REPORT 2

La interpretación a distancia tecnologizada (interpretación telefónica y por videoconferencia): Elementos caracterizadores y diferencias con la interpretación bilateral presencial

Remote technologized interpreting (telephone-based and video-based remote interpreting): Main features and shifts with on-site bilateral interpreting

Report 2. L'interpretazione a distanza tecnologizzata (interpretazione telefonica e in videoconferenza): Elementi caratterizzanti e differenziazione dall'interpretazione dialogica presenziale.

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La interpretación a distancia tecnologizada (interpretación telefónica y por videoconferencia): Elementos caracterizadores y diferencias con la interpretación bilateral presencial

Presentación/ Presentation/ Presentazione

En este apartado se exponen los objetivos de este Informe, que se encuadran dentro del ámbito del proyecto *SHIFT in Orality – Shaping the Interpreters of the Future and of Today,* así como la organización y estructura de los capítulos contenidos en el índice precedente.

El informe del *Intellectual Output 2* ofrece un marco contextual de la interpretación a distancia y propone una definición de la comunicación remota y tecnologizada mediada por intérpretes a través de una amplia revisión bibliográfica dedicada a la interacción a distancia y a las modalidades de interpretación operadas en este contexto en relación con la interpretación presencial. Los contenidos de este estudio se acompañan de ejemplos ilustrados seleccionados y comentados, provenientes de la observación de material original del corpus de interpretación SHIFT que consta de dos sub-corpus proporcionados por sendas empresas del sector de la interpretación a distancia y socios del proyecto: el corpus DUALIA de interpretación telefónica y el corpus VEASYT de interpretación con videoconferencia.

Este informe ofrece además un cuadro teórico y metodológico, derivado de la interdisciplinaridad necesaria para describir un fenómeno conversacional tan

complejo como la interpretación a distancia. Estas referencias teóricas y metodológicas servirán de herramientas conceptuales y analíticas para el estudio de la interpretación a distancia en los idiomas implicados en el proyecto SHIFT: español, italiano e inglés.

El estudio presenta los mecanismos idiosincráticos de la conversación institucional remota mediada por intérpretes que operan a través del teléfono o videoconferencia, describiendo las características de este tipo de interacción mediada, con particular referencia a las distinciones entre interacción interpretada presencial e interacción interpretada a distancia.

El documento se propone como marco para la construcción de un hipertexto que contenga los temas más característicos de la interpretación tecnologizada a distancia, tales como los recogidos en el índice precedente, con aportaciones en español, italiano e inglés que son los idiomas del proyecto SHIFT.

El destinatario principal de la exposición es el estudiante universitario o el estudioso académico (interpretación, lingüística, lingüística interaccional, sociolingüística y/o antropología social) que se acerca por primera vez a la interpretación tecnologizada no presencial y desea obtener una idea de conjunto de la temática interdisciplinar abarcada desde una perspectiva crítica y razonadora.

Este informe, en el que se ha considerado imprescindible la inclusión de ejemplos, presenta un tono eminentemente expositivo y la organización de sus contenidos responde a la siguiente estructura:
1) una parte introductoria genérica sobre el tema tratado en la que se revisa y actualiza la bibliografía dedicada al mismo. Dicha introducción conduce a una aproximación a los elementos de interés prioritarios para el proyecto SHIFT; 2) una declaración expositiva de la teoría o metodología que se va a emplear; 3) una exposición de los contenidos y del análisis comunicacional lingüístico, paralingüístico y kinésico, con particular referencia a la perspectiva pragmática que

constituye la parte central y caracterizadora. Cada contenido específico vendrá acompañado de una serie de ilustraciones extraídas del material original SHIFT, haciendo especial hincapié en los problemas o dificultades identificados y proponiendo posibles soluciones eficaces; 4) una última sección dedicada a reflexiones contrastivas, aspectos interesantes para la formación de intérpretes a distancia y a planteamientos de naturaleza didáctica.

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Report 2. Technologized remote interpreting (telephone-based and video-based remote interpreting): Main features and shifts with on-site bilateral interpreting

This section presents the Report´s major aims, which are framed by the objectives of the *SHIFT in Orality – Shaping the Interpreters of the Future and of Today* Research Project. The Report´s structure as to the organization of the chapters can be consulted in the Report´s index:

One of the Report´s objetives is to describe a framework and a definition for remote, technologized, dialogic interpreter-mediated interaction. This has been achieved by conducting a comprehensive review of the literature on remote dialogic interpreting and comparing the findings with those from the literature about on-site dialogic interpreting. The Report´s findings are substantiated by a detailed analysis of examples chosen from the SHIFT´s remote interpreting corpus. The SHIFT´s corpus is composed of two sub-corpora of original remote interpreting material provided by the companies that are project parterns in the European Project. Namely, the DUALIA[1] telephone-based remote interpreting corpus and the VEASYT video-based remote interpreting corpus.

Additionally, the Report provides a thorough description of the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of technologized remote interpreter-mediated

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[1] SHIFT´s DUALIA sub-corpus comprises of simulations of telephone interpreting, both remote and on-site. The material used in this study involves telephone-based remote interpreting.

interaction. The study and analysis of a complex conversational and interactional phenomenon such as remote interpreting requires a multidisciplinary approach. These theoretical and methodological concepts and tools will be used to analyse dialogic remote interpreting in Italian, English and Spanish vis-à-vis on-site dialogic interpreting.

The most common mechanisms of remote, dialogic interpreter-mediated institutional interaction are also described, together with a documentation of the challenges and opportunities of technologized, remote, dialogic interpreting versus on-site dialogic interpreting in the SHIFT project´s language combinations, namely Spanish, Italian and English.

The Report aims to build a framework for the construction of a hypertext containing the most common and frequent themes of technologized, remote interpreting, such as the ones contained in the Report´s index, with insights from observations in the SHIFT project´s languages: Spanish, Italian and English.

The Report is intended for interpreting students and the scholarly community (particularly those interested in interpreting, interactional linguistics, sociolinguistics and/or social anthropology), who are approaching the topic of technologized remote interpreting for the first time. The Report offers a critical overview of the topics involved.

The Report´s findings are supported by examples from the corpora. The tone of the Report is expositive and schematic and presents: 1) a general introduction to the posited topic or sub-topic with references to the updated review of the topic´s literature supported by a set of carefully selected examples from the SHIFT´s remote interpreting corpus (English, Italian and Spanish); 2) an exposition of the theory or methodology used; 3) an exposition of the contents and analysis of the linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic dimensions of interpreter-mediated dialogic interaction, with special reference to the pragmatic perspective, which is the Report´s main and

carachterising remit. Special attention will be paid to the challenges and affordances identified, as well as to the possible solutions and effective strategies, and 4) the final section containing the didactic and contrastive difficulties of this type of interaction as well as recommendations for educational purposes.

Report 2. L'interpretazione a distanza tecnologizzata (interpretazione telefonica e in videoconferenza): Elementi caratterizzanti e differenziazione dall'interpretazione dialogica presenziale.

In questa sezione si espongono gli obiettivi del presente Report nell'ambito del progetto *SHIFT in Orality – Shaping the Interpreters of the Future and of Today*, e l'organizzazione e la struttura dei capitoli contenuti nell'indice.

Il report dell' *Intellectual Output 2* costituisce un quadro contestuale dell'interpretazione a distanza e propone una definizione della comunicazione a distanza e tecnologizzata mediata da interprete tramite un'ampia revisione bibliografica dedicata all'interazione a distanza e alle modalità di interpretazione utilizzate in tale contesto in relazione con l'interpretazione presenziale. I contenuti dello studio sono accompagnati da esempi illustrati e commentati provenienti dall'osservazione di materiale originale del corpus di interpretazione SHIFT, costituito da due sub-corpora forniti da due aziende del settore dell'interpretazione a distanza e partner del progetto: il corpus DUALIA di interpretazione telefonica e il corpus VEASYT di interpretazione per videoconferenza.

Il report offre inoltre un quadro teorico e metodologico derivato dall'interdisciplinarietà necessaria per descrivere un fenomeno conversazionale complesso come l'interpretazione a distanza. Tali riferimenti teorici e metodologici costituiranno gli strumenti concettuali e analitici per lo studio dell'interpretazione a

distanza nelle lingue coinvolte nel progetto SHIFT: spagnolo, italiano e inglese.

Lo studio presenta i meccanismi idiosincratici della conversazione istituzionale a distanza mediata da interpreti che operano via telefono o videoconferenza, descrivendo le caratteristiche di questo tipo di interpretazione mediata e facendo in particolare riferimento alle differenze fra interazione interpretata presenziale e a distanza.

Questo testo si propone come quadro per la costruzione di un ipertesto che contenga i temi più caratteristici dell'interpretazione tecnologizzata a distanza, quelli presentati nell'indice, con contributi in spagnolo, italiano e inglese che sono le lingue del progetto SHIFT.

I principali destinatari dell'esposizione sono studenti universitari o studiosi accademici (di interpretazione, linguistica, linguistica interazionale, sociolinguistica e/o antropologia sociale) che si avvicinano per la prima volta all'ambito dell'interpretazione tecnologizzata non presenziale e desiderano avere uno sguardo complessivo della tematica interdisciplinare affrontata da un punto di vista critico e ragionato.

Questo report, in cui è stato imprescindibile includere esempi, presenta un tono fondamentalmente espositivo e l'organizzazione dei suoi contenuti risponde alla seguente struttura:
1) una parte introduttiva generale sul tema trattato, in cui si presenta e aggiorna la bibliografia a esso dedicata. Tale introduzione conduce a un'approssimazione agli elementi di interesse prioritario per il progetto SHIFT; 2) una dichiarazione espositiva della teoria o metodologia che si utilizzerà; 3) un'esposizione dei contenuti e dell'analisi comunicativa linguistica, paralinguistica e cinetica, con particolare riferimento alla prospettiva pragmatica che ne costituisce la parte centrale e caratterizzatrice. Ogni contenuto specifico sarà accompagnato da una serie di illustrazioni estratte dal materiale originale SHIFT, sottolineando in particolar modo i

problemi o le difficoltà identificate e proponendo possibili soluzioni; 4) un'ultima sezione dedicata a riflessioni contrastive, aspetti interessanti per la formazione di interpreti a distanza e osservazioni di tipo didattico.

1. Introduction

Emilia Iglesias Fernández – Univerisidad de Granada

Technology and lack of co-presence do not seem to make things easier in remote interpreting, that is, telephone interpreting (TI) and remote videoconferencing (RVC). It is also rather challenging to try to tease apart the way the different factors involved interact, due to the cognitive complexity of the practice. However, remote interpreting in different settings and genres is a well-established professional practice, employing thousands of interpreters across the world. Telemedicine, remote emergency services, remote court videoconferencing and interpreter-mediated remote police cross-examinations are already part and parcel of the interpreting profession. And yet, despite the rapid growth and implementation of remote interpreting by public and private service bodies, no dedicated, specific training has been put in place in higher education institutions. This oversight can be linked to the assumption that these modes of interpreting involve dialogic interpreting, and as such, training in remote interpreting is just a matter of applying the same theories and techniques as in face-to-face dialogue interpreting (Pollit and Haddon 2005: 189).

Almost since the arrival of remote interpreting as a professional practice, many scholars have risen concerns about its lack of quality, determined by the limitations of the aural medium, problems concerning the technology of the telephone and lack of access to visual information (Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Ko 2006; Lee 2007; Locatis *et al.* 2010), diminished rapport in TI (Price *et al*. 2012), the fragmentation of communication, the lack of co-presence, as well as the complex effect of the myriad stimuli in the interpreter´s cognitive processes in RVC (gaze, body position, gestures,

aural cues, etc.) (Braun 2007; Braun and Taylor 2012). So is comes as little surprise that reputed scholars and professional associations have reacted negatively towards the arrival and settling of remote interpreting (Moser-Mercer 2005; Mourzourakis 1996; AIIC 1997; Mintz 1997; Locatis *et al.* 2010), as it seems to strain cognitive resources and trigger fatigue onset at a much rapid speed than in on-site interpreting (Braun and Taylor 2012).

Technology presents its challenges (see section 4:2.1; section 5:2.1 and section 7:2) but it also brings opportunities (see section 4:2.1). The use of technology alters our cognitive functions, so that the greater the exposure to the technological media, the better the brain seems to adapt to technologized interaction, and this also applies to remote interpreting (Moser-Mercer 2005). This has been observed in a study of novice and seasoned over-the-phone interpreters. Very experienced practitioners seemed to have learned to make do without visual information, while novices had to grapple with interpreting without visual cues (Iglesias Fernández et al. in press). A similar phenomenon has been observed in RVC (Braun 2003; Braun and Taylor 2012). Simultaneously, technologies for interpreting are making the lives of people easier, (see 4:2.1) especially by making certain more routine-based procedures and less demanding services (medical appointments, follow-up treatment, police cross-examinations) swifter, while at the same time cutting costs, particularly those related to travelling, etc.

The increasing demand of remote interpreting since 1970s has resulted in many studies concerned with issues related to quality and satisfaction (Hornberger *et al.* 1996; Ko 2006; Lee 2007; Jones *et al.* 2003; Azarmina and Wallace 2005; Locatis *et al* 2010; Braun and Taylor 2012) However, very little research has broached how communication and interaction in TI and RVC are affected by lack of co-location and use of technologies (Gracia-García 2002; Braun and Taylor 2012; Price *et al*. 2012). With some exceptions, studies focusing on the features of this type of fragmented distribution of communication are still scarce. More studies should address the way

interpreter-mediated communication is affected by remoteness (Braun 2015) and by the affordances of technology. These studies should attempt at observing what these technological affordances are for these two modes of interpreter-mediated interaction, and weather they lead to completely new types of communication, which require specific compences.

It is pressing to analyse how the medium (RVC, TI) determines the activity, but it is equally interesting to observe how these activities, strategies and procedures enable the participant´s orientation to, and reproduction of the institutional features of the setting (Hutchby 1996: 10). The sociology of technology shows us that when studying "technologized interaction" (Hutchby 2001: 6) (see Section 3) of which remote interpreting is a form, we are studying how interlocutors´ aims (at the micro level), and the social structure (at the macro-level) impinge on each other (Giddens 1984 in Hutchby 1996: 9). Consequently, social structure (or stable patterns of form in social system) becomes "both the medium and the outcome of social practices" (see section 2: 2) (Giddens 1998: 171 in Hutchby 1996: 9).

Remote interpreting can offer great opportunities if a number of factors are controlled. Western countries are taking in unprecedented numbers of immigrants and refugees, whose origins and languages are constantly changing. These exercises enormous pressure on countries´ public services and on interpreting services, but especially on remote interpreting (TI and RVC). Accordingly, the need for non-professional interpreters covering these minority, changing languages is only set to increase in a variety of countries like the US (Mikkelson 2003) Japan (Heh and Quian 1997), the UK (Phelan 2001), Sweden (Fors 2003) as well as Spain, outstretching the provision of public services.

One of the affordances of remote interpreting lies in solving some of the most routinely basic needs of these clients, such as retrieving simple facts and information (see section 6:3) and answering questions (Swaney 1997). This has lifted some of the

burden from public bodies and public administration while cutting costs at the same time.

Provided that remote interpreting equipment and lines are good, interpreters are offered training and acquire experience thorough exposure to this type of interaction and users are trained, remote interpreting does not seem to cause much trouble (Gracia-García 2002; Andres and Falk 2009; Braun 2012, Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). Indeed, findings from a pilot survey addressed to European TIs show that the greater their experience, the fewer the number of troubles they encounter in their daily practice, whereas novice TIs encountered many more problems across many domains. These preliminary findings need to be further tested on a larger sample of practitioners, but they clearly point to certain problems in telephone interpreting not relating to the specific features of telephone communication. Nor are they related to the "lack of a shared frame of reference" as stated by Rosenberg (2007: 75).

Remote interpreting allows some affordances related to the technological medium it is relayed through. It offers around-the-clock immediate availability in cases of accidents and emergencies (Mintz 1998; Gracia-García 2002) in a wider variety of languages (Hewitt 1995; Gracia-García 2002), particularly minority languages and languages of limited diffusion (Mikkelson 2003). Surveys of TIs have highlighted the fact that practitioners appreciate the flexibility of work hours (Lee 2007) and the saving in travelling costs. An additional positive factor that affects interpreters but also clients is the higher degree confidentiality and impartiality afforded in situations, which may cause embarrassment for the parties (Hewitt 1995; Wadensjö 1999). Interpreters at courts have reported feeling more at ease when they did not have to look at the speaker, so that they did not get distracted by facial expression (Mintz 1997). This professional distance seems to ease concentrating on the interpreting task by not getting emotionally tangled by clients´ emotional distress or traumatic predicaments. In some cases, avoiding access to visually disturbing images seems to

improve concentration on the task. Hence, the widely-cited statement that "a good interpreter at a distance is better than a bad one up close or none at all" (Gracia-García 2002: 200).

It´s SHIFT´s remit to identify the challenges and opportunities in telephone interpreting and remote videoconferencing by looking into the practice itself through corpus-based observation, as well as by comparing it with on-site interpreting as reviewed in the interpreting literature. Ultimately, the findings from these studies will feed into training materials and modules for students of interpreting, remote interpreters and interpreting trainers.

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2. A Multidisciplinary Theoretical Framework for the Study of Remote Interpreting

2.1 Telephone Interpreting (E. Iglesias Fernández – University of Granada and M. Russo – DIT, University of Bologna, Forlì Campus)

0. Introduction

Telephone interpreting (TI) is a form of interpreter-mediated cross-cultural interaction, which takes place in conditions affected by the medium, hence its definition as a form of "technologized interaction" (Hutchby 2001: 6). This highlights the need for the interplay of a variety of relevant disciplines to develop a theoretical framework to study and teach remote interpreting.

Starting from the premise that TI is a social activity in which talk performs a specific function and serves the communicative needs of interlocutors of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the import of different disciplines allows for the definition of this peculiar field of specialized human activity, ranging from a macro to a micro analysis, i.e. from the illustration of telephone interpreters (TIs) situated goals and functions, to the evaluation of the actual linguistic exchanges between the three interactants (speaker of language A, interpreter, speaker of language B). What follows is an attempt to assess the contribution of four possible research paradigms to develop a multidisciplinary theoretical framework for remote interpreting and for TI

in particular.

The first general paradigm of reference is the ethnography of speaking (Hymes 1962) which provides conceptual categories aimed at identifying similarities and dissimilarities with other types of social speaking activities such as on-site public service interpreting and court interpreting. This is precisely the main objective of the SHIFT project, namely the comparison of embodied, linguistic and paralinguistic features of remote interpreter-mediated, technologized dialogic interaction with the main characteristics of face-to-face dialogic interpreting, to better contribute to the development of a training solution for telephone interpreting (see section 2:1).

Since TI is an interpersonal exchange constrained by technical means, another appropriate and relevant paradigm is one that adds a sociological perspective to the use of technology for communication. This approach can be extremely useful in stressing the limitations and also the opportunities of remote interpreting as a form of technologized interaction.

Talk-in-interaction has long been studied by conversation analysts in the framework of telephone conversation analysis or TCA (Sacks 1964-1992; Sacks *et al*. 1974, Schegloff 1986; 1992; Zimmerman 1992). Schegloff's framework based on American English data was also applied to other languages and institutional settings (among others, see Kwong and Theodossia-Soula 2002; Thüne and Leonardi 2003; Varcasia 2013). Conversation Analysis (CA) offers both a theoretical and a methodological framework for the study of TI. It highlights the pragmatic and discursive implications of TI´s linguistic and paralinguistic dimensions. Additionally, its methodological apparatus offers a comprehensive system of transcription conventions.

The nonverbal vocal dimension is particularly relevant in over-the-phone interpreting, as the aural stimuli, that is, the voice, is both the message and the medium (MacLuhan 1964). This latter dimension deserves special attention in TI as it

plays a major role in the management of turns and the anticipation of moves in turn taking (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996; Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2001; Couper-Kuhlen and Ford 2004). It simultaneously conveys the interactants' emotional state as well as the presence or absence of phatics and empathy toward conversationalists, qualities that are particularly important in healthcare TI. We find the paradigm concerned with Prosody in Conversation (Couper-Khulen and Selting 1996; Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2001) particularly appropriate for TI, together with some phonetic theories, which help measure the speaker´s involvement (Lindblom 1990). (see section 2:4 and section 9).

All these analytical paradigms need to be factored in when studying TI with a view to make telephone interpreter trainees aware of the discursive mechanics (both linguistic and and paralinguistic) and of their potential to become effective technologized communicators.

1. The import of the Ethnography of speaking

This discipline was initiated by Hymes (1962) and "describes the different uses to which speech is put in different activities in different societies" (Levinson 1992: 70). Hymes developed the concept of communicative competence as "the knowledge required to use language appropriately in cultural situations" and "at the reception side of communicative competence, it is the ability to understand what one hears" (quoted in Levinson 1992: 97). Understanding the use of language in a specific activity is made possible by activity-specific rules of inference, and by previous and shared knowledge of the goals and constraints of a type of activity (Levinson 1992). Hymes suggested eight key variables that would function as a classificatory grid for cross-cultural and activity comparisons. Their acronym is SPEAKING: each activity should be described as particular constraints on the Setting, Participants, Ends (or goals), Acts (including specific act sequences), Key (or tone), Instrumentalities (variety of language employed), Norms (e.g. attenuations, interruptions) and Genres

(Levinson 1992).

In the field of interpreting studies, Hymes' paradigm was applied by Angelelli (2000, 2004) to describe the context in which she collected her interpreting data and to pinpoint the differences between the different speaking activities. Angelelli's first application of Hymes' SPEAKING model to interpreting provided a detailed illustration of the differences and similarities between examples of conference interpreting and liaison interpreting events (Angelelli 2000). The second application of the model occurred in a more comprehensive field study where the HOPE corpus was compiled (Angelelli 2004). She collected interpreting data during 18 months in a California hospital and carried out a thorough analysis of the social structure and of the working conditions of healthcare and interpreting staff. She summarized in a synoptic table (ib.: 35-39) the analogies and differences between monolingual communicative events and interpreter-mediated events. Much can be gained if Angelelli´s methodology based on Hymes´model is also applied to the study of TI practices and to TI training with a view to characterize: a) monolingual face-to-face interaction *vs.* remote interaction, and b) interpreter–mediated face-to-face interaction *vs.* remote interaction. Sub-specifications of all these speaking activities could be developed for three main settings: healthcare, legal and service interpreting. Awareness of the specificities of these institutional interactions will enhance TI students' communicative competence.

