kong in the fall of 2005 and abide by the norms available at http://www.judiciary.gov.hk/en/crt_services/pphlt/html/guide.htm), (b) the lack of an identifiable knowledge differential between Chinese and English and (c) the continuity of the *Focus of Attention* is assumed to be the cross-examination by the BPE (from Hong Kong High Court Proceedings) of the Defendant (a 30-year electronics-salesman-turned badminton coach) to elicit court-required information (=the relationship between the Defendant and the rape victim).

(3) We assume compatibility of *Interest* to vary because there may be cases in which the Defendant is aware of the fact that he must comply with court rules no matter whether they are in his interest or not, i.e. this is anticipated and balanced out by the interpreter here because the BPE is making emphatic use of his role as a questioner.

[65] BPE will be later used in tne analysis as abbreviation for Barrister Persecution (English native speaker).

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (+)

Sequence 1/2

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

DC: Defendant's response in Chinese (M II)

5:	DC	九七年 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (Ninety seven.)

IET: Interpreter's Translation in English (M II')

6:	IET	ninety seven

Classification

M	5
LD	CN-EN
SA	Answer
M'	6
M' Type	Type V (invariant target message)

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:

(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed to exist because of the (a) continuity of the situation parameters as described in sequence 1/1 (b) the lack of an identifiable knowledge differential between Chinese and English and (c) the continuity of the *Focus of*

Attention as described in sequence 1/1.

(3) We assume compatibility of *Interest* because the Defendant, according to the legal norms, has the responsibility of answering questions in the court proceedings.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (+)

Sequence 1/3

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

BPE: Barrister Persecution's Acknowledgement in English (M III)

7:	BPE	a: ninety seven

ICT: Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M III')

8:	ICT	係九七年啊 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (Ninety Seven)

Classification

M	7
LD	EN-CN
SA	Acknowledgement with hesitation phenomenon, i.e. "a:"
M'	8
M' Type	Type V (invariant target message) without rendering the hesitation phenomenon "a".

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:
(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed to exist because of the (a) continuity of the situation parameters as described in sequence 1/1 (b) the lack of an identifiable knowledge differential between Chinese and English and (c) the continuity of the *Focus of Attention* as described in sequence 1/1.

(3) We assume compatibility of *Interest* because the BPE according to the norms is making use of his role as questioner to which the Defendant has to submit. Therefore, the interpreter is assumed to take an effort to get the Defendant's cooperation in answering the BPE's questions.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (+)

Sequence 1/4

The optional tetradic exchange sequence 1/4 does not materialize here.

Tetradic Exchange 2

Sequence 2/1

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

BPE: Barrister Persecution's original English Message (M I)

9:	BPE	when she thought she was pregnant

Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M I')

10:	ICT	啫係佢:以為自己有 b b 嘅時候 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (That was when she thought she had a baby).

Classification

M	9
LD	EN-CN
SA	Confirmation Question
M'	10
M' Type	Type II (partially invariant target message, category 1) (partially expanding the original English message and making stylistic changes, i.e. changing the neutral "pregnant" into the more colloquial "had a baby")

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:
(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed not to exist because from the interpreter's perspective the Defendant may not be able to understand a verbatim rendering because there exists a linguistic knowledge differential between Chinese and English which the interpreter bridges by reconstruction and register change.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Knowledge Differential (+)

Sequence 2/2

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

DC: Defendant's original Chinese Message (M II)

11:	DC	我真係唔記得(.)係邊一日喇 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (I really can't remember which day.)

IET: Interpreter's Translation in English (M II')

12:	IET	i really can't =remember which day

DC: Defendant's original Chinese Message (M II)

13:	DC	=三年前喇律師先生你係咁質問我[crying]我都答你唔到 □ Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (Three years ago, Mister Counsel, you questioned me like this, I can't give you an answer).

IET: Interpreter's Translation in English (M II')

14:	IET	mister counsel it's three years ago i can't give you an answer even if you continue with this question

Classification

M	11 and 13
LD	CN-EN
SA	Acknowledgement with nonverbal communication phenomenon, i.e. [crying]
M'	12 and 14

M' Type	Type II (partially invariant target message, category 1) (word order, e.g. "Mister Counsel" is put before the time, and reconstruction of the syntactic structure, e.g. the two paratactic sequences of "you questioned me like this, I can't give you an answer" in the Defendant's original message into a hypotactic dependent English target clause as an "if" clause).

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:
(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed not to exist because from the interpreter's perspective the Defendant may not be able to understand a verbatim rendering because there exists a linguistic knowledge differential between Chinese and English which the interpreter bridges by reconstruction and register change.