2. The import of "technologized interaction": The video and the telephone as technologies for communication through interpreting

Wandensjö (1999) compared on-site with over-the-phone interpreting and resolved that face-to-face dialogue interpreting involved two major tasks: translating and coordinating talk, and in the case of remote telephone interpreting, she remarked that the dialogue was not half as smooth as in on-site interpreting, and that the

synchronisation of talk in turn-taking required an extra effort. Based on these reflections, we argue that many of the problems that seem to plague the practice of TI are more related to the coordinating task and less to the interpreting activity. It follows that much benefit can be gained if we turn towards the sociology of technology in culture and interaction to look for a theoretical approach concerned with the relationship between conversation and technology, in particular with the interface between technology, its "affordances" (Gibson 1979 in Hutchby 2001: 6), and the normative structures of interaction (Heath and Luff 1993 in Hutchby 2001: 125).

Remote interpreting is not just about relaying messages "in" channels, as the presence of a third party leads to various possibilities of alignment and asymmetry. We do not just use technologies, but we interact with them in social communication. As technology cannot be "asocial," when studying remote interpreting as a form of social interaction through technology we are analysing it from the perspective of technologized interaction. Remote interpreting needs the sociology of technology to feed its theoretical framework because of the interdependent relationship between technology and social interaction. The research question could be: what is the relationship between the lack of co-presence and telephone interpreting and the structures of social interaction? What are the structures of remote interpreting that favour a feeling of co-presence when in fact we are not present, and how do they differ when we are interpreting and physically co-present? And How do interpreters adapt to technology?

The way we apply and use technology in our daily lives is shaped by the users of technologies themselves. For instance, the telephone technology was developed to broadcast music but it soon was employed by its users into an artifact to enable them to communicate intimately despite the physical distance (Hutchby 2001: 123). Therefore, technological artifacts present users with communicative affordances or a certain number of things users have learnt they can do (like spatially distributed

conversation and co-presence) or cannot do (retain the smoothness of ordinary conversation) (ib: 123). But at the same time, artifacts are affected by the social constraints of interpersonal communication (turn taking, norms of conversation), limiting the exploitation of their potential for communication. In addition, individuals adapt to technologies.

While videoconference offers a much larger number of affordances for communication than the telephone (it seems to diminish a number of asymmetries of communication), it also introduces its own constraints, like the fragmentation of the self or poor synchronisation (Braun and Taylor 2012). Consequently, technology comes with "promises" of some affordances that, in practice, cannot be enacted (ib: 126).

Remote and over-the phone interpreting are two forms of pure dialogic technologized speech communication, hence our contention that a robust theoretical framewok for remote and telephone interpreting should explore the limitations associated with these modes of technology (Braun and Taylor 2012, 2015; Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Rosenberg 2007; Lee 2007; Ozolins 2011), and argue that both technologies for communication bring about novel ways of communicating. However, these new forms of interpreter-mediated interaction are actually the product of "the interactants' appropriation of the technology to achieve their own goals" (Hutchby 2001: 7) more than an appropriation of the actual "technology affordances" of the remote and telephone in mediated interaction. This approach sees videoconference and telephone as media affording a form of co-presence and intimacy, which impacts the positioning of interpreters vis-à-vis face-to-face interpreting, as well as the relationship between the interactants. "Technology affordances frame the possibilities for agentic action. In this way technologies for communication can be understood as artefacts which may be both shaped by and shape the way we talk, shaping the nature of sociability" (Hutchby 2001: 194).

Additionally, technologies operate changes in social interaction (Hutchby 2001), affecting the identities and the achievement of goals by speakers. Close observation of the SHIFT corpora provides a unique opportunity to tease apart the relationship between the changes related to the use of the video and telephone technology in interpreting vis-à-vis face-to-face interpreting and the interactional practice itself in specific contexts (courts, the police, emergencies, follow-up palliative care, medical appointments, and so on).

Public services make use of technologized interpreter-mediated interaction as a way to cut costs and bring immediacy, but they seem not to be aware of the fact that technology is always "social", and its users can "appropriate" it by pursuing their own goals.

3. The import of Telephone Conversation Analysis

The study of conversation analysis (CA) was initiated by Sacks in 1964. He studied telephone conversations in a mental health hospital and showed that conversations proceeded in turns within sequences, with each conversational unit being composed of two turns. He argued that social interaction went well beyond the telephone line. The first framework for the study of telephone calls was developed by Schegloff in 1968 (Kwong and Theodossia-Soula 2002). In 1986, he provided a detailed analysis of 500 telephone calls and identified four core sequences in the opening section (ib.: 9):

- a summon-answer sequence […]
- an identification/recognition sequence […]
- a greeting sequence […]
- initial inquiries ("How are you?") […] (Schegloff 1986: 118).

Openings have been abundantly studied because they constitute easily definable conversational units (like identification and self-identification by callers and call-

takers). This is not the case of other conversational components, which have less clear-cut boundaries and multiple developments (like closings). The CA paradigm is based on American English calls, but this methodology has been applied to many other cultural settings and domains of social activities (Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998; Thüne and Leonardi 2003; Varcasia 2013).

The CA paradigm is extraordinarily robust and is particularly useful when studying talk-in-interaction. Some of its basic tenets are particularly insightful in shaping TI training methodology, namely:

- the identification of turn sequences and of agenda of talk (Schegloff 1992);
- the organization of talk in institutions where turn taking is strongly constrained by normative procedures (Drew and Heritage 1992);
- the role of context in shaping utterances and actions which, in their turn, are context renewing (Drew and Heritage 1992);
- the social identities and attributes (i.e. gender, ethnicity, power, occupational role etc.) that turn participants involved in institutional talk into social interactants (Drew and Heritage 1992);
- the social structure of conversation (i.e. knowing "who the parties are") which is relevant for producing and interpreting conduct in interaction (Schegloff 1992);
- the detection of the relevant turns which help recognize the illocutionary force of utterances and the categorial identities of the interactants (Schegloff 1992; Zimmerman 1992);
- the verbal and embodied signals (acknowledgement tokens) that interlocutors send to each other to display reception and interpretation of the intended message (backchannel) (Keller 1979).

Particular attention should be paid to the following features: i) organization of talk in institutions; ii) categorial identifications and social structure; iii) the structure of service/emergency calls; iv) the call-taker's goal to handle calls as routinely as possible; v) the degree of caller and call-taker alignment or non-alignment.

As to the first aspect which relates to the **organization of talk in institutions** Drew and Heritage (1992: 29-43) identified the following dimensions for research (hence

their application to TI training):

- lexical choice;
- turn design selected by the speaker (syntactic, lexical, prosodic, etc.);
- sequence organization (i.e. question-answer, opening, closing) and agenda of talk (topics are generally selected by one of the participants in asymmetrical conversation);
- overall structure organization (depending on the type of the task-oriented interaction);
- social epistemology and social relations (i.e. professional "cautiousness" in interaction and interactional asymmetries in institutional settings).

The second feature, i.e. **categorial identification**, allows interactants to understand who is speaking (i.e. doctor, patient, interpreter etc.), and consequently mobilize the relevant knowledge (inferential schema) needed to understand the meaning of utterances, the social relation and the type of expected response. The categorial self-identification (for example, "This is Riverdale Police") places the call in a particular footing "my organization to your organization" (Zimmerman 1992: 452). This aspect of the verbal exchange is of paramount importance as it triggers a swift reaction (i.e. prompt alignment with the interlocutor, provision of assistance, etc.).

With respect to **the structure of service/emergency calls**, Zimmerman (1992) specifies that "The alignment of (A) [the caller] and (B) [the call-taker] is the work that the talk performs in accomplishing the call for emergency services [9 1 1]" (ib.: 420). The following turn sequences are detected:

- pre-beginning (the very fact of calling 9 1 1 warns the call-taker that it is an emergency).
- opening: identification, acknowledgement sequence
- reason for call: request, reports, descriptions, narratives
- moving the interrogative series forward
- repair and verification
- response

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- closing

Recurrent contingencies in emergency calls are: achieving identification, aligning identities, requesting assistance, eliciting information, commitment to help, and closing.

As to pre-beginning, the interpreter is always at a disadvantage because s/he never knows what to expect. As far as the latter two features are concerned, they are strictly associated. That is, call-taker's goal to handle calls as routinely as possible often implies the degree of caller and call-taker alignment or non-alignment (Whalen 1990 in Zimmerman 1992).

In order to streamline their task-oriented day's work and to ease the context-derived pressure, practitioners (call-takers) need to manage emergency calls as swiftly as possible. This implies that they strive to transform the caller's dramatic experience (s/he may be experiencing an emergency situation for the first time in her/his life) into a routine call.

The divergence of concerns between callers and call-takers is perhaps the master contingency for both parties, for this divergence poses potential obstacles to a timely and appropriate completion of the call: its accomplishment as an accountable sequence of actions making up both a unit of organizational activity and an efficacious act by an individual seeking help (Zimmerman 1992: 458).

There may be protocols developed by institutions which favour callers and call-takers alignment during the call, for instance by gaining the attention of the overwhelmed caller or by imposing compliance with instructions (i.e., "stop shouting and listen"). This alignment work is carried out by the two primary interactants, but an interpreter who is aware of this requirement can consciously favour it and, above all s/he, as a professional, can strive to render her/his own interpreting performance as routinely as possible for the same good reasons of the above-mentioned practitioners.

4. The import of Prosody in Conversation and Phonetics

The statement by McLuhan (1964) that "The telephone gives us an ear for an eye" epitomizes the roles of prosody and phonetics in TI. Research on communication reveals that the nonverbal dimension is at least as important as the verbal dimension in interpersonal communication, by shaping the outcomes (Burgoon *et al.* 1990; Iglesias Fernández 2010) and the same has been observed in interpreting (Collados Aís *et al.* 2011; Iglesias Fernández 2010). The telephone teaches us about the centrality of sound. The Brunswick Lens model applied by Scherer (1982) to social psychology shows that interlocutors´emotional traits, status, feelings and mood are externalised in distal cues or indicators of nonverbal behaviour. The interlocutor at the other end of the line makes attributions about the nature of these traits in terms of friendliness, competence, and persuasion. Verbal and nonverbal vocal cues are processed concurrently and affecting each other. Much concern has been raised over the absence of visual information in TI, but the voice is one of the strongest and most intuitive channels for conveying intimacy, immediacy, involvement, empathy or dominance and detachment (Burgoon 1991). Indeed, inferences about emotions and feelings rely more on nonverbal components (Zajonc 1980), particularly on the tone of voice to gauge affect, than on message content (Argyle *et al.* 1970). The nonverbal vocal dimension and, in the case of TI, the paralinguistic dimension are affected the most in comparison to face-to-face interpreting, since fluency is greatly impaired (Wadensjö 1999) and interactants' reliance on turn completion or augmentation are signalled by intonational contours.

Being the aural channel the sole medium through which telephone-interpreted interaction is relayed, we argue for the integration of the study Prosody in Conversation for telephone interpreting into the multidisciplinary theoretical framework for this kind of interpreter-mediated interaction. Not only changes in footing by interactants are signalled by prosodic cues (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting

1996) but also the cognitive-affective dimension (Reber 2012), and the efficient control of the flow of talk, and turn-management.

Prosody in conversation is a well-established paradigm (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996; Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2001) and much benefit can be obtained by analysing its basic units (TCU, TRP, TAC), and their role in the construction of the architecture of any interaction. The basic units of interaction have at their core specific intonational contours and final intonational contours, which together with syntactic units, signal contiguity, continuity or completion of turn. These are strategic tools for interpreting trainees to understand and deploy in order to achieve more efficient and effective over-the-phone interpreting.

Interaction on the phone consists of turn construction units (TCU) which, when approaching completion, lead to transitional relevance places (TRP) or silent gaps, that is, spaces for next turn allocation and turn allocation components (TAC) (i.e., who gains the floor) (Varcasia 2013: 8). All throughout this interactional architecture, syntactic-prosodic units are decisive for indicating turn continuity, turn completion or selection of next speaker and self-selection. When turns comprise more than one unit, they are identified as such because they signal specific intonational contours. So that TCUs and TACs are dependent on each other, because of the specific prosodic cues signalled by speakers (Selting 2000: 512). The basic unit of interaction is the TCU, and at its core lays the role played by intonation completion contour and final intonation contour. Intonation contours interact with syntax for signalling syntactic completion in the unit of speech.

Prosody allows perception and anticipation of turn completion and signals turn ending (Hopper 1992). Remote interpreting students could greatly benefit from the study of these patterns, which can significantly facilitate the smooth transition of relevance points in telephone conversation. In particular, the pitch contour of the final syllable of the utterance seems to point to turn ending. For example, a rising terminal

pitch signals questions, whereas a falling terminal pitch indicates final turn ending (Selting 1990 in Hopper 1992). The study of terminal pitch is important to track intentions of speakers towards transition relevance places and for projecting completions. However, pitch should not be studied on its own, but together with syntax in conversation. Additionally, the study of pauses or silent gaps in contrast to inter-turn pauses can provide us with a window for an effective achievement of turn beginnings and turn endings.

More attention should be paid to the study of prosody in conversation, as rising and falling intonation may be excellent indicators of a turn´s ending. It is worth mentioning that this vocal behaviour varies according to language combinations, so studies of language-dependent turn ending´s pitch movements can be very beneficial for remote interpreting training. A heightened awareness of prosody could lead to a decrease proportion of overlapping, which seems to be the main cause of information loss both in TI (Lee 2007) and video-based remote interpreting (Braun and Taylor 2012). Therefore, a better understanding and exposure to turn ending´s pitch movements by trainee remote interpreters in the SHIFT working languages (English, Italian and Spanish) could eventually reduce or avoid a substantial amount of overlapping and its interactional implications. Much benefit could be gained if a detailed study of prosody in turn taking were conducted for educational purposes.

To conclude, remote interpreting, and TI in particular, calls into question such a vast array of features that only a comprehensive multidisciplinary theoretical and methodological framework for research and training can be of guidance. The present contribution is a first step in this direction.

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2.2 Videoconference interpreting (S. Braun – University of Surrey)[2]

0. Introduction

The evolution of videoconference technologies has led to two new modalities of interpreting. On the one hand, videoconferences are used to link remotely located interpreters to the primary participants. This is generally referred to as remote interpreting (RI) (Braun 2015). On the other hand, interpreters are used in videoconferences between parties who do not share the same language. This is termed videoconference interpreting (VCI) and comprises different configurations: the interpreter can be either co-located with one of the parties, or work from a separate site. The latter configuration leads to a multi-point videoconference between three (or more) sites. Similar configurations occur in telephone interpreting. VCI has similarities with RI, and both modalities overlap to a certain extent, for example in three-way videoconferences. However, they have different motivations and are not interchangeable. Historically, the demand for both RI and VCI came from the language service needs of supranational organisations; today VCI is mostly required

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[2] Braun, Sabine (2015): "Videoconference Interpreting", F. Pöchhacker *et al.* (Eds.), *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Interpreting Studies*. London/New York: Routledge.

in legal settings.

1. VCI in supranational institutions

The earliest documented experiment with videoconferencing and interpreting took place in UNESCO in 1976. It linked the UNESCO headquarters in Paris with a conference centre in Nairobi via satellite and included tests of both RI and VCI. In the VCI tests, the interpreters were situated in Paris and interpreted for delegates at both sites. Similar experiments were organised by the United Nations in the 1970s and 1980s (see Mouzourakis 1996). At the UNISPACE conference in Vienna in 1982, communication from the Soviet cosmonauts on board the MIR space station was transmitted to the Vienna delegates by video link and interpreted for them by interpreters in the Vienna conference room. Although reports about these early tests do not always make a clear distinction between RI and VCI, they suggest that RI was perceived to be challenging or unacceptable, whilst VCI seemed less problematic. This overall trend was not reflected in VCI tests using ISDN-based videoconferences, e.g. in the European Commission in 1995 (see Mouzourakis 2006), where sound quality was found to be insufficient for simultaneous interpreting. However, the view that VCI is acceptable under defined circumstances, whilst RI is not, is also reflected in the AIIC guidance on the use of technologies in interpreting (AIIC 2000/2012). Subsequent research into videoconference-based interpreting in supranational institutions has focused on RI, mainly to identify the exact sources of the problems associated with it.

2. VCI in legal settings

Legal institutions have turned to videoconferencing to make legal proceedings more efficient, minimise security concerns arising from prisoner transport, and support cross-border judicial co-operation. This has led to a growing demand for VCI

in legal proceedings, normally conducted in the consecutive mode. In many English-speaking countries, ISDN-based videoconference facilities were installed in the 1990s to link courts to other courts (e.g. to hear remote witnesses) and prisons (e.g. for bail hearings). A worldwide spread of videoconference technology in legal proceedings began in the 2000s, following the availability of broadband technology. In some countries, notably the Netherlands, the same equipment and layout were used in all courtrooms to facilitate the work of all involved, including the interpreter. Such approaches are likely to have contributed to relatively positive attitudes towards VCI among interpreters in these countries, whilst scepticism prevails in countries such as the UK, where videoconference equipment often still dates from the ISDN era (Braun and Taylor 2012a). Fowler (2007) notes problems with the interpreter's positioning and access to the microphone, and with the quality of the video image, in English magistrates' courts. She argues that these problems, together with the absence of specific protocols on VCI in court, lead to frequent disruptions, requests for repetition and misunderstanding.

One question arising, regardless of such issues, concerns the location of the interpreter in VCI. This was also one of the questions addressed by a comprehensive survey of VCI in Canadian immigration proceedings (Ellis 2004). In the setting examined, the immigration judge, the refugee protection officer and the interpreter sat in the immigration office, whilst the refugee and his/her lawyer were in another city. The fact that the interpreter was not co-located with the refugee was thought to have weakened the personal rapport (see also section 5:2.1.6 for TI) between the two. It also caused interactional difficulties and precluded whispered interpreting. Judges felt that consecutive interpreting was disruptive. The hearings by video link also tended to be longer and were considered to be more fatiguing (see section 5:1.2 for TI) than comparable face-to-face hearings.

These findings were corroborated by the European AVIDICUS projects, which have focused on the viability of VCI and RI in legal proceedings. In addition, experimental

studies conducted in AVIDICUS 1 (2008: 11) showed that VCI (and RI) affected the QUALITY of interpreting and caused more interaction problems than on-site interpreting. Overlapping speech proved difficult to resolve and led to information loss (Braun and Taylor 2012b). Furthermore, qualitative analyses of the communicative dynamics in interpreter-mediated videoconference-based investigative interviews, court hearings and cross-border settlement cases, carried out in AVIDICUS 2 (2011: 13), suggest that VCI entails not only a reduction in the quality of the relations between the participants but also a greater fragmentation of the discourse (Braun 2017). AVIDICUS 3 (2014: 16) assesses the implementation of videoconferencing facilities in legal institutions across Europe in terms of their fitness for VCI (Braun, Davitti and Dicerto 2017).

3. Other settings

The use of VCI in other settings is not very well documented, but some reports and interpreting service provider websites suggest that VCI is used across different segments of the interpreting market and that solutions in the commercial sector tend to be custom-made. They may also combine the use of the telephone and of videoconferencing to integrate interpreters into proceedings.

One configuration that is likely to gain momentum is three-way videoconferencing, whereby the primary participants and the interpreter are each in a different location. In the late 1990s, the ViKiS project in Germany assessed this configuration (Braun 2004). Using a prototype system, problems as well as adaptation strategies developed by the participating interpreters in this (then) novel working condition were identified. As in other studies, participants found the communication fatiguing and had difficulty establishing a rapport with the other participants. The sound quality in the ISDN-based prototype was insufficient. The one aspect to which interpreters were able to adapt was the interaction. The strategies evolved from reactive to more

proactive strategies. However, the interpreters felt that they had to moderate the interaction, which posed ethical problems and increased the coordination effort (Braun 2004, 2007).

With regard to cognitive processing, Moser-Mercer (2005) outlines problems with multi-sensory integration in videoconferences, which she believes make it more difficult for interpreters to process information and build mental representations of the situation.

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3. A Methodological Framework for the Study of Remote Interpreting

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0. Introduction

The SHIFT project has a dual aim, i.e. a) to develop a theoretical and methodological framework for the analysis of orality across different modalities and/or diamesic varieties of interpreter-mediated communication, and b) to use this framework to develop a set of educational materials for interpreter education. As a first step towards the development the educational materials, a systematic analysis of relevant interpreter-mediated events was deemed necessary given the dearth of studies in this field. A series of simulated events was therefore recorded and analysed, and will serve as a starting point for eliciting pedagogically useful illustrations of videoconference- and telephone-based remote interpreting. This section outlines the overall design of the underlying research, the nature of the data and the analytical approach, i.e. the development of analysis categories and the preparation and coding of the data.

1. Research design

The project partnership has opted for qualitative approaches to the research underlying the development of the educational materials. This is: a) to facilitate an in-depth exploration of the data sets collected in the project; b) to complement the observations made in the project's data sets with observations from previous empirical work, e.g. the work conducted in the European AVIDICUS projects on

video-mediated interpreting in legal settings (Braun and Taylor 2012a; www.videoconference-interpreting.net); and c) to identify a wide diverse phenomena, tendencies and patterns that are relevant for educational purposes.

2. The data and data collection method

Initially, several options for obtaining access to authentic interpreter-mediated events were explored with the SME partners in the project. However, the sensitive nature of many of the events for which the companies provide interpreting services would made it difficult not only to obtain consent for recording the events from all parties involved but also to use the data for training purposes. It was therefore decided to conduct a series of simulations based on real-life situations in the fields of healthcare, legal (police and court interpreting), emergencies, tourism, etc. The simulations involved interpreters who were recruited by the two SME project partners and 'clients' (role players) from among the staff of the two companies. Similar methods of data collection were used in a number of other projects relating to public service interpreting, including e.g. AVIDICUS 1 and 2 (Braun and Taylor 2012a; Braun 2013; 2017); IMPLI (IMPLI 2014) and Understanding Justice (Townsley 2016). Table 1 gives an overview of the simulations broken down by the language pairs and fields covered in the project.

Table 1. Number and types of simulations for analysis

Language pair	Telephone-based remote interpreting	Video-based remote interpreting
IT-EN	1 legal	1 administrative 2 business 3 healthcare
IT-ES	5 tourism	

	1 emergencies	
	1 police	
ES-EN	9 healthcare	
	5 health emergencies	
	1 emergencies	
	1 social services	

The simulations of video-based remote interpreting were video-recorded from the locations of both the interpreter and the clients. The two data streams were combined into a joint video recording to facilitate the analysis. The simulations of telephone-based interpreting were audio recorded in one of the SME partners´ premises. The interactants were role-players chosen from among the staff of the telephone interpreting company with the exception of the telephone interpreters. Over-the-phone interpreters were not informed that they renderings were part of a study. Consequently, their renditions can be considered genuine instances of telephone-based interpreting. In the case of the ES-EN language pair, and with a view to resemble actual practice, which involves both native and non-native speakers of English, some native speakers of English participated in the recording, and four non-native speakers of English from the following countries were recruited for the recordings: Russian, Rumanian, Indian, Italian. They were not part of the company´s staff.

3. Data analysis categories

To analyse the simulations, a basic set of categories was developed and then adapted and refined for telephone and video interpreting respectively. The categories were derived top-down on the basis of existing interpreter-mediated data and of the knowledge gathered through previous empirical research into the quality and

dynamics of dialogue interpreting (e.g. Amato 2007; Bot 2005; Davitti 2012, 2013, 2015a, 2015b, 2016; Davitti and Pasquandrea 2013, 2014, 2017; Baraldi and Gavioli 2012; Mason 1999, 2001, 2009; Pasquandrea 2011; Wadensjö 1998), telephone-based remote interpreting (Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Honberger *et al.* 1996; Lee *et al.* 1997; Wadensjö 1999; Zorzi 2002; Tühne 2003; Ko 2006, Lee 2006, 2007; Jones *et al.* 2003; Arzamina and Wallace 2005; Rosenberg 2007; Locatis *et al.* 2010; Price *et al.* 2012; Varcasia 2013; Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming) and video-mediated remote interpreting in public service settings (Braun 2004, 2007, 2013, 2016a). These categories therefore capture a variety of phenomena at the linguistic, interactional and cognitive levels that are pertinent to telephone- and video-mediated remote interpreting in dialogue settings. The categories were been kept neutral as far as possible with a view to capturing both good and problematic interpreting solutions and a range of coping and adaptation strategies. The final goal is to identify a set of audio and video clips illustrating a variety of practices related to different dimensions of interpreter-mediated interaction, and to use them for the development of educational material. The taxonomies for telephone and video interpreting are presented below.

Testing the categories on the SHIFT dataset represents a second step to this methodology that will lead to further refinement of the taxonomies. This work is currently in progress. Initial insights from this test stage are outlined in section 3:3.2 of this report.

The categories are not presented in hierarchical order, but in a preliminary order for use in training. The explanations in bullet points indicate: (a) what phenomenon/phenomena the category refers to (mostly through short description and exemplification), and (b) relevant coping and adaptation strategies observed in other datasets (where available), which will be expanded upon through in-depth analysis of the SHIFT dataset.

3.1 Categories for telephone-based remote interpreting

We conducted a systematic analysis of the literature on dialogue interpreting in different settings and contrasted this practice with that of telephone-based interpreting after consulting a wealth of empirical data on this technologized remote interpreting modality. Some challenges emerged in the form of phenomena, trends and patterns of telephone-based remote interpreting behaviour. In particular, special attention was drawn to the analysis of: a) reported speech; b) speech markers (tokens, etc.); c) register; d) the effect of pauses at turns, and e) the suprasegmental characterisation of telephone interpreting talk (intonational contours, speaking time, speech rate and articulation rate, pauses, amongst other). Clusters of these components were further analysed in the broader categories established for video-based remote interpreting (see 3.2).

3.2 Categories for videoconference-based remote interpreting

3.2.1 Managing the opening

- Establishing the communication channels (e.g. how is this done in face-to-face vs. video-mediated interaction)
- Introductions (e.g. is the video link explained/referred to, if so how)

Strategies/solutions in video-mediated interaction, e.g.:

  o Importance of agreeing procedures
  o Importance of checking that all participants can see each other

3.2.2 Managing spatial organisation

This category covers any instances of management of this dimension throughout the encounter

- Positioning in relation to the equipment (e.g. do interpreters make adjustments in their own positioning; do interpreters try to get primary participants to

make adjustments

Strategies/solutions in video-mediated interaction, e.g.:

- o Importance of pre-emptive strategies here, evaluation/assessment of the ecology of action before the start of the communicative event (entails awareness of who is seeing what, how, etc.)

3.2.3 Managing turns

- Use of verbal and embodied resources for chunking (e.g. how do interpreters do this in face-to-face and video-mediated interaction, what is problematic, what works well)

  Strategies/solutions in video-mediated interaction, e.g.:

  - o What multimodal resources are used and how (in isolation or combined)

- Use of latching/short overlap (ditto)

  Strategies/solutions in video-mediated interaction, e.g.:

  - o Avoidance of latching and overlap which may cause disruption
  - o Short *décalage* between intervention and start of rendition (split attention mechanism in place)

- Handling of dyadic sequences (various forms, can be interpreter- or other participant-initiated, from requests for clarification to longer chunks)

  Strategies/solutions in video-mediated interaction, e.g.:

  - o Ways of keeping participants included at all time (e.g. clarification for the other party – can be more problematic in VMI)

3.2.4 Managing reference to primary participants

- Instances of third-person use (direct reported speech - X says 'I do this…', or indirect reported speech - X says that he does this)
- Speaker identification (distinguishing) when more than one speaker per site

Strategies/solutions:

- Use of first person throughout and reference to themselves (as interpreters) in the third person
- Additions to distinguish "meaning self" from "meaning other"

3.2.5 Managing prosodic resources/ intonation

- Instances of over-emphasis (when they are likely linked to videoconferencing)
- Instances of voice modulation (e.g. for turn management, see 3.2.3)

3.2.6 Managing embodied resources

Although this is partially covered in turn management and linked to management of spatial organisation, it will be useful to have a separate section on embodied resources for training purposes.

- Eye contact (e.g. to what extent and how do interpreters use eye contact in face-to-face/to what extent and how do they create the illusion of eye contact in video-mediated interaction)
- Distance (from others/from camera), body posture
- Being visible/in shot
- Intonation contours
- Speech rate
- Speaking time
- Silence gaps and intra-turn pauses

Strategies/solutions:

- Signalling to one of the parties to move or self-monitoring

awareness

3.2.7 Managing comprehension problems

- Nature of the problem:
  - Proper names
  - Geographical names (e.g. Friary shopping centre in Guildford example)
  - Addresses and other culture-specific items
- Main cause(s) of the problem:
  - Insufficient background knowledge
  - Speaker lack of clarity
  - Specific acoustic phenomena (e.g. sound cutting out, background noise)

  Strategies/solutions:
  - post-hoc: checking/clarifying; but risk of not noticing the comprehension problem
  - development of pre-emptive strategies: sound check prior to assignment, eliciting names in briefing -> importance of briefing clear to client prior to assignment

3.2.8 Signalling interpreting problems

This can include dealing with listening comprehension problems, but is conceived as broader.

- Use of resources/strategies for signalling an interpreting problem this when the primary participants don't notice it (e.g. what do the interpreters do, how successful is this)

  Strategies/solutions
  - E.g. interpreter becoming more pro-active
  - Combination of resources (redundancy)

3.2.9 Noticing primary participants' problems/relevant behaviours

This refers to particularly 'marked' sequences which may also depend on the speech genre and may be more challenging to handle in VMI or require specific adaptation strategies, e.g. managing impoliteness, managing disagreement, managing concerns.

- Instances of noticing and related strategies
- Instances of <u>not</u> noticing and related strategies

Strategies/solutions for not noticing in particular:

- o Post-hoc through monitoring, e.g. interpreter may notice there was a problem through participants' subsequent utterances
- o Development of pre-emptive strategies: e.g. developing knowledge of communication genre to increase awareness of likely relevant behaviour -> importance of contextualisation of VMI events

3.2.10 Handling objects / artefacts / unexpected events

- Challenges and opportunities arising when handling objects or artefacts in different configurations

Strategies/solutions:

- o Resources when suspect/clients/patients reacts badly

3.2.11 Managing cognitive resources

- Tendencies of over-elaboration as a result of reduced 'presence'/remoteness
- Instances of monitoring or lack of monitoring
- Signs of stress and fatigue (e.g. lapses, blackouts, hesitations, inaccuracies)

Strategies/solutions:

- o Importance of pre-emptive strategies here, e.g. striking a balance between useful elaboration/explicitation (where necessary/appropriate) and avoidance of over-elaboration -> importance of link to understanding of general principles of interpreting

3.2.12 Managing the closing

- Recognising final stages of interaction and bringing it to a close without dragging it

Strategies/solutions:

- o Increased dynamism and condensed renditions
- o Display of embodied behaviour (e.g. greetings)

4. Data coding

In terms of data coding, the recordings are currently scrutinised in their entirety and clips are created for the categories outlined above. At present, these clips focus on one specific phenomenon at a time. Further clips of sequences presenting more than one phenomenon will be produced for training purposes, once the first stage has been completed. The coding is carried out manually. The relatively small amount of data enables manual analysis in a systematic manner. A file document has been created for each video-mediated encounter, which includes:

- Specific filename following the format: [lang1-lang2_meetingcode_type of shot]

- [ITA-EN_business02_screenrecording]

- A concise description of the main features of the specific interpreter-mediated event

```
Nurse-patient consultation (occupational health)
·   fairly quick question and answer exchange
·   explanation of various procedures for different tests requiring artefact manipulation, use of
    embodied resources and moving in the physical interactional space for participants
·   Some terminology used by the nurse, but also explained in lay terms for the patient
·   Starts off with first person used by INT, then moving towards third person/reported speech
·   All views available for this interaction (combined one used)
·   Very close view of the interpreter, frontal, forehead partially cut off
```

- A table listing the selected clips, associating a category to them and with a column where the coder can add free comments on the specific passage, what was noticed, any links to other coded stretches, etc. with a view to capturing potentially interesting elements for the subsequent analysis.

Clip no.	Category	Comments
Clip1	Opening	Participants' introduction: all oriented towards the screen. Seems to drag slightly (name repeated three times, computer adjusted by the nurse to make the patient more visible.
Clip2	Opening	Establishing what they are there for: nurse speaking slowly and explaining the purpose of the meeting, what they are going to do, eye contact maintained between INT-NURSE, INT using acknowledgment tokens 'ok', attempting to take turn via overlap, then turn relinquished by NURSE. All this contextual information edited by INT, who focuses only on the tests. CFR: OPENING in MEDICAL CERTIFICATE [00.00-1.22] event where INT asks whether the patient knows already some of the information provided by the nurse (i.e. whether he is informed of the tests to take, etc.)
Clip8	Turns	Use of latching/short overlap on the part of the interpreter – attempt at whispered interpreting? Causing to much disruption so swiftly reverted to dialogic.

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Funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union

4. Telephone Interpreting for Health Care Service: Potential Problems and Solutions

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0. Introduction

The name of the SHIFT project contains its aim: "*Shaping Interpreters of the Future and of Today"*. It is precisely with this aim in mind that this paper presents an analysis and discussion of interpreter-mediated health care service calls.

Today technology pervades all fields of life, and interpreting is not an exception. In recent years, the use of "remote" interpreting based on computer video links and mobile phones has increased exponentially. This is not only the result of technological advances but also of European societies becoming increasingly multilingual and multicultural because of migration flows and governments trying to guarantee access to public services to non-native speakers who live permanently or temporarily in the country but do not speak the language, at the same time also trying to cut costs because of growing budget constraints. This work focuses on interpreting on the phone for health services in Spain and aims at highlighting some potential problems and solutions related to this specific interpreting mode which, as we will see, poses different challenges compared to interpreting in face-to-face encounters or conferences (see section 5:2.1).

1. Interpreting service calls

A service call is generally defined as an interaction where a user/client calls a service/institution to present a request and the call receiver decides if and how to respond to the caller's request (Thüne and Leonardi 2003; Varcasia 2013). Service calls may involve different areas: business, legal, social and health care services among others. Often these calls are recorded by the service provider for legal reasons (e.g. stipulating a verbal agreement) or for quality control purposes (e.g. to check the operators' performance). In the case of health care services and emergencies there are dedicated phone numbers in many countries: 118 in Italy, 911 in the United States, 112 in Spain. Interpreting on the phone is a form of remote interpreting in which one or more participants in an interaction who do not speak the same language and are not in the same place communicate through an interpreter who can be in the same place of one of the participants or in a completely different one. As mentioned above, the large diffusion of this form of interpreting (together with videoconference interpreting) is the natural consequence of technological advances as well as social evolution. In the health care sector, remote interpreting derives from specific social phenomena that characterized the 20th century as migratory flows, freedom of movement and globalization which have made our societies more and more multi-cultural and multi-ethnic while the economic situation increasingly requires cost cutting in service provision, especially in the public sector both at national level and in international organizations.

1.1 Advantages and disadvantages of remote interpreting

Remote interpreting offers some advantages to institutions/service providers and users (see section 1). They include: a) immediate or almost immediate availability of the interpreter (Kelly 2008; Braun 2012); b) saving travel expenses (ib.); c) finding interpreters of languages of lesser diffusion more easily (ib.); d) more security and safety, e.g. in case of questioning of aggressive or violent detainees/suspects or in case of a car accident, where the interpreter can translate from a safe place (Andres and Falk 2009; Braun 2012, 2014, 2015); e) more privacy for the patient in the field of health care (Kelly 2008). There are also some advantages for the interpreters: they can find work even if they are based in peripheral or remote areas of a country (Lee 2007) and working hours are more flexible (ib.). But besides convenience for service users, interpreters, service providers and institutions, there are also disadvantages for all participants (see section 5, 2.1) in a remotely interpreter-mediated service call: first of all, there is a lack of social "presence" in remote interactions which makes *rapport* building more difficult for speakers compared to face-to-face interactions (Ellis 2004; Ozolins 2011). Secondly, there is a lack of some communication components such as visual, tactile and kinetic (Poyatos 2002) with an ensuing communicative "uncertainty" between participants. Some authors (Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Ozolins 2011; Braun 2015) noticed in their studies that speakers in remote interactions tend to rephrase or repeat their utterances because they do not feel sure they have made themselves understood since they have no access to feedback from other speakers' gestures or face expression. And last but not least there can be difficulties in communication due to poor sound quality (Ellis 2004; Causo 2012).

Interpreters seem to be the most disadvantaged party in a telephone interaction. First of all, they have no access to contextual information or any other input except for the audio, and this generates fatigue as the interaction goes on

(Andres and Falk 2009; Braun 2015). Secondly, there is a huge variety of topics that can be at issue in a service call and it is impossible to predict what the object of the call will be: this means that interpreters cannot prepare for a specific telephone call they have to interpret (Rosenberg 2007). Moreover, it is difficult for speakers who do not see each other to organize turn taking and this generates for the interpreter and additional need to coordinate turn-taking (Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Wadensjö 1999). The communicative "uncertainty" mentioned above was found to have an impact on interpreters too who tend to "do more" than interpreting to ensure successful communication (Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Ozolins 2011; Braun 2015). Finally, poor sound quality is particularly frustrating for interpreters who are supposed to facilitate communication between people who do not share the same language and culture only on the basis of what they can hear.

Despite all the shortcomings mentioned above, most studies agree that with well-functioning equipment, good preparation and a high level of experience of interpreters and other participants most of the disadvantages mentioned above can be managed and overcome (Andres and Falk 2009; Braun 2012). It is precisely specific features of telephone communication and potential problems and their management by interpreters that we are going to discuss in the following paragraphs on the basis of real data collected in the framework of the SHIFT project.

3 Data collection, transcription and analysis method

The set of data presented in this study was provided by Dualia Teletraducciones[3], a company based in Mondragón (Basque Country, Spain)

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[3] http://www.dualia.es

which provides telephone interpreting services. It was set up in 2003 to respond to the needs of Spanish companies having increasingly frequent contacts with foreign business partners. From the initial business sector the company expanded and entered in the health care, tourism and social services sectors. Its activity can be broken down as follows: health care 48%, tourism and social services 35% and corporate 17%.

The data set analysed in this study includes: 6 calls from health care service users to set or change a date of an appointment with a doctor or a nurse; 5 medical emergency calls, 1 call from a hospital to follow up a patient in palliative care; 2 calls from an emergency room where doctor and patient are face-to-face while the interpreter works from another location, and 1 call from a medical day centre where the doctor and the mother of a paediatric patient are face-to-face while the interpreter is in another location. When the operator or doctor, the foreign caller and the interpreter are in different places they use a three-party telephone conversation system that allows all three speakers to hear everything that is said. When the doctor and the patient/user are face-to-face they have one phone that they pass to each other after every exchange with the interpreter who works from another location.

A summary of the service calls studied in this paper is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Data set analysed in this paper.

File name	Topic	Duration	Languages	Participants and their location
Alumno en prácticas Ashley 2013 cita médica	Appointment with doctor	4'43"	Spanish and English	Operator, service user and interpreter all in remote
Alumno en prácticas Ashley 2013 paliativos	Follow up palliative care	6'67"	Spanish and English	Doctor, called party and interpreter all in remote
Cambio de cita para	Pregnant patient	5'21"	Spanish and	Operator, service user and

embarazada	appointment change		English	interpreter all in remote
Cita de enfermería	Appointment with nurse	6'48"	Spanish and English	Operator, service user and interpreter all in remote
Cita médica 03	Appointment with doctor	5'15"	Spanish and English	Operator, service user and interpreter all in remote
Cita médica 04	Appointment with doctor no prescription	4'18"	Spanish and English	Operator, service user and interpreter all in remote
Cita médica 05	Appointment with doctor	7'26"	Spanish and English	Operator, service user and interpreter all in remote
Diabético	Diabetic patient food problem	4'06"	Spanish and English	Operator, service user and interpreter all in remote
Emergencia tras partido de fútbol 2	Broken leg	3'31"	Spanish and English	Doctor and service user face-to-face (ER), interpreter in remote
Emergencia tras partido de fútbol	Broken leg	2'21	Spanish and English	Doctor and patient face-to-face (ER), interpreter in remote
Esguince de tobillo	Sprained ankle	2'30"	Spanish and English	Doctor and patient face-to-face (ER), interpreter in remote
Solicitud de ambulancia caída de marido	Emergency: Request for an ambulance	5'21"	Spanish and English	Operator, service user and interpreter all in remote
Sotogrande golf	Emergency: request for an ambulance	3'58"	Spanish and English	Operator, service user and interpreter in remote
Vacunas	Vaccination checks and appointment	4'13"	Spanish and English	Doctor and service user face-to-face, interpreter in remote
Quemadura por aceite cocinado	Accidental burn with oil while cooking	1'57"	Spanish and French	Doctor and patient face-to-face (ER), interpreter in remote

Each file name corresponds to an mp3 audio file and a word file containing the transcription of that recording. All the recordings of the calls were transcribed by either a researcher or one MA interpreting student who wrote his thesis on this subject and revised by a different researcher[4] on the basis of transcription conventions jointly defined by the SHIFT project partners[5]. All the files where shared with all SHIFT project partners.

Data were studied adopting a conversation analysis (CA) (section 2:3) approach. Sequences of talk were analysed on a turn-by-turn basis without losing sight of the structure of service calls studied in a monolingual context by different authors (Schegloff 1979, 2002; Zimmerman 1984, 1991, 1992; ten Have 2002; Zorzi and Monzoni 2003; Varcasia 2013).

2.1 Participants and interpreting protocols

All the calls are simulations made by DUALIA. Two different profiles of interpreters are at work: a) trained professional interpreters who have no

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[4] My deeply felt gratitude to Matteo Paoletti for transcribing some of the calls and to María Jesús González whose invaluable experience in active listening was crucial in revising most of the transcriptions.

[5] Transcription conventions are derived from conversation analysis (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1978) and also used by Varcasia (2013) in her book on business and service telephone conversations. ?: a rising vocal pitch or intonation; **Bold**: emphasis; CAPITAL: loud voice, shouting; Lo:ng: stretched sounds; °quiet°: words spoken in a low voice; >speed-up<: increased speed of delivery; <speed-down>: decreased speed of delivery; [talk]: square brackets indicate overlapping talk; =: latching, contiguous utterances or continuation of the same utterance in the next line; (.): micro pause, up to 1 second; (2.0): length of pause in approximate seconds; ((cough)): sound or feature of talk not easily transcribable; xxx: inaudible or doubts about hearing by the transcriber; →: analyst's signal of a significant line; wor-: truncated word; /: truncated utterance; A: service provider (it can be calling or called party); B: service user (it can be calling or called party): I: interpreter.

experience in telephone interpreting because they were recently hired by DUALIA at the time of the recordings, and b) interpreting students who had either finished or were about to finish their studies and were following a specific training on telephone interpreting at DUALIA when recordings were made. The calling and receiving parties on the phone are actors or interpreters who have experience in this interpreting mode. They play the service user and provider roles and their conversation has the aim of testing and assessing the skills of the novice telephone interpreters.

All the interpreters who work with DUALIA have to follow specific protocols developed by the company in order to make interpreter-mediated communication more efficient. There are three different protocols specifically tailored for different types of calls. One protocol applies to health care routine calls (to make appointments with doctors or other health care professionals for a medical examination or prescription), one deals with emergency calls and one specifically refers to support services for victims of abuse.

In all types of calls first of all the interpreters must check if the service user has called the interpreter of the right language for the interaction at hand. Interpreters have to speak loud and slowly (see section 9:3.4) placing emphasis on the most important pieces of information and inform the other speakers if there are sound problems, especially if they can cause loss of information. Interpreters may not add any information (see section 5:2.1) but they can decide to select what to translate, for instance producing a summary of an account or eliminating digressions made by the callers/service users. Interpreters are required to be impartial (see section 5:2.1.4.2 and section 9:2.1) and refrain from expressing their opinion, they are bound to confidentiality and must be polite and patient with all speakers avoiding to break the communication flow or express their view even if they suspect that the caller/service user is lying.

In health care routine calls the interpreter is allowed to take initiatives at certain stages. These calls have a recurring series of questions about the caller's name, surname and health insurance card number, the name of the hospital or the practitioner who usually follows the health care user. After the operator has found out the reason for the call with the help of the interpreter, if it is a call to make an appointment with a doctor for instance, the interpreter may proceed to ask the user's personal details without having to wait for the operator to ask for them, provided that after collecting all the relevant information the interpreter translates it accurately to the operator. Basically, the interpreter is given some freedom to act in order to expedite the service provision cooperating with the operator of the health care service.