Summary of Filtering Results
= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Knowledge Differential (+)

Sequence 2/3

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

BPE: Barrister Persecution's response in English (M III)

15:	BPE	mister t (.) s k k was questioned for two and a half days to recount her experience three years ago

ICT: Part of Interpreter's Translation in Chinese as interrupted by the Barrister (M III')

16:	ICT	嗱=關於 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (Well=about)

BPE: Barrister Persecution's response in English (M III)

17:	BPE	=i am asking you about an IMPORTANT TRAUMATIC incident in your supposed relationship with s k k which you said was CARING and responsible now are you seriously saying that you can't remember when was you TOLD her (.) this girl who loved you and who you loved and you can't REMEMBER when it was that you told her you were going to marry someone else (.) is THAT what you're saying

ICT: Part of Interpreter's Translation in Chinese, interrupted by the Barrister (M III')

18:	ICT	嗱就三年前嘅事呢 s kk 呢都被盤問咗呢兩日半嘅咁 而家問你嘅呢係一件呢係重大嘅事情嚟嘅因為呢係發 生響:你啦同埋呢一個根據你所講啦係咁關心你啦同埋 呢係 a::你想向佢負責任同埋呢你係咁愛佢同埋} 佢咁愛你嘅(.)女童嘅身上{你真係唔記得你係幾時話俾 佢知你打算同另外一個女人結婚呀} Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (About the incident three years ago. **s k k** was questioned for two and half days. I'm asking you about a very important incident because it happened to you and the girl, according to you, this one who loved you and whom you would like to be responsible for and love. this girl who loved you. You really can't remember when you told her you were going to marry another woman?)

As this exchange contains several utterances, it is segmented into four utterances:

Segment	M	M’
1	mister t (.) s k k was questioned for two and a half days to recount her experience three years ago	噉就三年前嘅事呢 skk 呢都被盤問咗呢兩日半嘅咁 About the incident three years ago. **s k k** was questioned for two and half days.
2	i am asking you about an IMPORTANT TRAUMATIC incident in your supposed relationship with s k k which you said was CARING and responsible	而家問你嘅呢係一件呢係重大嘅事情嚟嘅因為呢係發生響:你啦同埋呢一個根據你所講啦係咁關心你啦同埋呢係 a::你想向佢負責任 同埋呢你係咁愛佢同埋}佢咁愛你嘅(.)女童嘅身上{ I’m asking you about a very important incident because it happened to you and the girl, according to you, this one who loved you and whom you would like to be responsible for and love. this girl who loved you.

3	now are you seriously saying that you can't remember when was you TOLD her (.) this girl who loved you and who you loved and you can't REMEMBER when it was that you told her you were going to marry someone else(.)	你真係唔記得你係幾時話俾佢知你打算同另外一個女人結婚呀} You really can't remember when you told her you were going to marry another woman?
4	is THAT what you're saying	Zero

Classification

M	1	2	3	4
LD	EN—CN			
SA	Question			
M'	1	2	3	4

M' Type	Type II (partially invariant target message, category 1) (reconstructs the syntactic structure)	Type IV (variant target message) (the interpreter neutralizes the emphatic stress, e.g. the phonetic emphasis and 'in your supposed relationship with s k k')	Type IV (variant target message) (the interpreter neutralizes the emphatic stress, e.g. 'are you seriously saying that you can't remember' and deleted BPE's repetitive question, i.e. is that what you're saying	Type I (zero message) (the interpreter deletes the question completel y)

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:

It is segmented into four parts, the first three of which are considered to be within the discourse purpose and coherent. Parts 2 and 3 show an incompatibility of interest involving the interpreter's continued downtoning the emphasis placed on the utterance by the BPE (parts 2 and 3). Part 4 in the orginal utterance is not translated by the interpreter at all because it does not fall into the actual purpose of the ongoing communicative discourse.

(1) Discourse Purpose: the discourse purpose for this analysis has been identified to be the establishment of truth by the court concerning a rape case. The court situation with the *Communicative Partners* -BPE and the Defendant -implies a certain amount of interest incompatibility, the extent of which needs to be 'felt' by the interpreter

and her respective interpreting efforts. Utterances 1-3 are considered to be within the scope of the *discourse purpose* because they are the questions by the BPE to the Defendant which is within the norms and regulations of a court case. This is assumed to be known by the *interpreter* and by the Defendant. The *discourse purpose* is here therefore considered to be fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed to exist because of the (a) continuity of the situation parameters as described in sequence 1/1 (b) the lack of an identifiable knowledge differential between Chinese and English and (c) the continuity of the *Focus of Attention*, i.e. topic of 'ask' and 'say' continues in the interpreted target message.

(3) We assume compatibility of *Interest* in part 1 of the message because the BPE according to the norms is making use of his role as questioner to which the Defendant has to submit. However, the emphatic tone of the BPE may be perceived as not leading to constructive results with respect to the discourse purpose under analysis because it may prevent the Defendant from answering the truth and react 'stubbornly' and 'close up'. This is why parts 2 and 3 of the message are (rightfully) toned down by the interpreter in an effort to get the Defendant's cooperation in answering the BPE's questions which is in the interest of the actual discourse purpose.

It can be seen here that the parts 2 and 3 involve an incompatibility of Interest while 1 is a partially invariant Type and part 4 is a deletion. According to our qualification above, we consider a message within which there exists at least one Type IV as Type IV, i.e. Type IV overrules the other two Types here (Partially invariant and Zero).