In emergency calls the interpreter must always bear in mind that the main objective is a fast and effective transmission of the message and therefore s/he has freedom to select what to translate. Interpreters are invited to translate only what is relevant for the purpose of responding to the emergency in the shortest time possible, omitting irrelevant information or digressions made by the caller. The interpreter can also ask specific questions aimed at obtaining the information needed to provide the emergency service. In the case of a car accident, for instance, the caller may be in a state of confusion/shock or panic and the interpreter is allowed to take the initiative and ask questions like "What is the name of the street you are in?" or "How many injured people are there?" without having to wait for the operator to pose those questions. The interpreter must translate accurately and completely all the information to the operator immediately and then go back to the "more usual" interpreting mode, that is to say translating every turn after a speaker has produced it.

Basically, the protocols contain an implicit request for the interpreter:

producing a fast (see section 9:3) and accurate rendering of relevant information, and avoiding repetitions or lengthy formulations. This is a demanding task especially if we consider that it is not possible to prepare in advance the topic of the call and that the interpreter must be ready to deal with situations involving a lot of emotions and stress. These two reasons alone justify the need for specific training before venturing in the territory of telephone interpreting.

3. Managing openings and agreeing on procedures

As mentioned before (see section 3), monolingual service calls have been extensively studied and authors generally agree on a specific structure of this particular type of interaction: 1) pre-opening: the phone rings and opens a communication channel; 2) opening /identification/recognition: the institution or service receiving the call answers the phone and self-identifies, the caller recognizes that s/he has reached the wanted service or institution; 3) request by the caller for a service (for instance an ambulance in case of an emergency); 4) interview by the operator (of the service or institution) who asks a series of questions in order to understand if and how to respond to the caller's request; 5) response to the request presented by the caller, and 6) closing[6]: usually expressions of thanks and greetings (Schegloff 1979, 2002; ten Have 2002; Zorzi and Monzoni 2003; Varcasia 2013). The data collected during and for the SHIFT project differ from monolingual service calls as there is an additional identification and recognition phase (2) occurring between the operator and the interpreter and not between the operator and the caller. The operator acts as a service user who needs an interpreting

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[6] For a detailed description of each phase see Amato in Report 1.

service and DUALIA's interpreters are the service providers who self-identify. During the opening stage there is another peculiar activity carried out by the two parties on the phone: checking that the operator has called the interpreter for the right language as shown in examples 1 and 2.

Example 1

```
1. I: hola buenas tarde me llamo Sam puedo ayudarles?
2. A: buenas tarde:s soy la doctora Perez García mire:: tengo un
      paciente: una paciente norteamericana
```

Example 2

```
4. A: hola buenas tardes soy Carlos de Salud Responde (.) tengo un
      alertante en inglés (.) podría pasarle con él?
5. I: sí por supuesto
```

In example 1, after the phone rings the interpreter produces the typical answer of a service provider who is ready to attend a client/user in turn 1. Then the doctor self-identifies and announces to the interpreter that she needs to talk to an American-speaking patient (turn 2). In example 2, instead, in turn 4 the operator self-identifies, like in monolingual service calls, and then immediately checks that the interpreter is able to communicate with an English-speaking caller. As we will see, the identification of the caller occurs at a later stage in our data of interpreter-mediated service calls, differently from monolingual calls. Before that phase there can be one or more turns containing the request of the caller as it is illustrated in example 3.

Example 3

```
        4.  A: hola buenas tardes soy Carlos de Salud Responde (.)
               tengo un alertante en inglés (.) podría pasarle con
               él?
        5.  I: sí por supuesto
        6.  A: pues le paso
        (3)
        7.  B: HELLO::
  →     8.  I: hello (.) hello sir how can I help you?
  →     9.  B: hi morning I need to make an appointment please
  →     10. I: hello?
  →     11. B: e:: I need to make an appointment please
        12. I: OK ah::: (2) hola compañero?
        13. A: sí dígame=
  →     14. I: =sí >el señor quiere hacer una cita< le pido: los
               datos:: personales no? >el número de tarjeta sanitaria<
               supongo?
  →     15. A: sí [por favor]
  →     16. I:     [y su nombre]
  →     17. A: si fuese tan amable
```

Example 3 contains the opening analysed in example 1 followed by an exchange between the interpreter and the caller who presents the reason for the call in turn 9 and repeats it in turn 11. In turn 12 the interpreter produces an acknowledgment ("OK") and addresses the operator to signal that she is ready to talk to him and translate what the caller said. In turn 14, after translating into Spanish the reason for the call, she asks the operator to confirm that she can proceed with the usual routine questions aimed at obtaining the caller's personal details and insurance card number. The operator confirms that he agrees and shows his appreciation for the interpreter's initiative with two expression of politeness in turns 15 ("yes please") and in turn 17 ("if you would be so kind").

In this excerpt one instance of a sound problem can be observed. In turn 9 the caller explains the reason for the call but the interpreter cannot hear and signals this by repeating the word "hello" with a rising tone (turn 10).

The caller immediately understands that his previous turn was not received by the interpreter and repeats it with more emphasis in his voice. As mentioned in paragraph 2.1 one of the disadvantages of interpreting on the phone is that there can be acoustic problems and information may be lost. In this case, the interpreter starts a repair and obtains the information she had not heard. As we will see in the following paragraph, comprehension cannot be taken for granted on the phone because of poor quality of the sound, underground noises or echo.

4. Managing comprehension problems: poor sound quality

The following excerpts illustrate two cases (but there are more in our data) of comprehension problems generated by poor sound quality. If the equipment does not work properly, if it is hard to hear what the other parties say on the phone, if there are background noises, the interpreter's work can become really exhausting and frustrating. DUALIA's protocols state that the interpreter has to inform the other parties about sound problems. It does not say that the interpreter may decide to discontinue the service if the quality of the sound is insufficient. So basically, the problem can be signalled but the interpreter cannot decide to bring the call to a close. The implication is that the interpreter should continue translating unless the other parties decide to close the call because they cannot hear.

Example 4 below shows an instance of bad sound conditions due to a constant echo that makes it difficult to hear what the service user is saying.

Example 4

```
      4. I: I am going to be your interpreter today how can I help you?
      5. B: hello I would like to have a flu vaccination appointment for
         my daughter please ((echoing voice))
→     6. I: what kind of appointment please?
→     7. B: flu vaccination appointment ((echo))
         (1.5)
→     8. I: ah ca- can you can you repeat please?
→     9. B: yes I would like to have a flu vaccination appointment for my
         daughter ((echo))
→    10. I: a vaccination appointment isn't it?
→    11. B: yes ((echoing voice))
```

In the sequence above it takes seven turns before the reason for the call is at least partially grasped by the interpreter. As a matter of fact, in turn 10 the interpreter shows he has understood that the caller wants a vaccination appointment but we do not know if the interpreter heard that the vaccination appointment is for the caller's daughter. This is not due to the interpreter poor knowledge of English but to a constant echo that makes acoustic conditions really hard and consequently has a negative impact on communication. In an emergency call this type of sound problem may jeopardise a prompt and timely provision of rescue or other emergency service.

Example 5

```
        39. I: eh muy bien (.) eh madame? can you please give me
            your name?
        40. B: it:'s Susanne Anne Tanne ((very difficult to hear
            because of echo))
        (1)
→       41. I: eh compañero eh lo ha entendido?
→       42. A: no podría repetírmelo?
→       43. I: madame can you please repeat your name please?
→       44. B: Suzanne Anne Tanne ((echoing makes it difficult to
            hear))
        (2)
→       45. I: eh compañero Susana?
        (.)
→       46. A: xxx?
→       47. I: o algo así suena su appellido
        (.)
→       48. A: cómo? perdone? el appellido cómo?
→       49. I: Susana su nombre y el appellido eh (1) eh (.) Tan
            o algo así suena si puede comprobarlo con el número de su
            tarjeta? (.) bueno es el de la hija claro (.) eh: le voy
            a decir que me deletree: el appellido espere un segundo
            por [favor]
```

Example 5 is taken from the same call as example 4. Despite the bad sound conditions, the interpreter keeps translating, and when the lady pronounces her name the interpreter's task becomes almost a "mission impossible". After two attempts, the interpreter grasps only the first name of the caller, but he is not sure he has understood it correctly. The fact that the interpreter cannot hear properly seems to affect his self-confidence. Although he has understood the first name correctly he expresses doubts in turn 47 where he says "or it sounds like this her name". Rather than asking the lady to repeat her family name once again, the interpreter asks the operator to find out the lady's full name on the basis of her insurance card number. This does not seem to be a good solution since the insurance

card number provided by the lady is her daughter's. An alternative strategy the interpreter could have adopted from the beginning would have been to ask the caller to spell her name and surname, and indeed in turn 49 the interpreter finally decides to ask for the spelling as a last resort and finally gets the name right in the following sequence that is not included in the example. As we will see in the next paragraph (5.1), asking to spell a proper name or the name of a place is a sound strategy: it saves time, interpreter's energy and probably frustration, and it expedites communication. Obviously, the interpreter needs to have been trained or have gained experience in telephone interpreting in order to distinguish between his/her own personal weaknesses or limitations and situational difficulties. If sound conditions are poor an interpreter should not be afraid to ask the other parties to make a little extra effort to communicate successfully. And above all interpreters should be aware that they do not lose face if adverse external factors prevent them from hearing what is being said.

4.1. Managing comprehension problems: names of people, places and drugs

Proper names have been frequently identified as a challenge for interpreters and translators (Gile 1984; Ballard 2001; Viezzi 2004; Amato and Mack 2011). First of all, they are culture-bound elements that often cannot be found in the target culture and language, and secondly they often have to be reproduced exactly as pronounced by the foreign language speaker, without any possibility for the interpreter to process this piece of information at a deep semantic level, find its meaning and a way to render it in another language.

There is no general agreement in the literature about a definition of

"culture-bound" terms. Some authors claim that cultural items mainly refer to extra linguistic fields (names of places, flora, fauna, social institutions) while others argue that they include intralinguistic and pragmatic phenomena (idioms, proverbs, puns). Nor is there a common terminology:

These 'problem triggers', in Gile's (1995) terminology, are 'culture-specific items' in the source text, variously referred to also as 'realia', 'cultural references', 'cultural markers', 'culture-bound references' or 'culture bumps' (Leppihalme 1996), and notoriously hard to define (Pöchhacker 2007: 129).

There is however a general consensus that names are potentially problematic for interpreters to render. But differently from simultaneous conference interpreting for instance, in a dialogue interpreting setting the interpreter often has direct access to the speakers. This situational factor represents a "resource" that can be used for different purposes, like asking for clarifications, repetitions and explanations. Another possible use of this "resource" is asking a speaker to spell a proper name, to pronounce it slowly and clearly or in a loud voice as in example 6 below that shows a good practice/strategy adopted by the interpreter.

Example 6

```
            32. A: de acuerdo y su nombre?
                (.)
    →       33. I: sir could you please say your name out loud?
            34. B: yeah it's John Smith
                (.)
            35. A: vale de acuerdo
```

In turn 33 the interpreter asks the caller to "say his name out loud". The

result is that the name is heard also by the operator (since this is a three-party telephone conversation, (see paragraph 3) and it is not necessary for the interpreter to reproduce it to the operator. But to take initiatives like this one the interpreter should not feel in a situation of "communicative uncertainty" (see 2.1) and should have self-confidence. Being aware of one's interpreting skills reduces uncertainty about the ability to manage a difficult acoustic situation and prevents the interpreter from losing confidence in his/her interpreting abilities on the grounds that s/he cannot get a proper name on the phone the first time it is pronounced by a foreign speaker.

In example 7 the interpreter is not intimidated by names of drugs (mis)pronounced by the husband of a lady in palliative care that she has to reproduce accurately to the doctor. When she hears the first name of a drug she immediately asks for the spelling to make sure she gets the name correctly.

Example 7

```
       20. A: sí mira eh quiero preguntarle eh: qué medicación le
               ha::n: le han:: recetado a su a >su señora esposa<
               vale? a ver si:: (.) está siguiendo el tratamiento
               correctamente
       21. I: de acuerdo ((breath)) ah sir could you please tell me
               (.) the (.) medicine that your wife has been
               prescribed?
       22. B: they have ah nupaken
       (2)
→      23. I: nupaken? [could you]
       24. B:          [nupa ken]
→          I:                       could you please spell that for
       me?=
       25. B: =yes it's (.) en iu
       26. I: en iu
       27. B: pi ei
       28. I: pi ei =
       29. B: =gi i en
       30. I: gi i en [OK]
       31. B:          [and al-]and also another one (.) I have a
               lot   of them it's peg fil - pegfilgrastim
       (2)
```

As mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, also geographical names can be difficult to understand or recognise in order to render them accurately. Again, this is a potential problem that can be solved if the interpreter adopts the appropriate discourse initiatives. In the following example 8 the interpreter's activity is crucial to understand the location of the caller who is asking for an ambulance for the husband.

Example 8

```
          24. A: mm vale (.) eh:: un momentito (4.2) vale eh: por favor
                 eh: pregúntele eh:: dónde se encuentra
          25. I: eh: buen- madam? eh: where are you?
          26. B: OK I'm in::: Dinama- Dinamadina?
       →  27. I: Dinamadina?
       →  28. B: yes
       →  29. I: OK (1) en Dinamedina? o:: Madina? (1.2) le dice algo?
       →  30. A: eh: no
       →  31. I: eh: madame in what city are you?
       →  32. B: in Malaga
          33. I: in Málaga [OK]
          34. B:           [yes]
          (.)
       →  35. I: en Málaga
          (1)
       →  36. A: eh: pregúntele si podría ser en Benalmádena
          37. I: eh: madame might it be Benalmádena?
       →  38. B: eh: yes I think it's the Spanish eh: (.)
                 °pronunciation° yes
          (2)
```

Example 8 is taken from an emergency call. The caller's pronunciation makes it difficult to understand where she is, a piece of information, which is essential for the operator to send an ambulance. In turn 27 the interpreter correctly reproduces the name of the place mentioned by the caller but apparently, the name does not correspond to any geographical location as shown in turns 29 and 30 where the interpreter asks the operator if he has ever heard of this place and he answers negatively. The interpreter decides to ask the caller to give her the name of the city where she is calling from. This is a successful initiative because having identified the town with the interpreter's help (Málaga), the operator has an intuition about the geographical name the lady wants to communicate and the lady in turn 38 confirms that the right geographical location has been identified by the operator.

These last two paragraphs have illustrated some of the problems that can be caused by the communication medium (the phone) when the sound is poor and/or by the type of information to convey: proper names, names of places and drugs that can be mispronounced but must be accurately conveyed by the interpreter to the operator/doctor. The analysis of data has shown that there are resources available and accessible to the interpreter to manage and solve these problems under condition that the interpreter knows them and is self-confident enough to take initiatives and to ask the other participants to help him/her in transmitting information correctly, for instance by asking the caller to speak loud or to spell the name of a drug.

5. Managing the object of the call: understanding the service request

Sometimes the opening of a call contains more than just the identification/ recognition/language check mentioned in paragraph 4, as is illustrated in the following example 9.

Example 9

```
           1. I: hola buenas tarde me llamo Sam puedo ayudarles?
      →    2. A: buenas tarde:s soy la doctora Perez García mire:: tengo
               un paciente: una paciente norteamericana
           (.)
           3. I: sí
      →    4. A: que:: eh:: que no sé lo que me dice pero::: me dice que:
               necesita un hueso roto y necesita sus servicios para
               pode:r comunicarnos entre:: nosotras
           5. I: vale (.) de acuerdo ((echo))
           (.)
      →    6. A: mire:: ahora eh quiero que:: le pregunte::: (.) que es
               lo que le ha pasado:: a::: a la paciente a la señorita
               que tengo aquí
           7. I: vale (.) hello? ((echo))
```

Excerpt (9) is taken for the same interaction of example 1. The doctor is in an emergency room with the patient while the interpreter is on the phone in another location. The doctor informs the interpreter about what will be the object of the interaction according to her – "a broken bone"- and instructs the interpreter how to proceed, thus making it easier for her to understand what the call is about and to project how the interaction will proceed. It may be interesting to note that talk may contain inconsistent expressions: the doctor literally says "she needs a broken bone" while she obviously means that the person in front of her needs her medical assistance because of a broken bone. Despite this disfluency, the interpreter understands and does not ask for a repair or a clarification. Conversely, in the following example 10, since the doctor is not able to provide any information to the interpreter the latter takes the initiative and offers the doctor to ask the necessary questions on her behalf. The doctor accepts this offer, and consequently in this case questions will follow a different "flow": they will not go from the doctor to the interpreter and then to the caller but directly from the interpreter to the caller. This is a good example of cooperation

between the doctor and the interpreter who agree about how to conduct the interview of the caller; it also shows that the doctor trusts the interpreter - an essential element for the success of interpreter-mediated communication.

Example 10

```
1. I: Dualia buenas tardes le atiende Lidia ((echo))
2. A: hola buenas tardes (.)soy la doctora. (.) Ana Zamora
      llamo de la de urgencias del hospital de Córdoba Reina
      Sofía (.)[ten
3. I:              [sí
  →  A:               go aquí un señor pero no no soy capaz de
      entenderlo
   (.)
  →  4. I: vale de acuerdo pues (.) si quiere le pasa al teléfono y
      yo le pregunto °por favor°
   (.)
5. A: vale gracias
```

And then there is the ideal world as in example 11 below. This call is made by a doctor who wants to phone a leukemic patient at home to check her health conditions and her compliance with the prescribed palliative care treatment. In this case, the doctor knows everything about the case at hand while the interpreter does not. The following excerpt is the opening sequence.

Example 11

```
     1. I: Dualia buenos días
  →  2. A: hola buenos días (.)mira te llamo del hospital Virgen
           del Rocío (.) de Sevilla (.) soy la doctora Ana Gómez y
           te llamo desde:: eh la s- e::l departamento de::
           oncología (.) mira eh tengo al otro lado de la línea::a
           u::na persona (.) bueno vamos a contactar (.) con u:n
           señor que se llama Robert Hutson y le vamos a preguntar
           por su::: señora esposa ((telephone interference
           noise)) que se llama Margaret porque ella tiene
           leucemia y::: estamos siguiendo: un tratamien- ah bueno
           estamos siguiendo un sistema de seguimiento paliativo
           para ver cómo se encuentra la señora vale?
  →  3. I: (.) de acuerdo (.) me puede repetir el nombre de la:
           mujer?
     4. A: ella se llama Margaret
     5. I: Margaret de acuer[do]
  →  6. A:               [vale?] lo que no sé es si nos cogerá
           el teléfono:: ella o:: o Robert que es su marido
           (.)vale?
     7. I: de acuerdo
     8. A: venga(.) ahora te conecto
     9. I: OK
```

In turn 2, the doctor briefs the interpreter thoroughly about the call that is about to start; she tells her the name of the health care institution and her own name, she specifies the hospital ward she calls from and informs the interpreter that it is case of leukaemia. The doctor also gives the interpreter the name of the person who is going to answer the phone (the patents' husband), the name of the patient and the reason for the call.

In turn 3 the interpreter double checks the patient's name; this could be due by the fact that the doctor's turn contained a lot of information or to the circumstance that the patient and her husband are not present and therefore cannot be seen by the interpreter and it is therefore necessary to double check who is involved in the phone conversation.

In short, the doctor is actually giving an exhaustive briefing to the

interpreter explaining the reason for the call, the type of pathology that will be discussed and specifying even who will answer the phone. This allows the interpreter to anticipate a call that will assess the health conditions of a leukemic patient and will discuss palliative care. She can expect that specific medical questions will be posed and that they will contain technical medical terminology and enquiries about drugs probably including their names. While the interpreter was completely "unprepared" before the telephone rang, from this time on she can formulate expectations about the content of the conversation and get ready to take down notes, write names of drugs or other relevant information.

6. Managing the collection of the caller's personal details and coordinating turn taking

Differently from a monolingual service call where the identification between caller and receiver occurs in the first phase, in the interpreter-mediated interactions analysed in this study the identification of the health care service user or of the patient may occur later on, after the interpreter and operator/doctor identification and recognition and after the reason of the call has been understood by the operator/doctor and the interpreter. Moreover, in monolingual service calls the operator conducts the "interview" phase asking questions to the caller to obtain all the necessary information to decide how to respond to the caller's request, while in our interpreter-mediated health service calls the series of routine questions to acquire the patient's details may be jointly conducted by the operator/doctor and the interpreter. Like in example 12 below, the interpreter can take initiatives to obtain the relevant information without waiting for a question to be asked by the operator or the doctor and then

report the information to the latter after a dyadic exchange with the caller or the patient is closed.

Example 12

```
        (.)
→      9.  I: so you have a broken leg is what you think you can't
            walk
       10. B: yeah I I think I have a broken leg after (.) you know
            we were playing football=
→      11. I: =when did it happen? ((echoing voice))
       12. B: yeah this morning
→      13. I: this morning (.) OK could you please pass the phone to
            the doctor? so I can talk to her? thank you
       14. B: yeah yeah certainly
```

Example 12 is taken from the same interaction of example 10 where the doctor in the emergency room needs to talk to an English-speaking patient. The man tells the doctor through the interpreter that he thinks he broke a leg at the end of a football match. In turn 9, the interpreter summarises the main complaint and receives a confirmation by the patient. In the following turn 11 the interpreter takes the initiative to ask when the accident had happened in order to obtain relevant information to convey to the doctor. In this case, the interpreter is acting with a "mandate" since she had agreed with the doctor to talk directly to the patient. After collecting the necessary information, the interpreter asks the patient to let her talk to the doctor and in the following sequence (not included in the example) the interpreter reports everything to her. If the interpreter had not agreed how to proceed in advance, her behaviour would have excluded the doctor form the exchange, which is a severe protocol infringement. It is interesting to note that in this exchange the interpreter also coordinates turn taking: In turn 13 she signals to the patient that their exchange is over and selects the next speaker by asking

the patient to pass the phone to the doctor. As mentioned already in paragraph 2.1, one of the extra tasks that the interpreter has to perform on the phone due to the lack of visual inputs is coordinating turn taking as we will see also in the next example.