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (--)

Sequence 2/4

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

DC: Defendant's acknowledgement in Chinese (M IV)

19:	DC	我同佢講我同你講我而家(.)嘅腦海裏便我記得喺九七年嘅事(.)我同佢講(.)我話(.)我會同 l 去有一間臨屋因為要需要而家要結婚因為如果純啫係嗰啲證明唔夠所以我而家會同佢結婚希望將來會換啲大啲嘅屋 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (I told her, I am telling you as far as I can remember now in nineteen ninety seven, I told her that I would be marrying l now to acquire a temporary housing unit because there was not sufficient proof, so I would marry l now to obtain a bigger unit in the future.)

IET: Interpreter's Translation in English (M IV')

20:	IET	as far as i can remember now in nineteen ninety seven i told **s k k** that i would be marrying l to acquire a housing unit because there was not sufficient proof to get that at that time and i told her that in the future a bigger unit could be obtained after the marriage

Classification

M	19
LD	CN-EN
SA	Answer
M'	20

M' Type	Type II (partially invariant target message, category 1) (the interpreter deletes the parts of 'I told her' and its repetition 'told her', I am telling you', substitutes the personal pronoun 'her' by the name skk; adding 'To get that' after "was not sufficient proof". She thereby neutralizes the causal nexus of the housing unit and the Defendant's marriage ('I would marry L now to obtain a bigger unit…').

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:
(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequce1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed not to exist because from the interpreter's perspective the Defendant may not be able to understand a verbatim rendering because there exists a linguistic knowledge differential between Chinese and English which the interpreter bridges by explicating the personal pronoun and adding the time reference and the causal nexus.

Summary of Filtering Results
= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Knowledge Differential (+)

Tetradic Exchange 3

Sequence 3/1

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

BPE: Barrister Persecution's original message in English (M I)

21:	BPE	And what did she say

ICT: Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M I')

22:	ICT	咁 s k k 聽到之後跟住點啊 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (And what did s k k say after she heard that?)

Classifciation

M	21
LD	EN-CN
SA	Question
M’	22
M’ Type	Type II (partially invariant target message, category 1) (the interpreter explicitates the reference to skk instead of ‘she’ and repeats a thematic element (*Focus of Attention)* from the previous utterance when the Defendant told skk about the marriage to l (another woman) by adding ‘after she heard that’

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:

(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed not to exist for the Defendant – from the interpreter’s perspective - i.e. due to the linguistic knowledge differential between Chinese and English which, we assume, has motivated the interpreter to add the time adverbial “after she heard that” to make the question more explicitly connected with the previous utterances.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Knowledge Differential (+)

Sequence 3/2

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

DC: Defendant's response in Chinese (M II)

23:	DC	都冇反應 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (There was no response)

IET: Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M II')

24:	IET	there was no response
25:		(38.0)

Classification

M	23
LD	CN-EN
SA	Answer
M'	24
M' Type	Type V (invariant target message) with pause)

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:

(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed to exist because of the (a) continuity of the situation parameters as described in sequence 1/1 (b) the lack of an identifiable knowledge differential between Chinese and English and (c) the continuity of the *Focus of Attention*, i.e. "there was.." structure is mainted in the interpreted message.

(3) We assume compatibility of *Interest* because the BPE according to the norms is

making use of his role as questioner to which the Defendant has to submit to. Therefore, the interpreter is assumed to make an effort to get the Defendant's cooperation in answering the BPE's questions.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (+)

Sequence 3/3

Not applicable – there is a long pause (38 seconds)

Sequence 3/4

The optional tetradic exchange sequence 1/4 doesn't exist.

Tetradic Exchange 4

Sequence 4/1

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

BPE: Barrister Persecution's original English Message (M I)

26:	BPE	during the day you gave evidence about this em what you said about er s k k playing trick on l m f do you remember that

ICT: Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M I')

27:	ICT	噉你俾證供嘅時候呢提曾經呢係提過呢關於 s k k 呢係整蠱 l m f 嘅事, 係咪? Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : When you gave evidence, you said about s k k playing trick on l m f, didn't you?)

Classification

M	26
LD	EN-CN
SA	Question
M’	27
M’ Type	Type IV (variant target message) The interpreter (1) condenses the original, i.e. substituted the time adverbial “during the day” by “when” which can be assumed to have been done due to time limitations; (2) deletes the reference to the previous utterance and “about this” is deleted, and summarizes “what you said about” as “you said about”; (3) reformulates the question “do you remember that” into a tag question “didn’t you” and deletes ‘remember’ 4) does not reproduce the hesitation phenomena by the BPE

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:
(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed to exist; the identifiable linguistic knowledge differential between Chinese and English is bridged by the interpreter with partial invariance.

(3) *Topic continuity* is shown in the orginal message by BPE’s reference to the topic of ‘remember’, however, it does not exist in the interpreted target message the interpreter did not translate the topic of ‘remember’.

(4) There is *Isotopic Continuity* in the original message via the BPE’s recurrent mentioning of ‘remember’ which the interpreter does not reproduce.

With ‘remember’ the BPE is assumed to question the Defendant’s credibility in that he tests the Defendant’s capacity of remembering important (i.e. the Defendant telling skk that he is going to marry another woman (see exchange 20) and less

important facts (skk playing tricks on him).

This 'hidden' meaning implied by the BPE's question ('remember') is not rendered by the interpreter and it remains unclear whether the interpreter does (a) not realize the hidden meaning herself or whether (b) she is acting in the Defendant's interest which would certainly have clashed with the BPE's interest in that particular instance.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Topic Continuity (--) Isotopic Continuity (+) – Compatibility of Interest (--).

Sequence 4/2

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

DC: Defendant's original Chinese Message (M II)

28:	DC	係 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (Yes.)

IET: Interpreter's Translation in English (M II')

29:	IET	yes

Classification

M	28
LD	CN-EN
SA	Answer
M'	29
M' Type	Type V (invariant target message)

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:

(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed to exist because of the (a) continuity of the situation parameters as described in sequence 1/1 (b) the lack of an identifiable knowledge differential between Chinese and English and (c) the continuity of the *Focus of Attention* as described in sequence 1/1.

(3) We assume compatibility of *Interest* because the Defendant, according to the legal norms, has the responsibility of answering questions in the court proceedings.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (+)

Sequence 4/3

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

BPE: Barrister Persecution's Response in English (M III)

30:	BPE	telling she liked him and then telling she didn't like him

ICT: Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M III')

31:	ICT	啫係話呢最初呢就話俾: l m f 聽呢佢鐘意佢 後來又話俾佢知佢唔鐘意佢係咪?= Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : It was that she was telling lmf at first that she liked him and later on she told him that she didn't like him, wasn't it?

Classification

M	30
LD	EN-CN
SA	Confirmation Question
M'	31
M' Type	Type II (partially invariant target message, category 1) The interpreter (1) uses the introductory sentence " It was that…") (2) and the time adverbial phrase "at first") (3) substitutes the original object "him" with the name of the boy lmf, who was also a friend of skk after the verb "telling" (4) adds a tag question

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:

(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence*–from the interpreter's perspective-is lacking clarity, specific reference and empathy which is why we assume that the interpreter partially modifies the message by adding clarity (see the description above of 1 and 2), specific reference (see the description above of 3) and empathy (see the description above of 4).

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Knowledge Differential (+)

Sequence 4/4

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

DC: Defendant's original Chinese Message (M IV)

32:	DC	=係 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (Yes.)

IET: Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M IV')

33:	IET	yes

Classifciation

M	32
LD	CN-EN
SA	Answer
M'	33
M' Type	Type V (invariant target message)

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:

(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed to exist because of the (a) continuity of the situation parameters as described in sequence 1/1 (b) the lack of an identifiable knowledge differential between Chinese and English and (c) the continuity of the *Focus of Attention* as described in sequence 1/1.

(3) We assume compatibility of *Interest* because the Defendant, according to the legal norms, has the responsibility of answering questions in the court proceedings.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (+)

Tetradic Exchange 5

Sequence 5/1

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

BPE: Barrister Persecution's original English Message (M I)

34:	BPE	that sort of (.) silly little trick that is of an immature girl isn't it

ICT: Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M I')

35:	ICT	咁呢一類呢係一啲好唔成熟嘅女仔玩嘅啲好傻嘅玩意嚟□係咪? Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (so this is the sort of very immature, very silly trick of girl, isn't it)

Classification

M	34
LD	EN-CN
SA	Question
M'	35
M' Type	Type IV (variant target message) The interpreter (1) verbalizes a conclusion by the link 'so'; (2) erroneously relates the attribute of immature to 'trick'; (3) adds an intensifier ('very') to 'silly' and 'immature'

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:
(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* – from the interpreter's perspective - is assumed to not sufficiently exist and the identifiable linguistic knowledge differential between Chinese and English is bridged by partial invariance

(3) There is *Topic Continuity* in the original message via the BPE's recurrent reference to 'trick' which the interpreter reproduces by altering the reference of immature from 'girl' (original) to 'trick' (interpretation) (cf. the theme-rheme progression in the analyzing corpus in section 6.2.1.2)

(4) There is *Isotopic Continuity* if we assume continuity of the credibility isotopy of the previous exchange by the BPE's suggestive trap of elicitating a negative response form the Defendant. This is not compatible with the Defendant's interest to portray a worthy picture of himself at this moment. Whether the interpreter is aware of this constellation is unclear. However, she intensifies the BPE's derogative allusion to the girl to the extent that the BPE's hidden motive (credibility question) may become obvious to the Defendant. She thus endangers the hidden strategy of the BPE to clarify the credibility issue with the defendant

(5) The *Interests* of the BPE and the Defendant are not compatible with each.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Topic Continuity (--) Isotopic Continuity (+) – Compatibility of Interest (--)

Sequence 5/2

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

DC: Defendant's original Chinese Message (M II)

36:	DC	我唔知係咪 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (I don't know if it is)

IET: Interpreter's Translation in English (M II')

37:	IET	i don't know if that's true or not

Classification

M	36
LD	CN-EN
SA	Answer
M'	37
M' Type	Type II (partially invariant target message, category 1) The interpreter reproduces a more explicit statement

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:

(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* from the interpreter's perspective - is assumed not to exist to a sufficient degree, which is why we assume the interpreter adds 'that's true or not' and with that by explicitating the continuity of *Focus of Attention*.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Knowledge Differential (+)

Sequence 5/3

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

BPE: Barrister Persecution's Response in English (M III)

38:	BPE	that's pathetic isn't it?