Example 13

```
        1. I: >hola buenas tardes me llamo xxx en qué puedo
              ayudarles?<
        2. A: hola buenas tardes tengo aquí un usuario que parece que
              es de lengua inglesa
        (.)
        3. I: sí de acuerdo
        (3)
    →   4. A: eh:: necesito saber qué le ha occurrido: (.)eh:: de
              dónde es (.) eh: la edad y la dirección por favor
        5. I: vale de acuerdo (2) hello


    [..

        13. I: you are eighty one [and
        14. B:                    [yeah
    →       I:                            and what's your name?
    →   15. B: my name is Peter
        (1)
    →   16. I: Peter what's the full name sir?
    →   17. B: ah it's it's Peter Rufus
    →   18. I: Rufus OK hold on for a moment ah hola compañero? me
              dice que se [llama
        19. A:            [dígame
            I:                    Peter Rufus [tie]
        20. A:                                [sì]
            I:                                    ne ochenta y un
              años y ...
```

Example 13 is taken from a call where a patient asks for an ambulance because he believes he has eaten something harmful for him since he is diabetic. In turn 4 the operator asks the interpreter to collect information about what happened, where the caller is (located), his age and his address. The interpreter follows the instructions and adds a question of her own initiative to know the caller's full name when the caller answers

providing only his first name. The interpreter knows that this is a relevant piece of information for the operator. Thus, the collection of the caller's personal details is conducted through teamwork by the operator and the interpreter who also manages turn allocation. In turn 18 the interpreter asks the caller to hold on a moment and then switches language and addresses the operator in Spanish. This is a recurring pattern in our data: the interpreter signals to one of the speakers in his/her language that she needs to talk to the other speaker and asks him/her to hold on until the exchange with the other speaker has been completed before another exchange can start. Differently from interpreter-mediated face-to-face encounters, all examples discussed so far show at least at some points two dyadic interactions (Gavioli 2012) rather than a triadic one (Mason 2001; Wadensjö 1998): the interpreter talks to one party at a time in one language and then puts that party on hold while she talks to the other translating what has been said.

7. Concluding remarks

The analysis of 15 interpreter-mediated health care service calls highlighted some recurring features that make these interactions different from monolingual health service calls. At the beginning of interpreter-mediated calls the identification and recognition phase takes place between the operator and the interpreter while in monolingual service calls this phase involves the caller/user and the operator. The caller/user's identification occurs at a later stage in interpreter-mediated calls, usually after the presentation of the request or reason for the call by the caller/service user.

In monolingual service calls the operator interviews the caller in order to

understand the request and collect relevant information. In interpreter-mediated calls, instead, the interview is often carried out jointly by the operator and the interpreter who agree about how to proceed and work as a team to achieve the same goal: collecting information as accurately and as quickly as possible. This may generate dyadic exchanges between the caller or the operator/doctor and the interpreter who does not translate after every turn produced by each speaker but may decide to postpone the translation until the exchange with the caller or the operator is closed.

The fact that speakers cannot see each other makes turn allocation more difficult than in face-to-face interactions and it is often the interpreter who coordinates turn taking putting one speaker on hold while s/he translates/talks to the other or selecting the next speaker by switching language.

Both poor sound conditions and the occurrence of proper names of people, places and drugs represent a challenge for interpreters working with an acoustic input only. Our data show that interpreters who are aware of these difficulties and are well trained and self-confident are able to adopt successful strategies and solutions.

Overall the calls analysed here show that when the operator and the interpreter trust each other and have a clear understanding of their roles they work together successfully. To reach this level of synergy, though, joint training of health care professionals and interpreters is essential.

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5. Affordances of telephone interpreting in medical settings versus on-site medical dialogue interpreting: challenges and opportunities

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0. Introduction

Telephone interpreting (TI) is the "Cinderella among interpreting domains" (Pollit and Haddon 2005: 189). No dedicated, specific training has been put in place in higher education institutions on the assumption that this mode of interpreting amounts to dialogue interpreting applied to over-the-phone interaction, and as such, it is just a matter of applying the same theories and techniques (ib.: 189). Since the beginning of telephone interprerting as a professional practice, many scholars have risen concerns about its lack of quality, determined by the limitations of the aural medium of the technology of the telephone, and constrained by limitations of no access to visual information (Hornberger *et al.* 1996; Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Ko 2006; Lee 2007; Kelly 2008; Locatis *et al.* 2010), and diminished rapport (Price *et al.* 2012). Demand for remote interpreting in medical settings, particularly for telephone interpreting has been extraordinary since 1970s.

It is not realistic to expect public healthcare institutions to provide professional interpreting services catering for all languages around the clock. This explains the extraordinarily growth of medical remote

interpreting or Telemedicine and Telecare. As a matter of fact, there is a prestigious specialised journal bearing this very same name. In the USA, for instance, The American Medical Association has provided guidelines "to provide for the effective and appropriate utilization of different types of interpreters, including on-site interpreters, telephone interpreters (…)" (Hsieh 2012), and some authors have issued suggestions for best practices (Causo 2012). In the same vein, video-based remote interpreting is widely used to cater for services for rural communities and emergency services (ib.: 938).

Although empirical systematic investigation into quality related issues in TI is still scarce, some scholars believe that telephone interpreting "will remain the most likely medium for remote spoken language interpreting" (Ozolins 2011). A look at the TI literature shows that patients and healthcare providers have expressed high levels of satisfaction with remote interpreting, as information content seemed to be affected. However, there was a clear preference for on-site interpreting, because rapport is more easily built in face-to-face interaction than over-the-phone (Price *et al*. 2012). Satisfaction with video-based remote interpreting was much higher than with telephone interpreting in medical settings. Others point to a shift in trends; with medical remote interpreting turning from the phone to the video through mobile phones or tablets. A clear preference for video-based remote interpreting vs. telephone interpreting by health providers has been widely documented (Azarmina and Wallace 2005; Kelly 2008; Locatis *et al.* 2010). However, when the equipment allows and simultaneous interpreting was conducted, simultaneous telephone interpreting seems to be favoured by health providers over on-site consecutive interpreting (Hornbeger *et al.* 1996). In the simultaneous telephone interpreting modality, doctors´ speech time increased (10%), as

more questions were posed, and patients spent more time talking to their physicians (28%), and provided them with more detailed information (Hornbeger *et al.* 1996). But it is worth mentioning that equipment for simultaneous interpreting is costly and scarce in medical settings. Consequently, it seems that in the coming time and in certain countries medical remote interpreting may tend to be conducted via video more than via the phone (Locatis *et al*. 2010). But one should not lose sight from the fact that video-based remote interpreting brings its own challenges (Moser-Mercer 2005; Mouzourakis 2006; Braun and Taylor 2012). Research on monolingual video-based interaction documents that the kinds of coordination problems posited for telephone interaction assumingly because of lack of access to visual cues come into play even when the interactants are exposed to more sensory cues, such as visual information (Hutchby 2001: 129-30). The same applies to video-based remote interpreting.

It remains clear that despite the affordances the telephone interaction allows, this specific medium of interpreted communication seems no to be appropriate for all situations such as: a) long court proceedings (Grabau and Gibbons 1996: 323); b) some types of mental health evaluation, therapy (Wadensjö 1999; Newman 2003); as well as c) encounters involving many participants and/or encounters taking longer 30 minutes (Hewitt 2000: 28). Many of these assumptions should be taken with a pinch of salt, as they have not been empirically tested. Many more systematic and methodologically cohesive studies need to be conducted on telephone interaction itself (Braun 2015), and on the challenges and affordances of the practice in these environments where telephone interpreting has been ruled out.

Whether we like it or not, telephone interpreting is now a long established

professional practice employing thousands of interpreters throughout the world and telemedicine is here to stay.

1. Interpreter-mediated technologized remote telephone interpreting: challenges and opportunities

1.1 Challenges of remote telephone interpreting vs. on-site dialogue interpreting

Many of the more widely cited challenges of remote interpreting in the literature, in particularly with regard to over-the-phone interpreting, are anecdotal evidence from relatively small studies, and opinions unsupported by empirical research such as the lack of access to non-verbal information, lack of screening of practitioners, little concern for quality, or the deep-seated wish to replace on-site interpreting (Hornberger *et al.* 1996; Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Ko 2006; Lee 2007; Kelly 2008; Locatis *et al.* 2010; Price *et al.* 2012). We will present a catalogue of these challenges with examples extracted from the SHIFT´s DUALIA TI medical sub-corpus, and excerpts from the literature on on-site medical interpreting to support or undermine some of these challenges:

1.1.1 Poor telephone interpreter´s self-perception

One the major differences between on-site interpreting and remote interpreting and telephone interpreter in particular lies in interpreters´ diminished professional satisfaction and poor self-perception (Hornberger *et al.* 1996; Ko 2006; Lee 2007; Azarmina and Wallace 2008; Jones *et al.* 2003; Locatis *et al.* 2010; Rozinger and Schlesinger 2010). In these studies of TI, interpreting users´ and/or raters´ degree of satisfaction with

remote interpreting was high and very similar to on-site interpreting, but telephone interpreters´ self perception of their performance was very often significantly poor. This could be due to the fact that many of the majority-language telephone interpreters may have devoted some of their professional life to on-site interpreting, and this leads to comparisons. Additionally, some over-the-phone interpreters also work in face-to-face interpreting, hence the differences in perception, but other factors should not be ruled out.

1.1.2 Earlier fatigue onset

As observed in various instances of remote interpreting such as remote conference interpreting (Moser-Mercer 2005; Mouzourakis 2006; Roziner and Shlesinger 2010), video-based remote interpreting (Braun and Taylor 2012; Braun 2015) and telephone (Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Wadensjö 1999), remote interpreters have reported fatigue onset starting sooner and affecting performance. Stress hormone measures in remote interpreters skyrocketed (Roziner and Shlesinger 2010: 242), and more stressful interpreters can feel tired sooner. Earlier fatigue onset could also contribute to remote interpreters´ perception of not being up to standard and poor performance (Braun and Taylor 2012). It seems that from the middle to the end of the telephone interpreting interaction, conversation becomes much more bumpy and troublesome. Kong (2006), and Lee *et al.* (1997) have also reported higher levels of fatigue and stress and less concentration span in TI. In a survey of some 50 over-the-phone interpreters, the more experienced interpreters stated feeling more tired and fatigued sooner than less experienced practitioners (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet, forthcoming). It seems that adapting to and starting to interpret via a technologized medium, such as over-the-phone

interpreting, takes some time and demands an extra cognitive effort. Braun and Taylor (2012) have observed that fatigue onset in videoconferencing can be measured in approximately 30 minutes after the start of the interaction. It would be useful to measure the onset of fatigue in TI to extract implications for educational purposes.

1.1.3 More cognitive overload

Remoteness and the concurrent use of technologies in interpreting modify the way the interaction develops. The lack of co-presence and the fragmented distribution of talk seem to unleash more cognitive overload both in video-based remote interpreting (Braun and Taylor 2012a) and in telephone-based remote interpreting as noted by Wadensjö (1998, 1999). Over-the-phone interpreters are not co-located with the primary parties, rendering the coordination of talk more troublesome and less smooth and fluent, very much like video-based remote interpreting (Braun and Taylor 2012b) (see section 2: 2.2) Additionally, the majority of the client´s in the SHIFT´s DUALIA telephone interpreting corpus were non-native speakers of English, who had to invest extra listening and comprehension efforts. This lead to interpreter´s exerciong more repetitions and over-elaborations (see section 3:3.2.11). The choice of participants in the DUALIA corpus was not an arbitrary choice, but one based in the company´s extended experience with these type of non-native interactants, therefore a substantial number of patients were non-majority language speakers of Spanish who selected English as the working language with interpreters although English was not their mother tongue. External signs of cognitive pressure are an increased number of hesitations, a higher proportion of redundancies and repetitions, repetitions of proper names, names of

locations, and numbers (Ko 2006; Lee 2007; Oviatt and Cohen 1992) amongst other. This cognitive overload requires extra attention, which results in fatigue setting on earlier (see section 2.2). A study of novice and seasoned telephone interpreters revealed that the more experienced interpreters felt tiredness set on more and earlier than novices, probably because they are more conscientiously handling a great number of input stimuli, many of them muddled by overlapping and interruptions, which were their major concern in over-the-phone interpreting (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). These repetitions derived from cognitive load can be observed in Example 1a of the DUALIA courpus below (see Example 1a):

Example 1a: Interpreter´s repetitions and patient´s repetitions due to cognitive overload

```
12. I: vale. (x) sir could you tell me your (.) health
        insurance card number?
13. B: yes it is A N
14. I: A [N]
15. B:   [seven] °two° yes A N seven two nine
16. I: seven two nine? ←
17. B: >one one one<
18. I: one one one ?  ←
19. B: three two nine one
20. I: sorry (x) could you repeat that? ←
21. B: yeah, that is <seven two>
22. I. seven two?
23. B: <nine one>
24. I: ah yeah yeah nine one
25. B: one one=
26. I: =yeah
27. B: three two nine one
28. I: (.hhh) what I don't understand is the last part ←
       after [nine]
29. B [yes] it's <nine nine one>=
30. I: =yeah, one one
31. B: let's start again this is A N
32. I: ah ah
```

Repetitions of names

Repetitions of drugs were particularly common in TI (see Example 1b below). When comparing the Varcasia (2013) service telephone calls corpus (141 calls, 50 of which were conducted in English involving all native speakers) with the SHIFT´s DUALIA TI corpus, one realises that elaborations in the latter were as high as in the Varcasia corpus. This exponential increase in repetitions is a feature of TI, which has not been documented in the on-site dialogue interpreting modality. It is also a feature of video-based remote interpreting (Braun and Taylor 2012) (see section 3: 3.2.11).

Example 1b: Repetitions of complex names of drugs (Patient in palliative care. Husband speaking on patient´s behalf. Husband is also an elderly person)

```
21. I: de acuerdo. (.hhh) (x) sir, could you please tell me
(0.2) the (.) medicine that your wife has been prescribed?
22. B: (x) they have (x) Nupagen
(2)
23. I: Nupagen? [could you]  ←
24. B:          [Nupa gen?]
25. I: could you please spell that for me?=
26. B: =yes it's (0.8) N U
27. I: N U?  ←
28. B: P A
29. I: P A=
30. B: =G E N
31. I: G E N [ok]
32. B:       [and al-]and also another one (.) I have a lot
of them. It's Peg fil – Pegfilgrastim
(2)
33. I: Peg fil?=  ←
34. B: =yeah P E G
35. I: P E G=
```

Cognitive overload leads to more fatigue, and fatigue is one of the

underlying causes of bumpy interactions. But specific training can offset this effect. Service providers should be trained to speak in short utterances, allow only one person to speak at the time and make an effort to explain physical actions or references to objects or body parts (Wandensjö 1999; Gracia-García 2002).

1.1.4 More active coordination of turns and more problematic turn-management

1.1.4.1 Higher number of disfluencies

The lack of co-presence and the absence of visual cues, such as glance and eye contact in TI seem to preclude a smooth coordination of the turn-management in the interaction (Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Vidal 1998; Wadensjö 1999; Ozolins 2011). Hesitations, repetitions, self-repairs and redundancy have been documented to occur at the end of turns and after a long turn in TI, as observed in the DUALIA TI corpus (see Example 2a below). In contrast, a drop in paralinguistic disfluencies in certain moves in on-site interpreting has been observed, which contrasts with TI (Braun and Taylor 2012). These involve the elicitation of questions, achievement of identification, a move that involves a substantial rise in disfluencies in TI, when the interpreter was not co-located.

Example 2a: Higher number of disfluencies, less smooth coordination of talk leading to more active coordination of talk

---

```
15. I: °yes° HI we're calling from the:|: the hospital in
       Sevilla (x) to (.) ask about your wife, I'm the
       interpreter, (.) and I'm going to help you
       communicate with the other side ok?
16. B: ok
17. I: ok. (.hhh) (0.3) compañera?  ←
18. A: sí?
19. I: sí. a:: me:: quiero quiere que pregunte algo en
       espe-en específico?                    ←
```

The interpreter is going through the opening phase of the interaction with a health provider from a hospital. After the doctor delivers a token of information acknowledgment: "*OK*", the interpreter waits for the doctor to start with the chain of questions. Instead, a silent gap occurs (0.3) in line 17. The interpreter notices that there is uncertainty in the air as to who should take the floor, so she self-selects herself to call the doctor´s attention by the non-rendition: "*compañera*", to alert the doctor that the interpreter is expecting doctor´s questions to be put to the patient. These moves underlie a proactive role in effective coordinating the flow of talk. The interpreter´s active role may arise from the agreed protocols which allow interpeters a wide leeway (see section 4:3.1) or it may emerge from interpreters´acknowledgement of the need for their coordination of talk for a more effective interaction. Pauses were very frequent in the TI corpus, and as observed in the previous example (see Example 2a), silent pauses at the beginning or within turn cause a high degree of uncertainty and disconcert in the interlocutors as to who is responsible for taking the floor (Lee and Newman 1997). Silent gaps can be misconstrued. If they occur at the end of the turn parties can construe them as end of turn or line connection being severed. Students and practitioners should be alerted to the fact that these silent gaps are used by parties to plan next coming

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utterance or for breathing (Oviatt and Cohen 1992). An illustration of interpreter´s perplexity in the face of a silent pause can be shown in Example 2a (see above).

Example 2b: Disfluencies caused by non-native speaker´s impaired comprehension and discourse planning

---

```
34.I: What is the medical history? of your husband?
     ((bleep)) does he have any illness or disease in his
     life?
35.C: Sorry, sorry, I do not understand can you please
     repeat?
36.Ya <what is the medical history of your husband?>(.)
     <does he have any disease of illness in his life.>
37.C: Diseases oh: he unintelligible ((bleep)) is
     hemophilical? hemophilic?
38.I: Pardon me?
     ((lifts doors closing))
39.(pause) (( talk in the background)) Hello?
40.C: Ya? did you understand me?
41.I: what is, what is
42.C: [He has] he has he has hemophili
43.I: Hemophili?,
44.C: Ya.
```

Interpreters in the DUALIA TI corpus speak very fast (see Section 9:3.1; 9:3.4). In this particular case, being a health emergency call, one justifies the interpreter´s speech rate. But the call-placer is a non-native speaker of English German lady. Her linguistic skills are poor, hence the hesitations in putting together her thoughts, and interpreter´s need for repetitions. Disfluencies, particularly self-repairs, are displayed by the call-placer (lines 37, 42) while the call-taker, the interpreter repeats to acknowledge information receipt. He does that while trying to make sense of the call-placer´s train of thoughts and dealing with her overlapping and interrupting.

Intra-turn silent pauses can occur due to different factors like hesitations, speech planning, but also by empathetic involvement such as lengthening of vowel sounds followed by a pause. These were abundantly present in the DUALIA TI corpus (see 2.1.4.3 in this section).

1.1.4.2 More additions and extended renditions

Additions are the result of the remote interpreter doing almost double the amount of talk, as she/he has to retrieve misheard terms, misarticulated proper names, figures and numbers. The reader should be reminded at this point that the majority of the client´s in the SHIFT´s DUALIA´s telephone interpreting corpus are non-native speakers of English, and they required extra listening and comprehension efforts. Non-native speakers of English in the simulated material depended more on the Spanish interpreter´s repetitions, additions and expansions to confirm they had understood the content and their position in the turn-taking scheme, both at linguistic level, at turn-management level and at pragmatic level (Thüne and Leonardi 2003). Additionally, many interruptions by interpreters tend to occur at the end or towards the end of interlocutors´ very long turns. These attempts to retrieve information result in the interpreter´s recasting the repeated information into a more extended form (see Example 4a), with additions and more extended renditions by interpreters, and interlocutors´ repeating, summarizing the previously talked issues. Sometimes, this process leads to distortions and misunderstandings.

Example 4a: Interpreter´s additions and extended renditions (Appointment for a child´s vaccination. Mother is Russian but speaks English. Interpreter is an experienced TIs)

```
8. A: de acuerdo (.) ehm:: dice por favor bueno pregúntale
      cómo se encuentra hoy y si se ha traído la cartilla
      de vacunación de su hija
(.)
9. I: de: acuerdo (.) he:llo ((bleep))
10. B: hello
11. I: hello good afternoon (.) how are you feeling today?
12. B: well (.) thank you
13. I: >you are feeling well?< good and <have you brought
      the: booklet with your daughter's vaccinations?>
      ((bleep))
14. B: I have the vaccinations here with me
15. I: you have it with you (.)OK (.) sí dice que sí
16. A: vale de acuerdo dile que me la dé por favor que
tengo
      que comprobar las vacunas que lleva la niña
17. I: de: acuerdo can you please give it to ehm to the
nurse she needs to check the vaccinations ((bleep))
```

This excerpt taken from a simulated recording of a routine vaccination appointment in the SHIFT´s DUALIA TI corpus displays the interpreter´s echoing every bit of information both in English, for the child´s mother, and in Spanish for her Salud Responde colleague sitting right by the mother´s side. These additions do not contain new information. The interpreter recasts the information for information confirmation purposes (line 15), and for the establishment of rapport (line 13). This interpreter is a seasoned practitioner and, in this instance of communication, she engages in a sub-dialogue with the patient´s mother, adding an independent evaluation on the state of the mother´s health in the form of the non-rendition "*good*", after having issued an independent question about the Russian woman´s health (Line 13). This interpreter´s independent contributions to the interaction is used when she/he become co-principals taking on the role of displaying affect in medical. In this case, this addition can be considered a "non-rendition" (Wadensjö 1998, 1999). Further along, in line 15, she talks to the mother and provides a

positive evaluation regarding her diligence in bringing the vaccination booklet by adding a non-rendition: "*you have it with you (.) OK*".

Example 4b: Extended rendition as a result of evaluation of affairs

---

```
42.C: [He has] he has he has hemophili
43.I: Hemophili?,
44.C: Ya.
45.I: Pues vaya (.) me dice que hemofilia.←
46.O: Hemofílico.
47.I: Sí. es hemofílico. Sí ←
```

In this excerpt, the interpreter provides an extended rendition of the original "*hemophily?*" by adding his own evaluation of a sad state of affairs in the following non-rendition (line 45): "*Pues vaya (.) me dice que es hemofilia*", resorting to reported speech to disclose a bad piece of news in the context of a health emergency. This addition equals the interpreter´s autonomous contributions to the interaction used when she/he takes on the role of the provider when displaying an affective display, common in healthcare encounters. This addition is a "non-rendition" (Wadensjö 1998, 1999). The health operator at 112 repeats the piece of news and, again, the interpreter delivers a non-rendition as confirmation of the regrettable situation of the call-placer´s husband (line 47: "*sí es hemofílico sí*"). Lines 45 to 47 show a sub-dialogue between the interpreter and the healthcare operator. This incremental addition does not contain any novel piece of information.