ICT: Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M III')

39:	ICT	咁係啲好:: em:: (1.0)好傻嘅嘢嚟(1.0)係好(.)咁樣做呢係好係好可憐嘅嘢嚟 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (this is very ..em.. very silly kind of things (1.0) very (.) this kind of action, is very very pathetic kind of things It's very silly. That's very pathetic.)

Classification

M	38
LD	EN-CN
SA	Question
M'	39
M' Type	Type IV (variant target message) The interpreter repeats her earlier attributes of 'silly' with an additional intensifier 'very' and paraphrases the 'trick' several time by 'kind of things', 'kind of action' and emphasizes 'pathetic by the intensifier 'very' (three times).

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:
(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* – from the interpreter's perspective - is assumed to not sufficiently exist

(3) *Topic Continuity* is not explicit but hypothetical (implicit): 'true' is in the *Focus of Attention* of the entire questioning. With implicit topic continuity we assume that answering this question will lead to a conflict in the Defendant because it is not compatible with the Defendant's interest to portray a worthy picture of himself at this moment.

(4) Whether the interpreter is aware of this constellation is unclear. However, she greatly intensifies the BPE's derogative allusion to the girl to the extent that the BPE's hidden motive (credibility question) may become obvious to the Defendant. She thus continues to endanger the hidden strategy of the BPE to clarify the credibility issue with the defendant.

(5) The *Interests* of BPE and the Defendant are not compatible with each other.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (--) → Topic Continuity (--) Isotopic Continuity (+) – Compatibility of Interest (--).

Sequence 5/4

Transcribed Message and Interpretation

DC: Defendant's acknowledgement in Chinese (M IV)

40:	DC	大人有時都會= Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : *(Sometimes adults would do that.)*

IET: Interpreter's Translation in Chinese (M IV')

41:	IET	=some (.) sometimes adult would do that

Classification

M	40
LD	CN-EN
SA	Answer
M'	41
M' Type	Type V (invariant target message) with repetition phenomenon

Reasoning

M is considered to be filtered through the DI (Discourse Interpreting) Filters:

(1) *Discourse Purpose* is identical as sequence1/1 and fulfilled.

(2) *Coherence* is assumed to exist because of the (a) continuity of the situation parameters as described in sequence 1/1 (b) the lack of an identifiable knowledge differential between Chinese and English and (c) the continuity of the *Focus of Attention* as described in sequence 1/1.

(3) We assume compatibility of *Iinterest* because the Defendant, according to the legal norms, has the responsibility of answering questions in the court proceedings.

Summary of Filtering Results

= Discourse Purpose (+) → Coherence (+) → Compatibility of Interest (+)

6.4 Results

Based on the parameters and their interplay model proposed in Chapter 5, this chapter has analyzed five tetradic turn exchanges of an authentic trial in the Hong Kong High Courtroom. The analysis has demonstrated that the court *interpreter*, even if bound to the prescribed Code of Ethics (cf http://www.judiciary.gov.hk/en/crt_services/pphlt/html/guide.htm) of producing 'verbatim' accurate translation did get actively involved by taking initiates in the court communication by either reconstructing the original message in the way of additions, deletions and/or syntactic restructurings (cf. analysis of sequence 2/4 and 4/3, deleting part of the original message in sequence 2/3 in which segment 4 is totally left out). She even 'mediated' the communication by downtoning the Barrister Persecution's suggestive message (cf. the analysis of sequence 2/3 and 5/3) and not reproducing the Barrister's (hidden) questioning strategies to test the Defendant's credibility by not recurrently verbalizing 'remember' as an isotopic element. The analysis has also shown that the *interpreter's* decision-making reflects itself in the *Discourse Interpreting Filters* and their interplay in stages by passing through the *Discourse Interpreting Filters* synchronically.