1.1.4.3 More overlapping and latching

In comparisons of face-to-faced dialogue interpreting, scholars have documented a higher number of omissions and losses of information in telephone interpreting (Lee 2007; Braun 2015), and we have observed the same phenomenon affecting TI (see Example 5a). These were not translation problems as such, but rather the result of interpreters spending a lot of time and cognitive effort coordinating the talk, one of the two distinct tasks in dialogue interpreting (Wadensjö 1998, 1999), which is particularly challenging in TI. Overlappings were observed in all the SHIFT Dualia´s TI material. The following examples illustrate the possible causes of overlaps. A high number of them occurred by patient´s placing a pause at the end of the turn, as in Example 5a (see below).

Example 5a: Overlappings occurring by interlocutors´s misconstruing a pause

```
22. B: (x) they have (x) Nupagen
(2)
23. I: Nupagen? [could you]  ←
24. B:          [Nupa gen?]
25. I: could you please spell that for me?=
26. B: =yes it's (0.8) N U
27. I: N U?
28. B: P A
29. I: P A=
30. B: =G E N
31. I: G E N [ok]  ←
32. B:        [and al-]and also another one (.) I have a lot
of them. It's Peg fil - Pegfilgrastim
(2)
```

Example 5b: Overlappings occurring at the end of turn as acknowledgment tokens of information receipt

```
 8. C: <I´m from Romania I´m here in Madrid in a hotel
 9. I:                                              [Yes]
10. C: in Trip Gran Vía Hotel>
11. I:                        [Yes]
12. C: <with a friend of mine and: yesterday (.) evening I
       planned to meet with her to have breakfast in the
       hotel at eight o´clock in the morning.>
13. I:                                              [Yes]
```

These overlaps in the form of "*Yes*" (see lines 9, 11 and 13), are a token both of acknowledgment of information receipt and a signal that the channel is open, that the call-placer still holds the floor. Overlapping renders turn-management a much less fluent and less smooth procedure, which brings about problems for all interacting parties. Some times, overlaps lead to information losses and omissions, which were frequent in the SHIFT´s DUALIA TI corpus.

Remoteness and telephone interpreter not being co-located with the primary parties triggers a higher proportion of overlapping, particularly at the end of the interlocutors´ turn. Overlapping is significantly greater in TI than in on-site dialogue interpreting, and it tends to occur near transition-relevance places. Although some speakers avoid overlapping, others secure this strategy to take power from others and withhold the floor. In institutional calls, they can be interpreted as a clash of communicative goals or as a contention for gaining floor time (Hopper 1992: 121). Overlaps also occur when a speaker self-selects for taking the next turn (Varcasia 2013: 8).

Omissions, that is zero renditions have been found to be unfrequent in the review of the literature on on-site medical interpreting (Merlini and Favaron 2005: 293), and the same phenomenon was also observed in the

DUALIA TI corpus.

1.1.4.4 Extended length of turns

A higher number of hesitations, repetitions, self-repairs and redundancies result in a higher number of words per turn, more speaking time, and an extended length of turns. But in terms of information content, these lengthened turns provide no extra information. Equally, long consecutive interpretations embedded in more lengthened turns present disadvantages for over-the-phone interpreting (Oviatt and Cohen 1992). This phenomenon has also been observed in the SHIFT over-the-phone DUALIA corpus (see Example 7a). Despite handling repetitions and redundant information, these long turns do not seem to be beneficial for over-the-phone interpreter.

Example 7a: Extended length of turn caused by TI´s clarification of technical expression to non-native speaker of English

```
34. I: What is the medical history? of your husband?
    ((bleep)) does he have any illness or disease in his
        life?

35. B: Sorry, sorry, I do not understand can you please
        repeat?

37. I: Ya <what is the medical history of your
        husband?>(.) <does he have any disease of illness
        in his life.>  ←
```

Example 7b: Extended length of turn caused by TI´s eliciting further information

```
25. I: Ella ha venido aquí con una amiga desde Rumania
       están en un hotel en Madrid ((pitido)) la amiga
       salió anoche a las siete de la tarde para ir a ver a
       una amiga o un amigo no sé, habían quedado para
       desayunar juntas a las ocho de la mañana hoy y la
       amiga no ha regresado, y no sabe qué hacer.

                          (. . .)

62. I: OK and what colour is her hair?
66. C: She is tall ((bleep)) is dark hair
67. I: Dark. Yes and her eyes?
68. C: Blue eyes.
69. I: Blue eyes now when you say dark hair do you mean
       dark brown or black
70. C: Ah: it's it's is very dark in fact.
```

The interpreter is working for the Spanish emergency service 112, and knows that eliciting detailed information about a missing person from friends or family is essential. Therefore, she produces non-renditions, interpreter´s autonomous contributions not related to the original. She asks independent questions about the exact colour of the missing persons´ hair in line 69: *"(...) now when you say dark hair do you mean dark brown or black"*. Likewise, in line 25, the interpreter extends the turn by adding a summary of the call-placer emotional state: "*Y ella no sabe qué hacer*".

1.1.5 Poor sound quality

Another often-cited shortcoming in over-the-phone interpreting is the alleged difficulty related to *poor sound quality* (Hewitt 1995; Lee and Newman 1997; Gracia-García 2002; Ko 2006; Lee 2007), and this was considered the third most disturbing factor in TI in the study of seasoned and novice over-the-phone interpreters (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet, forthcoming). Despite major developments and improvements in

telephone lines and equipment, and guidelines for good practices involving equipment (Causo 2012), poor lines, echo, and interpreters´ hearing their own voices seem to still pervade the practice. However, when analysing responses in greater detail, the narratives of problems related to poor sound acuity, very often referred to clients´ mishandling of phones and poor sound acuity resulting from the client´s or provider´s not being alone with the user in the same room. This situation seemed to lead to many indistinct voices being heard in the background, rendering the talk unclear and the instructions difficult to follow. Accordingly, these sound issues are not necessarily technical problems leading to poor sound quality, rather they seem to point to the main parties to the interaction lacking in education about of the TI´s professional needs (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming).

1.1.6. Diminished rapport

An impressive body of literature on medical interpersonal communication suggests that doctor-patient rapport is central to effective medical care delivery (Cooper and Tauber 2005; Kurz *et al*. 2003; Hall *et al*. 1995; Friedman 1979). The importance of doctor-patient rapport has long been recognised (cf. Hippocrates 1923), as patients' physical wellbeing and healing are largely dependent on effective technical knowledge supplemented with affective interpersonal communication (Kurz *et al*. 2003; Ambady *et al.* 2002; Beck *et al*. 2002). Research findings have revealed that the interpersonal quality of the doctor-patient relationship can actually influence the patient's course of recovery, since supportive communication can decrease the patient's anxiety, which is a basic concomitant of illness (DiMatteo and Taranta 1979). Affect and empathy in medical encounters is thought to be especially linked to

nonverbal behaviour, and its emotion-related skills: coding and encoding nonverbal information, and emotional self-awareness (Roter *et al*. 2006; Beck *et al.* 2002; Hall *et al*. 1995; DiMatteo and Taranta 1979).

The establishment of trust with the parties, and the communication of affect alongside the message have been viewed by interpreters as an intrinsic part of their role (Angelelli 2001: 26), particularly in medical settings, where they see themselves as more visible than in other professional environments (ib.: 24). In fact, empathy and the ability to establish rapport are seen as prerequisites in interpreted doctor-patient interaction (Bot 2005: 90).

According to observations by some interpreting scholars, telephone interpreting poses problems in rapport-building, as access to other interactants´ nonverbal behaviour is missing (Price *et al*. 2012). Instead, telephone-based remote interpreting in the DUALIA TI corpus focuses more on delivering "very concise talk that centers on medical information (as opposed to rapport-building)" (Hsieh 2012: 938). This practice is no different to some instances of on-site dialogue medical interpreting, where interpreters function as gatekeepers (Davidson 2000), who edit the patient´s interpersonal information to provide healthcare providers with medical data oriented to the diagnosis (for a review of this practice see Iglesias Fernández 2010). In that process, the interpersonal, "voice of Life" (the interpersonal and rapport) is sacrificed for the "voice of Medicine" (factual medical data) (Mishler 1994). The voice, and prosody in particular, is a powerful tool and can convey emotion and involvement. In the DUALIA TI corps, the interpreter´s voice is far from warm and inviting. This could be due to speech rate being so high (see section 9: 3.5). Probably, over-the-phone interpreters have not been enlightened about the opportunities that working with one's voice offers. This is no

different to many instances of on-site dialogue interpreting where patients have been put off by the tone of the interpreter´s voice and lost confidence in her, jeopardising communication (Angelelli 2007: 75). Interpreters should be taught to process the linguistic information presented by the two interactants, as well as the emotion embedded both in their verbal and nonverbal behaviour. Expressing themselves in a friendly tone of voice and using polite expressions are professional qualities expected of interpreters (Bühler 1986).

Renditions in the DUALIA TI corpus disclose highly compressed and concise renditions, with loss at the interpersonal level (Price *et al.* 2012) (see Example 8a).

Example 8a: Interpreters´ highly concise renditions, where healthcare provider´s rapport building is lost

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```
2. A: hola Buenos días. Mira te llamo del hospital Virgen
       del Rocío de Sevilla, soy la doctora Ana Gómez? y te
       llamo desde:: (x) la s- e::l departamento de::
       oncología. Mira (x) tengo al otro lado de la línea::a
       u::na persona, bueno vamos a contactar (0.4) con u:n
       señor que se llama Robert Hutson y le vamos a
       preguntar por su::: señora esposa ((rumore di
       interferenza del teléfono)) que se llama Margaret,
       porque ella tiene leucemia? y::: estamos siguiendo:
       un tratamien- ah bueno, estamos (x) siguiendo un
       sistema de seguimiento paliativo (.) para ver cómo se
       encuentra la señora vale?

                        (. . .)

15. I: °yes° HI we're calling from the:: the hospital in
       Sevilla (x) to (.) ask about your wife, I'm the
       interpreter, (.) and I'm going to help you
       communicate with the other side ok?
```

In this instance of doctor-patient communication mediated by the telephone interpreter, the interpreter´s zero renditions of of the affective

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displays of the doctor towards the dying patient (line 14: "*para ver cómo se encuentra la señora*"): "*estamos siguiendo un sistema de seguimiento paliativo (.) para ver cómo se encuentra la señora*" is translated (line 15) as: "to (.) ask about your wife". Althroughout this encounter, the doctor´s appellatives to the state of health of the patients are recast in reduced renditions, which edit the voice of the lifeworld of the doctor-patient relationship and concentrate on the medical data. This practice contrasts with face-to-face interrpeters who echo doctors´ affect and rapport in their renditions (Merlini and Favaron 2005; Cirillo 2012; Major and Napier 2012).

Example 8b: Interpreters´more concise renditions, where call-placer´s emotional distress is not conveyed

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```
34. C: It's not the painting I've told (.) them it's
       the bath:: where they agg hhh eh oh::. the
       bathroom to

35. I:                        [uhm uhm]
36. C: Eh:: (0.2) you see, do they have any email
       address I could send them the photographs? and
       they'll know what I'm talking about (.) It's
       the carpenter that we need to put the bath
       back where they destroyed the side of the
       bath.

37. I: OK. I see, just hold on for a second (.)
       please.
   I: Vale. me dice que lo que necesita no es pintura
       es carpintería (0.2) necesita que el
       carpintero vuelva a instalar la parte del
       cuarto de baño hay un lateral, (.) que falta.=
```

In this case, the interpreter is primarily concerned with rendering factual

data regarding the state of disrepairs to the insurance company. Consequently, her rendition is shorter and stops short of relaying non-verbally all the signals of the call-placer´s frustration at the poor service. These signals are mainly displayed by intonation contours, stressed syllables, such in line 34 (underlined): "*(...) I´ve told them (.) it´s:: the bath:::*", and line 36: "*It´s the carpenter that we need (...)*" and guttural sounds used by the client to withhold his anger (see line 34: "agg; hhh; eh; oh::").

Speech rate and articulation rate in medical telephone interpreting in our courpus are significantly higher than in face-to-face health interpreting. This was observed in all interpreters regardless of the settings. A Spanish specialist in doctor-patient interaction was exposed to all the medical telephone calls in the SHIFT[7] telephone corpus. We compared them to his corpus of face-to-face simulations of monolingual medical encounters, and the speed almost doubled in TI. He was shocked at the speed at which telephone interpreters addressed patients, even in non-emergency situations. A striking difference in interpreter behaviour emerged in that speech and articulation rate diminished when interpreters interacted with the healthcare providers and operators (see section 9:3.4) but increased with TI interpreters addressed patients (see section 9:3.5).

Protocols applied by DUALIA for this type of encounters advice TIs to conduct the health interview as fast as possible, so that assistance can be offered to as many patients as possible. This is due to the great pressure on the Spanish national healthcare system. In fact, the medium length of the GP´s surgery face-to-face interviews in Spain has been reduced. It

seems that the same attitude is applied to medical assistance over-the-phone. Contrarily, in the on-site medical corpus by Merlini and Favaron (2005), Cirillo (2012) and in sign language interpreting by Major and Napier (2012), interpreters displayed high involvement in the doctor–patient interaction. This empathic involvement was displayed by slowing down for the benefit of the patient and by non-renditions or interpeter´s initiated contributions to the talk (see Cirillo 2012; Major and Napier 2012)

This expedient interaction with patients as dictated by the company´s protocol presents concurrent interpersonal consequences, as rapport building is severely jeopardised. Some doctors´ terms of personal concern and questions addressed to the patient inquiring about their feelings towards their state of health were not rendered in the corpus. This may involve some previous accorded behaviour between interpreters and healthcare providers coded in the DUALIA protocol (see section 4: 3.1). We have also observed interpreters interrupting patients about the end of their end of turn to gain control of the floor, cut their rendition short and save time. This, in turn, undermined communication, particularly leading to more omissions and the need to recapitulate. In a study on immigration proceeding remotely conducted, Ellis (2004) also equated the lack of co-location with weaker personal rapport. Interpreters in Ellis´ study concurred on their frustration at "emotions not being transmitted" which could lead to diminishing refugees´ credibility. They themselves expressed that they would have liked their interpreters to be co-present.

Some of these potential challenges of the telephone also can be traded off by specific training. Service providers should be educated as to prepare a call and put the patient at ease (Phelan 2000). On-site doctor-patient communication affords greater negotiation between participants. The

voice of the healthcare provider may be more or less detached, more or less dominant (Drew and Heritage 1992: 24), so the selection of the type of voice the interpreter chooses to take in over-the-phone interpreter is key. In face-to-face medical encounters, the "voice of Life" and the "voice of Medicine" are combined (Merlini and Favaron 2005). We can identify the category of voice taken by the on-site interpreter by analysing the following factors: a) turn-taking; b) topic deployment; c) topic control; d) choice of footing; e) non renditions, and f) the use of prosodic resourses (Merlini and Favaron 2005: 268). The authors have observed autonomous interventions by interpreters performed via topic control, turn-taking, footing, additions or zero-renditions and the combined effect of them all. As regards the face-to-face medical interview, there seems to be a shift to doctors engaging in less directive, less authoritative interaction and more informal approaches. This is shown in doctors talking to patients as persons and not as cases, giving them space to talk, providing more room for empathising. This is a move from the "voice of Medicine" towards the "voice of Life" (Mishler 1984). As in on-site interpreting, the health provider offers the patient the floor, and may interrupt or overlap to cut the patient´s turn short. This leads to topic control. We have observed the same moves towards topic control in our TI corpus. New doctor´s questions introduce new topics, thus setting the agenda. This practice is more constrained, and it leaves less room for patient´s room in TI, which contrasts with more alternative on-site medical interviews. Studies have revealed that interpreters omit parts of the patient´s feedback. This zero-rendition of feedback serves as a means of empathic cue. For instance, interpreter´s decisions to render the doctor´s "mhm" equates to being tuned to the affective flow between the parties.

1.2. Untested assumptions on problems in TI and other emerging challenges

While empirical research on video-based remote interpreting has long been conducted in a very systematic and methodologically sound way, the number of empirical studies on telephone interpreting is still scarce. Some of the most widely held views on the limitations of telephone interpreting have to be tested. In an exploratory observational study on 50 telephone interpreters from two UE countries (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming), some of the shortcomings have been relativized, put into context and lead to more complex factors impinging on the process of TI. In the following section, we shall be contrasting opinions and views on the constraints of TI with the findings from this preliminary study of telephone interpreters´ catalogue of major challenges to their daily practice.

1.2.1. Lack of visual information

Corpus-based observation of the DUALIA TI corpus and interpreters´ judgements of major challenges for their practice have disclosed that some of the assumptions which problematize over-the-phone interpreting in the literature seem to stand. This is the case of overlapping, interruptions, disfluencies, as well as the need for repetitions and rephrasing resulting from a more complex and troublesome turn-management (Wadensjö 1999, Oviatt and Cohen 1992; Ko 2006; Lee 2007). In addition, it stands to reason that telephone interpreting may present more challenges for the elderly, the hard of hearing, children and those suffering from mental illness (Kelly 2008: 87). However, other assumptions have not been substantiated by empirical tests on telephone

interpreters and their practice. This is the case of the *lack of access to visual information* in TI. This constraint is claimed to be a severe impediment for a smooth interpreting performance (pointing to body parts or objects), as it seems essential for making sense of the verbal message (Locatis *et al.* 2010). Access to visual cues however, seemed to pose little or no problem at all for seasoned over-the-phone interpreters in a recent empirical observational study (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). Access to visual cues was not considered essential for an effective interpreting or was only necessary sometimes according to very experienced telephone interpreters. This finding is also supported by results from a study by Nikolayeva-Stone (2001). In fact, the need for visual cues could decrease with experience (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). In another revealing study, blind interpreters performed very well over-the-phone (Kelly 2008). It seems that any communication medium, such as TI "massages its users in proportion to the frequency of its use and the extent to which the medium elicits interaction" (Hopper 1992: 68). Apparently, over-the-phone interpreters who have never been worked in face-to-face dialogue interpreting can excel in TI, and outstanding on-site practitioners can turn out to be not very good at TI, because they have to delearn (Kelly 2008). Having said that, access to visual information comes with its own extra constraints. In an experimental work on remote conference interpreting, interpreters who had access to visual information were still strained and stressed because of "the capacity-intensive integration of different sources of information or simply with the absence of essential information if only a single image is transmitted" (Mouzourakis 1996: 33).

1.2.2. Myriad different topics to deal with

Another untested assumption is related to the difficulty in TI related to the unpredicted myriad topics that can be dealt with in a service call. Telephone interpreters deal with a wide range of very different topics in their every-day practice. They seem to find problems having to prepare themselves to face such diversity of information, so there is always a sense of uncertainty and challenge. Uncertainty as to the topic of the reason-for-the call and difficulty in preparing for the brief have been mentioned as challenges (Hen and Qian 1997; Gracia-García 2002; Rosenberg 2007), but an exploratory survey of European TIs showed that only novice interpreters reported facing terminological problems, particularly as regards some medical specialities such as neurology. Seasoned telephone interpreters did not mention this issue in their catalogue of major challenges in TI (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming).

1.3 Emerging challenges in telephone interpreting

1.3.1 Provider´s unawareness of telephone interpreters' professional needs

When telephone interpreters in the above-mentioned survey study were asked about the major sources of challenge for performance, some of the un-debated, traditional assumptions were challenged and new problematic factors emerged. Expert and advanced over-the-phone interpreters reported that *troublesome turn management* was a significant problem, but that these "bumpy" turns were more the result of providers´ *lack of awareness of their professional needs* than of the nature of the telephone technology as a medium of interaction (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). All interpreters in this sample, regardless of their expertise, stated that recurrent provider´s or client´s interruptions, overlapping and

engaging in side talk or sub-dialogues (doctors with nurses, clients with family members, etc.) challenged the smooth management of turns and presented the greatest disadvantage in telephone interpreting (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). This less smooth and less rhythmic turn-taking has also been documented by Wadensjö (1999) in her study of the same interlocutor participating in two different modes of interpreting (on-site and TI), and has been observed in the DUALIA TI corpus (see 2.1.3, Example 1 in this section).

1.3.2. Emotional state of the patient

A novel issue that seems to problematize interpreting over-the-phone is related to *emotions*. Telephone interpreting was initially conceived and used primarily for urgent and emergency situations, where emotional tensions are frequently high, and this is still the case (see Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). Patients often cry or sob over the disclosure of a bad diagnosis or prognosis, impeding a clear comprehension of the content of the talk. Equally, psychiatric patients can speak incoherently or in a muddled manner, affecting the clarity of the talk. Interpreters in the study of major challenges for TI mentioned that their need for clear comprehension in TI was often jeopardised by client´s venting their frustration with interpreters, voicing heated complaints on the quality of the provision of services, and engaging in heated discussions with providers (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). The challenge of *handling the patient´s emotional arousal* or hysterical talk was considered the second most troublesome factor in over-the-phone interpreting, second to *provider´s lack of awareness of their professional needs*, particularly by seasoned and advanced practitioners (ib.). In the face of these emotionally charged encounters, many novice and some

advanced interpreters reported the profound effect the emotional distress of the client had on their own performance, as they had to *handle their own negative emotions* (ib.).

1.3.3. Frail physical state of the client: weak voices on the phone

Equally, patients in palliative care or suffering from frail health have been reported by novice and seasoned TIs to often speak with a very weak voice, which requires an extra effort in understanding (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). This shortcoming for the effective comprehension of patient´s information has been observed in the DUALIA TI corpus.

2. Interpreting institutional medical calls over-the-phone: the case of calls to the Spanish Salud Responde service

2.1. Main features of the telephone interpreting calls to Salud Responde as compared with on-site interpreted medical calls

Many of the most frequent medical interactional settings where interpereters are needed in on-site dialogue interpreting are very similar to those involved in telephone interpreting, namely: a) request for information; b) appointment making; c) appointment cancellation; d) description of pain or ailment; e) measurement of pain; f) challenges of opinions or g) complaints about the services (Angelelli 2007: 74). Of these seven interactional settings, all but "measuring of pain" and "challenges of opinions" have been observed in the DUALIA TI corpus.

2.1.1. Telephone interpreters as system agents

The instances of healthcare over-the-phone interpreting for the Salud Resonde service that we have observed in the SHIFT´s telephone interpreting simulated material are a form of institutional interaction that takes place between healthcare providers or healthcare operators from the Spanish National Health Service *Salud Responde.* When non-speaking Spanish patients call Salud Responde, they are immediately remotely connected to an external company, DUALIA´s telephone interpreting staff in the corresponding language. Salud Responde and DUALIA have agreed on a set of rules, procedures and conventions that are applied to all medical calls and those calls assigned to the accident and emergency unit.

This type of medical service talk is defined as "institutional talk" because it is task-oriented, and involves at least one person belonging to an organisation (Drew and Heritage 1992: 3). Despite healthcare telephone conversation being considered a kind of informal institutional discourse, where turn-taking allows for spontaneous talk, improvisation and more room for negotiation (Drew and Heritage 1992: 28), in fact, a close inspection of the SHIFT´s TI corpus reveals little leeway for negotiation and a decreased degree of spontaneous talk. This involves removing the "quasi-conversational character" of the informal talk from the medical telephone-based remote interpreting. Participants are constrained in the type of turn pre-allocation and by protocols (see section 4:3.1) that limit the agenda of questions and answers, the time allocated to them and limit any likelihood of any emotion coming up in their interaction.). This interpreting behaviour stands in stark contrast with the shared belief in the interpreting community that neutral interpreters are a myth (Wadensjö 1998; Metzger 1999; Davidson 2000; Roy 2000; Angelelli 2004) and that interpreter´s invisibility is an ideal.

Participants adopt social identities and so do telephone interpreters. These institutional identities are relayed mostly by the form of the interaction (Drew and Heritage 1992: 95), and the chain of question and answers started by the organisation is a clear reflection of the asymmetry of relations. As we will see below, close observation of the SHIFT´s TI recordings discloses that healthcare providers/healthcare operators and telephone interpreters seem to serve the same interests, namely those of Salud Responde, functioning as gatekeepers (Davidson 2000), that is, aligning themselves with the more dominant speakers. These goals can be summarized as follows: to take on as many calls as possible, and to engage in fast, concise conversations where specific medical information is elicited at the expense of interpersonal interaction and rapport building[8]. The target goal is accuracy, but only at semantic level and in a social vacuum, over all other components of the message (nonverbal and vocal cues, etc.).

This is a far cry from what the Spanish medical profession expects of a clinical interview (Borrell í Carrió 1989), as the Spanish medical interview pivots around establishing a good relationship with the patient where rapport-building is essential for effective medical outcomes (Hall *et al*. 1995; Cooper and Tauber 2005). But what is also extremely worrying, it is also a far cry from an emerging trend in medical interpreting that favours the extension of the interpreter´s role to much more that behaving like a neutral translating machine (Wadensjö 1998; Metzger 1999; Davidson 2000; Angelelli 2001, 2004; Roy 2000). Research in on-site dialogue interpreting has demonstrated that interpreters are active participants in the medical interaction since they "reconcile conflicts,

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[8] Conversation with the chief of the Quality Department at DUALIA.

reinforce relationships and ensure the quality of the interaction" making the conduit model impractical if not unrealistic" (Hsieh 2012: 939). They are powerful parties who can alter the outcome of the interaction by either facilitating access to information or not. They possess agency (Angelelli 2004: 9). Amongst basic interpreting skills: a) language ability; b) cultural knowledge; c) alertness; d) listening ability; e) speed of comprehension; f) tact and judgement; g) understanding of socio-cultural background of the two speakers; h) establishing trust (Angelelli 2007: 66), two of them have not been observed in the telephone interpreters of the DUALIA TI medical corpus, namely understanding of socio-cultural background of the two speakers and establishing trust. These interpreters were lacking in communicating affect nuances and did not bridge cultural differences, particularly at nonverbal level. They were however very active coordinators of the flow of talk and made efforts to clarifying and by elaborating. They were brokering comprehension and modifying the discourse of health providers to make it accessible to the patients (Angelelli 2007: 69). It is very likely that the two lacking skills related to the socio-cultural and the interpersonal competences are more the result of they being constrained by the protocols than by poor awareness and competence.

Very much the same situation applies to our corpus of emergency calls. The first turn sequences in these types of calls serve to assess the patient´s entitlement to receive the service. Monolingual calls to public accident and emergency services are troublesome because the patient has to "build a case" with the right type of linguistic resources (imperatives, "I need you to") to prove his/her high entitlement for the service (Raymond 2014: 35-36). Zimmerman (1984 in Raymond 2014: 36) offers a chain of sequences for the structure of emergency calls: 1) opening; 2) request; 3)

interrogative series; 4) response and 5) closing. This gatekeeping activity (Davidson 2000) has been observed in the SHIFT´s DUALIA TI corpus of calls to emergency services, with the same sequence structure reported by Zimmerman (1992).

Emergency service operators in our corpus resist granting the service, by putting in place a series of interrogative question-answer sequences which led to doubling the amount of talk when interpreters are involved. Emergency call-placers, many of them non-native speakers of English, exercise low-entitlement verbal and vocal behaviour. For instance, they pause before putting their requests, which can signal poor linguistic competence, but most importantly, they seem to signal dispreferred actions to come (such as insisting, urging the provision of service to be delivered soon, etc.). Disagreements or dispreferred forms as they are called in CA´s terminology, are usually delayed within turn or over a series of turns. This can be achieved by means of pauses or requests for clarification. Interpreters dealing with despreferred forms in our courps, have been seen to use mitigators, attenuations and elaborations (Varcasia 2013: 15-16). These dispreferred moves by interpreters have been also documented in the DUALIA TI corpus. Additional forms of dispreferrence observed in the corpus were: a) use of speech markers and 'uh'/'well'; b) production of tokens of agreement before uttering the disagreement; c) use of appreciation; d) use of apologies; e) use of qualifiers (I don´t know for sure but); f) hesitations (Varcasia 2013: 16). Additionally, rising intonation contours embedded into questions are very common in our corpus, and they signal low social entitlement to the request (Couper-Khulen 2012).

This genre-specific type of institutional talk is characterised by power asymmetries, as certain parties are not allowed to engage in certain

communicative actions. By observing interpreter´s stalling efforts by emergency call-placers to be acknowledged as ratified parties, we are discovering how interlocutors´ actions (micro level) and the social structure (macro level) impinge on each other (Giddens 1984 in Hutchby 1996: 9). So that social structure (or stable patterns of form in social systems) is "both the medium and outcome of social practices" (Giddens 1998: 171 in Hutchby 1996: 9). According to Hutchby, "it is not how the setting that determines the activity but on how those activities, strategies and procedures make available the participant´s orientation to, and reproduction of the institutional features of the setting" (ib.: 1996: 10). These activities are performed by participants who can be asymmetric themselves. The interpreter can be asymmetric in the interaction, because she has more knowledge of the phases of the interaction that certain call-placers are allowed, and she has been anointed to distribute rights to certain kinds of situations. In monolingual medical encounters asymmetries have been documented (Maynard 1991 in Hutchby 1996). This power to put and answer questions or "power of summary" (Drew 1992 in Hutchby 1996) seems to be bestowed upon the caller as having the first rights, but it is indeed the interpreter who controls the first rights by blocking any unwarranted soliciting. This is also the case in telephone interpreting emergency calls and patients, particularly non-native speakers, put little resistance to these constraints. Indeed, as documented in investigations of TI practice, it is the caller (the patient) who is "conversational subservient to the agent" (Pollit and Haddon 2005: 189).

We agree with Raymond (2014) when he argues that: "existence of translation services is not synonymous with their accessibility or use" (Raymond 2014: 56).

2.1.2 Telephone interpreters as principals

Telephone interpreters have been documented taking the initiative in turn-management and in the smooth organisation of the flow of speech (Lee 2007: 233). In addition to this contribution to turn-management, interpreters provide independent information-seeking questions to achieve identification and to confirm patients´ ratification for services with a view to expedite the process and comply with the company´s protocols. They are active and strategically contributing to the achievement of the communication goal. For this purpose, interpreters shift between different roles: a) decision-maker; b) telephone operator; c) relay conveyor of messages, and d) author of messages. In monolingual medical settings, patients have been documented to systematically refrain from responding or disputing providers' decisions (Heath 1992). The observation of the SHIFT´s telephone interpreter´s moves tends to reinforce health providers´/operators decision to exclude them from certain services (ib.: 240). This statement is materialised in example 9a (see below).

In many other instances, the interpreter is as active as the operator at the emergency service 112. She/he elicits independent inquiries about the reason for the accident through non-renditions to better understand who to proceed and inform his colleague. We can see this statement materialise in the following excerpt in Example 9a (see below).

Example 9a: Telephone interpreter´s non-renditions: Acting as a principal

```
16. C: It is about my husband Eh: he suffered a big blow
       on on the head area and bleed.(  ) ((bleep))
17. I: OK how did it happen (.) did he fall down? what ←
       happened?
18. C: He was playing golf
20. I: ok. (hhh)compañero?
21. O: Sí?
22. I: Su: marido que estaba jugando: al golf y que ha
       tenido (hhh) un: percance y: dice que ((bleep))
       en la frente en la cabeza tiene una brecha (.) y:
       que está sangrando.
```

This is an accident and emergency call. The interpreter is well aware that a speedily interaction is essential. When the call-placer does not provide a full explanation of the reason-for-the call, the interpreter engages in independent non-renditions to elicit the type of information that is necessary for the company to grant call-placer entitlement for service (see line 17): *"[OK how did] how did it happen? (.) did he fall down? what happened?"* The interpreter asks more questions than the 112 operator, as he knows what is to be done (see Example 9b below).