The results show that out of the selected transcript from Turn 1 to Turn 41, the *interpreter* accounts for 19 turns, i.e. 18 exchanges (as we have integrated an interrupted turn into its following turn, cf. 6.3.2 Problem in Analysis), so that Turn 12 is integrated with Turn 14 and Turn 16 is integrated with Turn 18. Among all the analyzed exchanges, the fourth segment of Turn 18 belongs to Type I (Zero Message), 6 exchanges belong to Type II—Partially Invariant Message (Category 1), 4 exchanges belong to Type IV (Variant Message) and 8 exchanges belong to Type V (Invariant Message) which can be shown in the following table:

	Type I (Zero Message)	Type II (Partially Invariant Message, Category 1)	Type III (Partially Invariant Message, Category 2)	Type IV (Variant Message)	Type V (Invariant Message)
Numbers of Exchanges	0	6	0	4	8

Percentage among the Total Exchanges	0	33.33 %	0	22.22%	44.44%
Specification of Exchanges	The fourth segment of Turn 18	Turn 10, (Turn 12 together with Turn 14), Turn 20, Turn 22, Turn 31, Turn 37		(Turn 16 together with Turn 18), Turn 27, Turn 35, Turn 39	Turn 4, Turn 6, Turn 8, Turn 24, Turn 27, Turn 29, Turn 33, Turn 41

Table 4: Categorization of interpreted message Types in the analyzing corpus

From the above table, we can see that Type V (invariant message) has taken the majority parts (=44.44%) of the interpreted messages which may contribute to the fact that often these are reflected in 2 cases to one-word renditions (e.g. 'yes') and the fact that the norms of court interpreting require the *interpreter* to a restricted action.

However, this table also shows that in addition to the so-called 'verbatim' rendering of Type V, the *interpreter* has also rendered *Partially Invariant Messages, Category 1* (Type II) (=33.33%), caused by the knowledge differential between the Barrister and the Defendant (from the interpreter's perspective).

The most interesting part of this table is that the professional court *interpreter*, most often seen as a 'conduit' message reproducer in the court interpreting scenario, has actively taken her mediating efforts to involve herself in the interpreting process (=22.22%), e.g. in turn 16 together with 18, when the interpreter, we assume, has consistently downtoned the Barrister's strong aggressive questioning style.

The application of the *Discourse Interpreting Filters* in the authentic legal interpreting scenario has shown that the model's adequacy in describing 'ad hoc' variants in the interpreter' renderings in a *Discourse Interpreting* event. The interpreter's *Action Latitude* has been made transparent, which in turn calls for the individual *interpreter's* understanding the filters' processing capacity with all the parameters in the proposed TRIM needing to be made explicit. It is suggested here that this is possible by a previously agreed-upon 'contract' or agreement by all the *Communicative Partners* involved, including the interpreter as a third party e.g. by a checklist shown in the chapter below.

7 Summary and Perspectives

7.1 Summary

Departing from the problem identified in Community Interpreting in Chapter 1 about whether the *interpreter* is legitimized to interpret non-verbatim and whether there are criteria that determine to render a verbatim or a non-verbatim message in an actual interpreted-mediated communication scenario, this dissertation has attempted to identify a set of interdependent parameters that influence the *interpreter's* decisions in an individual actual interpreting situation.

After presenting different communicative factors which are documented in the pertaining literature (Chapter 2 with a special view to the Community Interpreter's role controversy in Chapter 3) to influence the interpreter's *Action Latitude*, the notion of *Discourse Interpreting* was proposed by positioning Community Interpreting within the framework of Discourse Analysis (Chapter 4), particularly with reference to the *Theme-Rheme Communicative model* (FFM) and the *Communication Square Model (CSM)* or Four Tongues – Four Ears Model, as well as the *Coherence* and *Isotopy* concepts. After proposing the notion of *Discourse Interpreting*, the concept and its static and dynamic parameters of the *Triadic Discourse Interpreting Model (TRIM)* were described in Chapter 5. The interplay of these parameters was conceptualized as *Discourse Interpreting Filters* which show how an original message M is filtered by the *interpreter* to become an interpreted message M'. The resulting typology of interpreted messages (Type I to Type V) shows the circumstantial restrictions surrounding the interpreted variations of M' and the interpreter's *Action Latitude* to reproduce them in actual interpreting scenarios. In Chapter 6, an authentic interpreter-mediated encounter in the bilingual courtroom in Hong Kong was applied in excerpts to the proposed model to show its adequacy.

7.2 Perspectives

Theoretically, the model can lead to empirical studies on how the M'-Types apply to different *Discourse Interpreting* settings and questions with regard to the quantity and quality of Types related to a number of settings can be investigated. It will also be interesting to look at how the model applies to the comprehension process or to multilingual settings. Moreover, problems like language specificity,

misunderstandings or cultural disparities may be researched by applying the *Filters* to other *Discourse Interpreting* settings. Finally, this study stills leaves the question open for empirical researchers to use the identified parameters as indicators for the further investigation of how often certain types of interpreted messages appear in different interpreted communication scenarios and the reasons for that, i.e. more variant interpreted message Types are expected to be found in healthcare than in the courtroom settings.

In practice, the awareness of certain factors and their interplay at certain stages in *Discourse Interpreting* will help the interpreter to make on-site decisions. Specifically, for certain settings, e.g. the courtroom, hospitals or police investigations a checklist as suggested below could be used, which could be discussed and made an integral part of each interpreter-mediated event, to which ALL parties have to agree BEFORE the actual event (capitalized for emphasis by Lihua Jiang).

INTERPRETER-MEDIATED EVENT CHECKLIST

1 What is the prevalent language and culture pair between which the interpretation is to be rendered?

2 What is the place, time and anticipated duration of the interpreting event?

3 Who is the initiator of the interpreter-mediated event and what is his/her interest?

4 What is the general communication goal of the interpreter-mediated event to which all communicative partners have been committed?

5 What is the actual discourse purpose of the interpreting assignment?

6 What is the type of discourse setting in which the interpreting takes place (e.g. in the legal settings, in healthcare settings or everyday discourse settings)?

7 Are there certain guidelines, conventions or norms that the interpreter needs to be aware of?

8 What is the specific topic of the interpreting event?

9 Is there any background material available for preparatory

information? 10 What background knowledge (legal, medical, psychotherapeutic) is required by the interpreter other than interpreter-specific know how (such as interpreting techniques, empathy, code of ethics)? 11 Is there a briefing before the event, a post-event discussion/interchange planned? 12 What are the participants knowledge profiles (including the Communicative Partners and the interpreter) ? 13 What is the relationship between the Communicative Partners and the interpreter (between A and B and between A and I and B and I)? 14 Are there divergent interests in all the participants that emanate from the communicative goal and discourse purpose?

Table 5: Interpreter-mediated event checklist

The above proposed checklist shows that the *interpreter* can thus work through the concretization of the parameters and filters in particular communicative situations and request answers to these questions from the initiator of the interpreter-mediated event. With the answers to these questions, the professional interpreter is able to anticipate potential problems and pre-establish strategies to secure an adequate action for a planned assignment reflecting the interpreter-mediated discourse type and purpose within an overall pre-agreed upon actual discourse purpose.

In didactics, the parameter constellation and DI typology proposed can be used in *Discourse Interpreter* training courses for students to raise their awareness for the knowledge factors, skills and situational challenges that surround the profession of discourse interpreter. Also, learning assignments can refer to specific situations and make the student aware of how situation-dependent *Discourse Interpreting* is and how helpful it is in a particular setting to have criteria available that will make reasonable professional interpreting decisions at different stages possible and transparent and justify them.

Appendix I: Transcript of Corpus

TURN	SPEAKER	UTTERANCE
1:	BDE	=and then the next question my lord then asked this defendant was did you tell s k k and again his answer was yes then he explained that he told s k k because em he was going to get married with l to get the unit (.) so i suppose i believe as i said and that's why i have to put forward this stop hand indeed he said he did tell s in because they wanted to get a house no matter it was a sham or whatever they leave it aside
2:		[voices overlapped]
3:	BPE	when did you tell s k k
4:	ICT	你係幾時話俾 s k k 聽 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) □ (When did you tell s k k?)□
5:	DC	九七年 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) □ (ninety seven)□
6:	IET	ninety seven
7:	BPE	a: ninety seven
8:	ICT	係九七年啊 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) □ (Ninety seven)
9:	BPE	when she thought she was pregnant
10:	ICT	啫係佢:以為自己有 b b 嘅時候 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (That was when she thought she had a baby).

11:	DC	我真係唔記得(.)係邊一日喇 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (I really can't remember which day.)
12:	IET	i really can't =remember which day
13:	DC	=三年前喇律師先生你係咁質問我[crying]我都答你唔到□ (Three years ago, Mister Counsel, you questioned me like this [crying], I can't give you an answer).
14:	IET	mister counsel it's three years ago i can't give you an answer even if you continue with this question
15:	BPE	mister t (.) s k k was questioned for two and a half days to recount her experience three years ago
16:	ICT	噢=關於 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (Well=about)
17:	BPE	=i am asking you about an IMPORTANT TRAUMATIC incident in your supposed relationship with s k k which you said was CARING and responsible now are you seriously saying that you can't remember when was you TOLD her (.) this girl who loved you and who you loved and you can't REMEMBER when it was that you told her you were going to marry someone else (.) is THAT what you're saying
18:	ICT	噢就三年前嘅事呢 s k k 呢都被盤問咗呢兩日半嘅咁而家問你嘅呢係一件呢係重大嘅事情嚟嘅因為呢係發生響:你啦同埋呢一個根據你所講啦係咁關心你啦同埋呢係 a::你想向佢負責任 同埋呢你係咁愛佢同埋}佢咁愛你嘅(.)女童嘅身上{□你真係唔記得你係幾時話俾佢知你打算同另外一個女人結婚呀} Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) :

		(About the incident three years ago. s k k was questioned for two and half days. I'm asking you about a very important incident because it happened to you and the girl, according to you, this one who loved you and whom you would like to be responsible for and love. this girl who loved you. You really can't remember when you told her you were going to marry another woman?)
19:	DC	我同佢講我同你講我而家(.)嘅腦海裏便我記得喺九七年嘅事(.)我同佢講(.)我話(.)我會同 l 去有一間臨屋因為要需要而家要結婚 因為如果純啫係嗰啲證明唔夠所以我而家會同佢結婚希望將來會換啲大啲嘅屋 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) (I told her, I am telling you as far as I can remember now in nineteen ninety seven, I told her that I would be marrying l now to acquire a temporary housing unit because there was not sufficient proof, so I would marry l now to obtain a bigger unit in the future.)
20:	IET	as far as i can remember now in nineteen ninety seven i told s k k that i would be marrying l to acquire a housing unit because there was not sufficient proof to get that at that time and i told her that in the future a bigger unit could be obtained after the marriage
21:	BPE	and what did she say
22:	ICT	咁 s k k 聽到之後跟住點啊 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (And what did s k k say after she heard that?)
23:	DC	都冇反應 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (There was no response)
24:	IET	There was no response
25:		(38.0)

26:	BPE	during the day you gave evidence about this em what you said about er s k k playing trick on l m f do you remember that
27:	ICT	喺你俾證供嘅時候呢提曾經呢係提過呢關於 s k k 呢係整蠱 l m f 嘅事□係咪? Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : When you gave evidence, you said about s k k playing trick on l m f, didn't you?)
28:	DC	係 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (Yes.)
29:	IET	yes
30:	BPE	telling she liked him and then telling she didn't like him
31:	ICT	啫係話呢最初呢就話俾: l m f 聽呢佢鐘意佢後來又話俾佢知佢唔鐘意佢係咪?= Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (It was that she was telling l m f at first that she liked him and later on she told him that she didn't like him, wasn't it?)
32:	DC	=係 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (Yes.)
33:	IET	yes
34:	BPE	that sort of (.) silly little trick that is of an immature girl isn't it
35:	ICT	咁呢一類呢係一啲好唔成熟嘅女仔玩嘅啲好傻嘅玩意嚟□係咪? Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (so this is the sort of very immature, very silly trick of girl, isn't it)

36:	DC	我唔知係咪 Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (I don't know if it is)
37:	IET	i don't know if that's true or not
38:	BPE	that's pathetic isn't it?
39:	ICT	咁係啲好:: em:: (1.0)好傻嘅嘢嚟□(1.0)係好(.)咁樣做呢係好係好可憐嘅嘢嚟□ Literal Translation (by Lihua Jiang) : (this is very ..em.. very silly kind of things (1.0) very (.) this kind of action, is very very pathetic kind of things It's very silly. That's very pathetic.)
40:	DC	大人有時都會= (Sometimes adults would do that.)
41:	IET	=some (.) sometimes adult would do that

Appendix II: Correspondence with the Corpus Holder

From: "Ester Leung"

To: "lihua jiang"

Date: Mon, 24 Dec 2007 10:20:35 +0800

Dear Lihua,

All of the cases and proceedings are about rape trials heard in the High Court of Hong Kong. All of defendants and witnesses are Chinese.

The rest please refer to the table below:

Case I	Case II	Case III	Case IV	Case V
BP (M, Native Speaker of English (NE))	BP (M, NE)	BP (M, NC)	BP (M, NC)	BP (F, NC)
BD (M, Native speaker of Chinese (NC))	BD (M, NC)	BD (M, NNC)	BD1 (M, NC)	BD (M, NE)
			BD2 (M, NE)	
			BD3 (M, NE)	
Interpreter (F, NC)	Interpreter (F, NC)	I (M, NC)	I (F, NC)	I (M, NC)
Judge (M, NC)	Judge (M, NC)	Judge (M, NE)	Judge (M, NC)	Judge (M, NC)

M(ale), N(ative) C(hinese), N(ative) E(nglish) speakers, B(arrister) P(rosection), B(arrister) D(efendant)

Since it is the High Court of HK who decided which recordings that I could have, and what information that I should be given as well, I do not have every of the details

of the proceedings and it has been contracted to me that I could only use recordings for academic purposes so it is my responsibility to protect individual's confidential information. So I have deleted all the information of those in my database, and therefore, am afraid, cannot pass the original video recordings of the data to you. Anyway, all the best with your thesis.
Merry X'mas.

Ester

From: "Ester Leung"
To: "lihua jiang"
Date: Tue, 10 Jun 2008 10:40:40 +0800

Hi Lihua,
Please see the attached file, for my version. I have added some details to the translation which I think will be closer to the original.
Ester

From: "Ester Leung"
To: "lihua jiang"
Date: Wed, 18 Jun 2008 11:28:13 +0800

Hi Lihua,
About your questions:
1) Is she a professional/experienced interpreter or part-time interpreter?
All of the interpreters recorded in the corpus are professional interpreters working full-time at the High Court of Hong Kong.

2) Did she need to sign a contract or have a briefing with the court before her interpretation?

Since they are working full time under the Court, so I guess they won't be asked to sign the contract each time.

3) Are there any regulations about the legal effect of an interpreter's interpretation in the courtroom in Hong Kong such as so-called 'sworn court interpreter')?
yes, there is this regulation that court interpreter will have to sworn in as well.

I hope this would help.
Ester

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