Example 9b: Telephone interpreter´s non- renditions: Acting as a principal

```
 8. A: de acuerdo (.) ehm:: dice por favor bueno pregúntale
        cómo se encuentra hoy y si se ha traído la cartilla
        de vacunación de su hija
 (.)
 9. I: de: acuerdo (.) he:llo ((bleep))
10. B: hello
11. I: hello good afternoon (.) how are you feeling today?
12. B: well (.) thank you
13. I: >you are feeling well?< good and <have you brought
        the: booklet with your daughter's vaccinations?>
        ((bleep))
14. B: I have the vaccinations here with me


55. A: muy bien pues dile que eso que: el venticuatro de
        agosto a las diez y media de la mañana en la sala
        número tres
 (.)
56. I: so the twenty fourth of August at ten thirty a m
        in room number three
57. B: uh uh ((bleep)) thank you (.) thank you
58. I: OK? you are welcome good bye
 (.)

           - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
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The interpreter is translating for a Russian mother who has an appointment for her child´s vaccination. In a series of moves, the interpreter acts of her own accord. Firstly, when she evaluates the mother´s diligence in bringing the vaccination booklet, which is in Russian. We can see this in line 13 when she utters: *">you are feeling well?< good*", and secondly when she bids the mother farewell and utters an independent: "*have a good day*" (see line 58).

The higher number of additions in different institutional and service encounters are the norm. Additions can be deployed in four major categories: a) phatic; b) empathic; c) explanatory and d) other (Merlini and Favaron 2005: 276). Phatic additions have the dual function of back channeling and reassuring (as observed in interpreter´s speaking to the patient). But additions, such as clarifications of ambiguous original utterances were abundant both in the on-site medical interpreting corpus

by Merlini and Favaron (2005: 293) and in the Dualia TI corpus. Empathic additions comprise repetitions of and use of synonyms at the same level of formality employed to stress a concept mentioned before with aim of reassuring ("*muy bien*", "*aha*"). Other additions are non-renditions (Wadensjö 1998: 108), which are interpreter´s independent incrementations. They were observed in various on-site medical interpreting corpora (Merlini and Favaron 2005; Cirillo 2012; Major and Napier 2012). These non-renditions placed the interpreter in the footing of the principal as she/he takes the iniciative for: a) asking for clarification (concepts misheard or misunderstood); b) pointing to client not having understood despite correct rendition; c) alerting client to missed inference, and d) asking client to modify rendition to fulfil interpreter needs.

2.1.3. Protocols in telephone interpreting

In the case of the project´s partner company, Dualia, three protocols are applied to three different set of services: a) routine medical appointments; b) emergencies, and c) victims of domestic violence. The main objective of the protocols is to render the service as efficiently and routinely as possible (Zimmerman 1992), that is Protocols are mainly put in place to keep the client "on track", through recognition and identification as ratified clients with access to the service. But protocols are also implemented to guide interpreters through what they ought and ought not to do or say. Although TIs are instructed to articulate the information as clearly and loudly as possible, protocols are affordances of the telephone calls, and interpreters in the Dualia corpus make use of some recommendations but make little notice of others such as vocal behaviour related to speech rate, loudness and clear articulation (see section 9:3.5) Telephone interpreters in the Dualia corpus speak at a

normal speed when they engage with healthcare providers or healthcare operators, but very fast when they talk to patients. The protocol affords greater agency to the interpreters who make more or less use of the guidelines, and afford less agency to the patients. Interpreters are instructed not to make additions to their renditions of the client´s reason-for-the call, but they do by summarising, extending and selecting relevant information and discarding unwarranted requests or digressions. Protocols afford a greater degree of partiality, as it emerges when TIs become principals and co-principals (Wadensjö 1998) in the Salud Responde healthcare telephone interpreted corpus.

2.1.4 Prosody and phonetics in telephone interpreting

Prosody allows perception of turn completion, and signals turn ending, which can significantly facilitate the smooth transition of relevance places. The pitch contour of the final syllable of the utteradsrderº, which has a moral dimension and is exercised at the interpersonal level of interaction. They are abrupt uptakes of talk occurring at a place that is not a transition relevance place, usurping the right of speech to the other interlocutor. Consequently, interruptions can be considered communicative achievements and not just a signal of disfluency (Hutchby 1996: 85). That is the reason why they have not been broached under the disfluency heading (see sub-section 2.1.4.1).

Most of the interruptions observed in the SHIFT telephone interpreting corpus are purely displayed at the turn-taking level, and contrary to many interruptions in monologue medical encounters, some are used as power tools. But we have observed a number of interruptions that have the value of rapport building (Tannen 1989) (see Example 5b: 2.1.4.3).

It is therefore crucial to have a clear understanding of the way different cultures and languages use verbal and nonverbal resources such interruptions to develop arguments on the telephone with a view to instruct telephone interpreter trainees, trainers and practitioners. Arguments are interactional accomplishments, which require the active participation of all participants, the interpreter being an essential party to the confrontation. As in other generes in institutional talk, power and asymmetries are not equally distributed. Confrontation in over-the-phone medical interaction is structured to constrain arguments and confrontations to the minimum. The Spanish National Health Service "Salud Responde" and DUALIA have agreed on a set of structures and procedures embedded in protocols to handle confrontations. In the SHIFT TI corpus, we have observed that not only the healthcare provider and healthcare operator are agents to this institution, but also the intepreter, who her/his assumed neutrality, acts as an agent to the public service institution. This is materialised in their talk and how their interruptions reveal the trajectory of the call as to stop or disuade argument.

3.2 Major similarities

In both types of medical interpreting settings, on-site and over-the-phone, speakers are constrained by their institutions and their social roles. Interpreters in face-to-face encounters have been documented to act as gatekeepers (Davidson 2000), summarising, editing interpersonal information and orienting the talk towards achieving medical data (for a review see Iglesias Fernández 2010) to achieve a swifter, shorter encounter. Public health services are under a lot of pressure almost everywhere, so doctors need to retrieve essential medical data fast in order to provide a diagnosis. In these types of situations, some interpreters in

face-to-face medical interpreting align themselves to the institution, the hospital or health centre by acting as co-principals, adopting an institutional footing and by editorialising and summarising affective displays (Bolden 2000; Davidson 2000; Leanza 2005). We have documented on-site and telephone interpreters shifting beween different roles, one of them being that of gatekeeper, particularly present in TI.

Both in some instances of on-site medical interaction mediated by interpreters (Roy 2000; Davidson 2000; Wadensjö 1998; Angelelli 2004; Merlini and Favaron 2005), and in telephone interpreting, practitioners assume the role of principal and much rarely that of pseudo-principal. This active and independent behaviour, which departs from the original has also been documented in TI by Lee (2007). Telephone interpreters have been found facilitating the goal of communication. In the SHIFT TI corpus interpreters took the role of principals by way of non-renditions which usher questions to retrieve necessary information, shifting from the role of responder to co-principal or principal. Three roles have been attached to interpreters in medical interpreting: a) interpreter managing the encounter; b) interpreter functioning as a tool to facilitate conversation; and d) interpreters work in partnership with the primary parties (Bloom *et al*. 1966). Dualia telephone interpreters have been found to play these three roles.

Affective displays are numerous and distinct in their granularity and intensity. They comprise expressed feelings but also attitudes and relational orientations) (Cirillo 2012). There is positive affect (joy, interest, excitement), negative affect (distress, rage, shame), and they are verbally and nonverbally relayed. They are best analysed as scales in a continuum (Hübler 1987: 373), from "more involved" to "less involved" (Ochs 1989). Interpreters´ zero renditions and non-renditions have an

effect on the management of affective communication both in on-site and TI interpreted interaction. It seems extraordinarily important to train interpreters over-the-phone is that affective communication can be "emotional" or spontaneous but also "emotive" or intentional.

In two corpora of on-site medical corpus (Merlini and Favaron 2005; Cirillo 2012), interpreters displayed high involvement in the doctor–patient interaction. This took the form of control of turn-taking, topic-development, adopting the footing of the principal, responder and occasionally the pseudo-principal. They made phatic empathic explanatory additions. In comparison, many interpreters in the SHIFT TI corpus were highly involved but not necessarily facilitated for the patient, but instead facilitated for the healthcare provider and operator. For instance, they did not decrease speech rate to facilitate understanding for the patient, many of whom were non-native speakers of English, while they spoke slower when they interacted with healthcare providers and operators (see section 9:3.5).

Affective displays abound in onsite doctor-patient interpreted interaction, but interpreters are not always aware of their role, leading to zero-renditions (Wadensjö 1998; Cirillo 2012).

4. Concluding remarks

The analysis of 15 interpreter-mediated health care service calls highlighted some recurring features that make these interactions different from monolingual health service calls. At the beginning of interpreter-mediated calls the identification and recognition phase takes place between the operator, the interpreter and the patient, while in monolingual

service calls this phase involves only the caller and the operator. The caller's identification occurs at a later stage in interpreter-mediated calls, usually after the presentation of the request or reason for the call by the caller. In monolingual service calls, the operator interviews the caller in order to understand the request and collect relevant information. In interpreter-mediated calls, instead, the interview is often carried out jointly by the operator and the interpreter who agree about how to proceed and work as a team to achieve the same goal: collecting information as accurately and as quickly as possible. This may generate dyadic exchanges between the call-placer and the interpreter, and the interpreter with the operator/doctor and the interpreter. Interpreters do not translate after every turn produced by each speaker but may decide to postpone the translation until the exchange with the caller or the operator is closed.

Turn allocation is more difficult in TI than in face-to-face interactions, and it is often the interpreter who coordinates the turn taking putting one speaker on hold while she/he translates/talks to the other side or selects the next speaker by switching language code.

Both poor sound conditions and the occurrence of proper names of people, places and drugs represent a challenge for telephone interpreters. Our data show that interpreters who are aware of these difficulties and are well trained and self-confident are able to adopt successful strategies and solutions (Gracia-García 2002; Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming).

Overall the calls analysed here show that when the operator and the interpreter trust each other and have a clear understanding of their roles they work together successfully. To reach this level of synergy, though, joint training of health care professionals and interpreters is essential.

Human resources departments at telephone interpreting companies must face what seems to be the most serious challenge to an effective TI performance, that is, to educate the providers of services as to the telephone interpreters´ needs. There is a pressing need for more extensive provider and client education as to the basic needs required to perform over-the-phone interpreting effectively. An additional need also relates to those involved in the design of technologies, the telephone, self-phone and other tools, so that they must fit technology to actual needs, make them more efficient so that interpreters can enhance their potential. Telemedicine is a reality, and is here to stay. Interpreters are part of this transformation in the provision of services. More studies of telephone interpreting practice should be in place if we want to increase their efficiency in performance.

As observed in remote video conferencing, absence of some features of speech and/or nonverbal bond-building resources may lead to a weaker rapport between the parties or non at all. Diminished rapport building was not only the result of the lack of co-presence, but of TIs observing the DUALIA protocol as to "not engaging in personal issues with the patient". The confirmation through the corpus-based observation of the SHIFT TI corpus of the assumptions of difficulty and challenges in over-the-phone interpreting found in the literature and in the TIs own narratives of difficulty (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming) bring home the message that this mode of interpreting abounds in challenges, specific to the mode as well as to the genre, which need to be addressed in training materials and modules. But a greater need emerges, that points to the pressing demand for further provider education.

An intersting finding in the survey of novice and seasoned TI shows more experienced interpreters showing more positive views of the practice than

advanced and novice TI, as they reported less problems in a more restrictive number of areas (Iglesias Fernández and Ouellet forthcoming). However, a small number of seasoned TIs were more concerned with the lack of recognition for their work as they believed they put a lot of effort into a practice that was not adequately paid.

As to the feasibility of TI, observation of the SHIFT telephone interpreting corpus and responses by surveyed TIs, show that this depends more on factors external to telephone equipment and lack of visual information, such as lack of provider education and acknowledgement of TIs´ needs, and patients' emotions and the impact of these emotions on the interpreter impeding clear comprehension of the message than on the telephone equipment or the telephone medium of interaction. As these external factors can be trained and refined through training. When training Tis, we should look at the interactional practices of the primary interlocutors, their dynamics and their impact on listening and comprehension, as these are the major skills involved in telephone interpreting.

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6. La comunicazione bilingue in ambito legale: un raffronto fra interazione faccia a faccia e interazione telefonica mediata dall'interprete

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0. Introduzione

In ambito legale l'interpretazione a distanza monolingue o bilingue viene effettuata sia in videoconferenza che per via telefonica a seconda dell'attività giudiziaria. La videoconferenza mediata dall'interprete viene sempre più utilizzata in ambito penale per dibattimenti e interrogatori (si vedano i contributi di Russo nel Report 1 e di Braun nei Report 1 e 2). Il suo impiego è motivato da ragioni di sicurezza, ordine pubblico e utilità. L'interpretazione telefonica, invece, viene utilizzata regolarmente per chiamate alla polizia tramite il numero unico di emergenza 112, per interrogatori o, evenienza ancora non altrettanto frequente (almeno in Italia), quando un rappresentante delle forze dell'ordine si trova ad interagire con uno straniero per evenienze quali, ad esempio, incidenti stradali o altre eventualità che si verificano al di fuori della Questura o della caserma.

In questo contributo verranno analizzate due situazioni comunicative: un'intervista giudiziaria presenziale mediate da un'interprete e una interazione telefonica, allo scopo di evidenziare parallelismi e divergenze

nella struttura conversazionale e negli scambi verbali tra i partecipanti.

Iglesias, Amato, González e Iglesias and Russo (in questo Report 2) hanno già passato efficacemente in rassegna i contributi apparsi sull'interpretazione telefonica evidenziando, tra l'altro, le sue peculiarità sociolinguistiche e conversazionali, i limiti del canale comunicativo monosensoriale e gli effetti sugli interlocutori. In questa sede, pertanto, verranno ripresi solo quegli aspetti salienti che si riferiscono specificatamente al raffronto tra interazione presenziale e telefonica mediata dall'interprete in ambito legale. Uno degli studi comparativi più importanti apparso in letteratura è stato condotto da Wadensjö (1999), in cui l'autrice ha confrontato due interrogatori di polizia reali sul medesimo caso e con i medesimi partecipanti, e ha riscontrato che l'interpretazione presenziale era più fluida, a causa della minor lunghezza dei turni conversazionali dei partecipanti e dell'andamento delle sovrapposizioni. La principale differenza risiedeva nel fatto che i partecipanti in presenza dell'interprete erano maggiormente in grado di coordinarsi e sincronizzare la loro interazione in base anche a scambi gestuali e visivi. In particolare i partecipanti parlavano di più e più velocemente attraverso l'interprete presente. L'interprete presenziale prendeva più spesso la parola rispetto all'interprete telefonico, a scapito dei partecipanti che, peraltro, parlavano più spesso sovrapponendo i turni di parola in modo cooperativo. Nelle interazioni faccia a faccia, i parlanti parlavano più veloce *insieme*. Successivamente, Gracia-García (2002) ha passato in rassegna i vantaggi e gli svantaggi dell'interpretazione telefonica soprattutto in ambito medico, ma anche legale. Sostanzialmente, sono favorevoli al suo utilizzo le istituzioni per ragioni economiche e logistiche (riduzione dei costi di trasferta degli interpreti, immediata disponibilità delle lingue necessarie ecc.), ma viene espressa preoccupazione dalle associazioni professionali

per le condizioni lavorative stressogene e per la qualità della resa. È soprattutto la mancanza di informazioni visive e di segnali non verbali ad allarmare gli interpreti anche giudiziari. Su questo aspetto, anche l'interpretazione a distanza multisensoriale come la videoconferenza sempre più in uso in ambito legale non garantisce risultati migliori, come conclude la Braun (2015) alla luce dei risultati del secondo progetto europeo da lei coordinato AVIDICUS 2:

> A performance improvement can be observed in some areas, and there are also signs for a reduced and/or more successful processing effort, suggesting that RI [Remote Interpreting] was a less stressful experience in the AVIDICUS 2 sessions, when compared with AVIDICUS 1. This was corroborated by the interpreters' comments both in AVIDICUS 1 and 2. There are also indicators for improved confidence in approaching the task of remote interpreting. However, many of the problems identified in AVIDICUS 1 prevailed in the AVIDICUS 2 data sets suggesting that *interpreting problems are still magnified by the videoconference condition despite the initial training, additional experience and the use of better equipment*. (Braun 2015: 173 corsivo nostro)

Infine, Mikkelson (2003) ha concluso che l'interpretazione telefonica è efficace in ambito giuridico-giudiziario solo se viene utilizzata in modo mirato, se si dispone di impianti di qualità e se partecipanti e interpreti vengono adeguatamente preparati. E proprio questo è l'obiettivo finale del progetto SHIFT.

1. Materiali e metodi

Le due situazioni comunicative qui di seguito esaminate sono diverse per finalità, dinamiche e contesti socio-culturali, ma sono comunque accomunate da un medesimo scopo comunicativo generale: entrambe

sono richieste d'aiuto ai rappresentanti delle forze dell'ordine tramite un canale formale che è dotato di convenzioni proprie. In entrambi i casi si tratta di un'interazione istituzionale (Drew e Heritage 1992) e questo implica che gli enunciati vengono emessi e compresi in relazione al contesto comunicativo, agli orientamenti nei confronti dell'obiettivo associato all'istituzione in questione e in base ai rapporti interpersonali tra partecipanti professionali e non professionali.

Nel caso dell'interazione presenziale si tratta di un'intervista di polizia giudiziaria nella fase di indagine preliminare di una procedura penale. Essa è tratta dal progetto europeo *Improving Police and Legal Interpreting* (IMPLI), a cui hanno contribuito Amalia Amato e Gabriele Mack (2015) e si basa su dati reali, poiché le autrici hanno utilizzato un verbale autentico svoltosi senza interprete, opportunamente "anonimizzato e adattato alla presenza dell'interprete e all'uso di due lingue straniere" (ib.: 15). L'intervista che ne risulta è ambientata nella Questura di Forlì-Cesena e dura 8 minuti e 38 secondi. Avviene tra una giovane donna di lingua tedesca vittima di un'aggressione sessuale e il commissario di lingua italiana, alla presenza dell'interprete. Tutti i tre partecipanti condividono il medesimo spazio comunicativo. Mentre la vittima è impersonata da un'attrice, il ruolo del commissario di polizia e quello dell'interprete sono invece recitati da due persone che svolgono questa professione nella vita reale e questo rafforza la verosimiglianza dell'intervista presentata nel video. In particolare, l'interprete è una funzionaria del Ministero dell'Interno di stanza nella Questura di Forlì. Il video prodotto dalle autrici comprende anche l'interrogatorio con il sospettato, ma questa interazione non verrà presa in considerazione perché non pertinente.

L'interpretazione telefonica (IT) è una chiamata di emergenza al 112 e per

questa tipologia di interpretazione in ambito legale non vi sono corrispondenti interazioni presenziali. La telefonata dura 4 minuti e 57 secondi ed è stata fornita dall'azienda spagnola di IT per servizi pubblici DUALIA, partner del progetto SHIFT. All'inizio si sente una breve "musica d'attesa": chi compone il numero di DUALIA per un servizio di interpretazione è messo in attesa per qualche secondo finché risponde l'interprete della lingua desiderata. La qualità dell'audio è ottima; il parlato è accompagnato da dei <bip> a intervalli regolari che, tuttavia, non sono stati riportati nelle trascrizioni di questo contributo perché paiono ininfluenti sui turni dei parlanti (per ulteriori dettagli tecnici sulle telefonate a DUALIA, si veda González in questo Report 2).

L'interazione avviene tra una persona che parla inglese con accento straniero, l'operatore spagnolo del numero unico di emergenza 112 a cui si rivolge per denunciare la scomparsa di un'amica, e l'interprete. A stretto rigor di termini, l'interlocutore della chiamante non è un poliziotto, ma un operatore del 112 che svolge l'intervista per poter smistare la richiesta al servizio pubblico più idoneo (polizia, ambulanza, vigili del fuoco ecc.). Analogamente al caso precedente, non è una telefonata reale, ma una conversazione telefonica riprodotta sulla base di una chiamata reale. Si tratta di una chiamata che DUALIA tipicamente realizza per testare una nuova interprete, pertanto, quest'ultima, a differenza degli altri due interlocutori, reagisce spontaneamente –ovvero, si tratta di una interpretazione reale. Per la tipologia di telefonate e per i protocolli impiegati da DUALIA si rimanda ad Amato (in questo Report 2).

L'organizzazione complessiva di questa telefonata al 112 riflette quella delle chiamate di servizio in generale (si veda anche Tonin e Spinolo nei Report per 1 e 2 rispettivamente) e delle chiamate di emergenza, che in ambito italiano al 118 sono state studiate da Zorzi e Monzoni (2003) e in

quello americano in particolare da Zimmerman (1992). Questi distingue una sequenza di sei fasi[9] (ib. 419):

a) Pre-opening

b) Opening/identification/acknowledgement

c) Request

d) Interrogative series

e) Response

f) Closing.

Per garantire un'omogeneità nella trascrizione del parlato dell'interazione faccia a faccia e di quella telefonica riportate in questo contributo, le convenzioni di trascrizione sono riprese da Amato e Mack (2015) e opportunamente integrate, riducendo al minimo indispensabile le annotazioni: intonazione ascendente (?); enfasi **(grassetto)**; parentesi quadra anteposta ai segmenti del parlato sovrapposti per indicare rispettivamente inizio e fine del parlato simultaneo di due partecipanti ([ ]); enunciato lasciato incompleto (…); allungamento vocalico (:).

2. Confronto mediazione faccia a faccia e telefonica

2.1 Gestione dei turni di apertura e accordo sulle procedure

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[9] Pre-apertura (squillo del telefono, che proietta un'emergenza 'virtuale'; b) apertura/identificazione /riconoscimento (identificazione dell'istituzione e segnale di riconoscimento da parte del chiamante); c) richiesta (richiesta del servizio e/o presentazione del problema); d) serie interrogativa ('intervista' condotta dall'operatore per avere informazioni specifiche sul problema segnalato); e) risposta (se e quali soccorsi saranno inviati); f) chiusura (saluti ed eventuali ringraziamenti) (Zorzi e Monzoni 2003: 164).

Dal punto di vista dell'interprete la prima differenza fondamentale è dettata dal contesto comunicativo. Nell'intervista con il commissario, l'interprete *si reca* in un luogo (la Questura) la cui funzione è nota anche se non sa che tematiche e dinamiche dovrà affrontare. Nel caso dell'interpretazione telefonica, l'interprete *è* in un luogo (presumibilmente a casa sua) ed è improvvisamente raggiunta da un operatore del 112 che le sottoporrà un caso tra una vasta gamma di casi possibili: dai più "innoqui" (una donna che si informa sulle barriere architettoniche di un museo che vuole visitare) ai più drammatici (una donna che necessita un'ambulanza per il marito morente).

Questo elemento di imprevedibilità e tensione che richiede prontezza di riflessi ed autocontrollo è forse il primo aspetto su cui far riflettere ed esercitare interpreti che desiderano formarsi in interpretazione telefonica (si veda González, Report 1 e 2).

Vediamo ora come si differenzia l'organizzazione della prima sequenza di turni, una sequenza cruciale perché avviene l'apertura "del canale di comunicazione", non solo in senso tecnico, ma avviene la presa di contatto interpersonale e l'identificazione reciproca che trasforma i parlanti in partecipanti sociali all'interazione comunicativa (Drew e Heritage 1992), vale a dire rappresentanti di categorie professionali che condizionano la produzione e schema inferenziale dello scambio verbale. L'andamento inziale delle prime fasi della conversazione in cui l'interpretazione avviene faccia a faccia (IF) e quella dove avviene al telefono (IT) presenta già le prime differenze fondamentali:

IF	IT
	Pre-apertura (squillo del telefono per interprete)

	(musica d'attesa per operatore del 112 chiamante)
Apertura Identificazione Riconoscimento (implicito) –saluti	Apertura Identificazione Riconoscimento (esplicito)- saluti

A differenza dell'interazione monolingue, nell'interazione mediata dall'interprete questa fase si verifica due volte in entrambe le modalità: una prima volta tra interprete e chi la interpella o "cliente" (commissario e operatore del 112) e tra l'interprete e la persona che richiede aiuto (vittima in Questura e chiamante al telefono).

Ma prima di analizzare le due interazioni, premettiamo che il volume che accompagna il video (Amato e Mack, 2015) contiene un'analisi conversazionale e situazionale molto approfondita a cui si rimanda. In questa sede ci limitiamo a rimarcare le differenze più significative tra IF e IT, rilevate rispettivamente dalle trascrizioni e dal video di Amato e Mack (2015), e dalla nostra trascrizione della telefonata fornita da DUALIA, in base alle categorie d'analisi indicate nel progetto SHIFT (si veda Braun e Davitti in questo Report 2). In riferimento ai turni d'apertura e all'accordo sulle procedure da parte dell'interprete si osserva quanto segue.

2.1.1 Interazione faccia a faccia

Nell'interazione faccia a faccia, le fasi dell'apertura, di identificazione e di riconoscimento sono già presupposti e quindi non vi è alcun comportamento verbale che li espliciti. Nel senso che commissario e interprete conoscono già le reciproche identità professionali (l'interprete è stata chiamata dal suo ufficio, bussa, saluta e viene fatta accomodare accanto alla vittima). Ciò che, invece, viene esplicitato è sia il motivo per cui è stata chiamata che la presentazione della sua identità (funzione) alla

vittima (Amato e Mack 2015: 23):

C[10]: Ti abbiamo fatta venire perché sembra che la qui presente signorina Sabine Hale sia stata aggredita da un uomo che poco prima del nostro arrivo è riuscito a scappare.

C: Signorina, questa è una signora, un'interprete di tedesco che ci permetterà di comprendere esattamente come si sono svolti i fatti.

Sono queste le condizioni più adeguate per favorire la reciproca fiducia e la comprensione degli enunciati, nonché delle funzioni di ciascuno. Inoltre, il commissario stabilisce subito un clima interpersonale disteso che facilita l'interazione ("Mi raccomando, dille che stia tranquilla, che sei tenuta alla riservatezza." (ib.)).

L'interprete traduce tutto molto fedelmente in unico turno e si presenta anche con il proprio nome. Comunicare la propria identità personale oltre che categoriale è un ulteriore elemento che favorisce fiducia e trasparenza nell'interazione con la vittima:

I: Also ich bin die Dolmetscherin, ich heiße Silvia Brome, und ich bin da, um die Polizei zu helfen, den Vorgang der Ereignisse zu rekonstruieren. Also, keine Sorge, weil ich zur Geheimhaltung verpflichtet bin. *Wenn etwas nicht klar ist, dann können Sie ruhig sagen, ok*?
(BT: Dunque, io sono l'interprete, mi chiamo Silvia Brome e sono qua per aiutare la polizia a ricostruire come si sono svolti i fatti. Dunque non si preoccupi, perché sono tenuta alla segretezza. *Se qualche cosa non è chiara, lo può dire tranquillamente, ok*?)
(ib.: 25, corsivo nostro)

Con l'aggiunta della frase finale rispetto al discorso del commissario

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[10] Abbreviazioni: C = commissario, I = interprete, V = vittima, BT= Back Translation

(tecnicamente viene definita da Wadensjö (1993/2002) *non rendition*, ovvero un'iniziativa discorsiva autonoma che non corrisponde ad alcun enunciato del discorso di partenza), l'interprete si accorda con la vittima sul modo di procedere e dimostra così di preoccuparsi per la buona riuscita della comunicazione. Questo genere di iniziativa da parte dell'interprete professionista è a nostro avviso da incoraggiare negli aspiranti interpreti proprio per rafforzare il senso del valore comunicativo e non "solo" traduttivo della loro prestazione.

2.1.2 Interazione telefonica

Nell'interazione telefonica, i due turni di identificazione e riconoscimento tra chi risponde (*call-taker*, in questo caso l'interprete che lavora per DUALIA, I) e chi chiama (l'operatore del 112, O) sono molto rapidi. L'interprete si identifica subito in modo molto efficiente: prima con il nome dell'Azienda che l'operatore cercava (identità professionale) e poi con il proprio nome (identità personale), seguito dall'offerta d'aiuto (1).

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

Le interpreti, dunque, in entrambe le modalità si presentano prima professionalmente e poi personalmente. Inoltre, forniscono un terzo elemento: nel primo caso un modus operandi per favorire la comunicazione e, nel secondo, un'espressione formulaica per conoscere il motivo della chiamata. Dal punto di vista pragmatico, si può notare un

diverso uso delle risorse prosodiche probabilmente dettato dalla situazione comunicativa: un tono pacato in IF e un ritmo d'eloquio veloce in IT (per un approfondimento sugli aspetti prosodici e paralinguistici nell'interpretazione a distanza si veda Iglesias Fernández in questo Report 2).

Nel turno di risposta (2), l'operatore replica salutando, ma non è ricambiato dall'interprete. Per inciso, questa reazione rispecchia un *pattern* comportamentale frequente nelle telefonate di servizio spagnole dove il 22% dei riceventi non ricambia mai il saluto sembrando, quindi, interessato a giungere quanto prima al motivo della chiamata (Colamussi e Pallotti 2003: 102). L'operatore, poi, si identifica e, trattandosi di un servizio plurilingue, richiede conferma di avere al telefono l'interprete giusta (2).

In questo caso non viene fornito alcun tipo di briefing all'interprete, ma solo che verrà messa in contatto con una signorina. Sarà proprio l'interprete che dovrà aiutare l'operatore a scoprire il motivo della chiamata (*the reason for call* o *request*), a differenza del caso precedente.

Merita sottolineare che la risposta dispreferita in questo scambio di domanda-risposta (l'interprete avrebbe dovuto rispondere semplicemente "sì", anziché "d'accordo" con topo ascendente, (3)), pare disorientare per un attimo l'operatore che risponde con un segnale discorsivo dal tono quasi dubbioso "Sì::" (4). Anche nel successivo turno l'interprete risponde allo stesso modo (5). In questo caso il tipo di segnale è appropriato, ma non il tono che avrebbe dovuto essere discendente, ossia di conferma.

Da questo veloce scambio di turni, si evince l'importanza della competenza fonopragmatica nell'interprete, sia nell'uso adeguato della prosodia che delle scelte lessicali.

Dopo la prima fase di apertura/identificazione interprete-operatore chiamante, inizia ora un nuovo turno di apertura con la donna straniera che ha chiamato il 112:

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

La chiamante sta per iniziare il turno di autoidentificazione. È leggermente esitante, e quindi l'interprete si inserisce con tono deciso chiedendo il motivo della chiamata ("How can I help you?"), interpretando questo punto come un punto di rilevanza transizionale (*transitional relevance point*). Questa sensibilità percettiva è importante per un interprete, proprio perché le pause dell'interlocutrice hanno valori diversi e potrebbe rischiare di interromperla in un momento importante della sua narrazione (si veda Iglesias Fernández in questo Report 2).

A differenza della situazione presenziale, l'interprete non si premura di accordarsi sulle procedure ("Se qualche cosa non è chiara, lo può dire tranquillamente, ok?"), vedremo che adotterà invece delle strategie implicite per favorire la comprensione (2.4).

2.2 Gestione dei turni e della comunicazione

Nelle successive fasi, l'andamento delle due interazioni pare differenziarsi nel modo seguente:

IF (modalità presenziale)	IT (modalità a distanza)
Richiesta da commissario a interprete Richiesta da commissario a vittima	Richiesta da operatore a interprete
Serie interrogativa	Serie interrogativa

Prevalentemente TRIADICA (COM<>INT<>VIT)	Prevalentemente DIADICA (INT<>OP; INT<>CH)

Nella modalità presenziale (IF), il Commissario specifica all'interprete quale compito deve svolgere e poi invita la vittima a fornire il suo racconto; in questo caso la comunicazione avviene con scambi ordinati di coppie di turni (serie interrogativa: domanda del commissario alla vittima-traduzione dell'interprete-risposta della vittima-traduzione dell'interprete, ecc.) con alcune sovrapposizioni nei turni più lunghi tra interprete e vittima. La sequenza dei turni avviene con modalità triadica, come è tipico di un'interazione formale e gerarchizzata, come una intervista o interrogatorio di polizia, dove il commissario fa domande e l'interrogato risponde.

Nella modalità a distanza, una volta avvenuta l'identificazione da parte dell'operatore, la richiesta del motivo della telefonata viene posta direttamente dall'interprete alla chiamante dopo lo scambio iniziale di saluti: "How can I help you?". Nella serie interrogativa, la strategia dell'interprete è quella di raccogliere tutte le informazioni pertinenti dalla chiamante e poi riferire tutto in un unico turno all'operatore. Anziché un dialogo a tre, procede con scambi dialogici separati con ciascun partecipante. Gli scambi triadici (che si osservano nell'interpretazione presenziale) costituiscono la minima parte di questa chiamata. Ciò consente di snellire i tempi per giungere il prima possibile al motivo della chiamata e risponde ad indicazioni fornite agli interpreti nei protocolli di DUALIA. La presenza di protocolli forniti dalle aziende o istituzioni per cui l'interprete lavora è un'indispensabile guida di riferimento, ma soprattutto è uno strumento a disposizione di operatori e interpreti per ricondurre interazioni potenzialmente destabilizzanti dal punto di vista

emotivo (si pensi alle chiamate d'emergenza) sotto controllo e per ottimizzare così il lavoro quotidiano facendo di ogni chiamata, una chiamata di routine (Zimmerman 1992; Schegloff 1986).

La probabile esperienza dell'interprete con chiamate analoghe fa sì che conduca in modo autonomo l'intervista, ma toglie all'operatore l'iniziativa di porre le domande che lui ritenesse più pertinenti.

La gestione dei turni da parte dell'interprete, che seleziona il parlante del turno successivo mediante risorse verbali (ad es. con l'appellativo "Compañero" per iniziare il dialogo con l'operatore, cfr. González, Report 2), fa emergere il suo ruolo di co-organizzatrice o coordinatrice dei turni conversazionali, ovvero il secondo ruolo dell'interprete dialogico oltre a quello di relayer (cioè di chi trasferisce il messaggio da una lingua all'altra) messo in rilievo da diversi autori cominciando da Wadensjö (1998, 1993/2002), ma anche da Angelelli (2004) e Straniero Sergio (2007), tra gli altri. Se questo è generalmente vero per l'interprete che condivide lo spazio dell'interazione con gli altri partecipanti tramite risorse anche corporee –annuendo di continuo, ad esempio, come avviene in questa intervista in Questura, prendendole la mano per sostenere e incoraggiare la vittima a proseguire il suo racconto quando diventa più penoso, (Amato e Mack, 2015: 34)–, è tanto più vero per l'interprete telefonica, che dispone solo di mezzi linguistici e paralinguistici per stabilire la durata delle sequenze diadiche e iniziare/far iniziare/interrompere il turno degli altri parlanti.

Vediamo ora delle esemplificazioni di questa prassi.

In questo primo scambio diadico, la signora rumena inizia la sua narrazione dei fatti:

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

Ogni turno della chiamante, o meglio ogni unità informativa (luogo - hotel, momento della giornata - morning) è associato ad un turno dell'interprete affatto intrusivo ("yes") che ha la funzione di confermare il recepimento del messaggio (*backchannel*) ed è, al contempo, un invito a proseguire. La medesima osservazione fece Wadensjö (1999: 16): "The interpreter's overlap sometimes seems to encourage participants to provide talk, in the sense that they seem to read it as a sign of the interpreter's active listening."

Prima di tradurre all'operatore ispanofono, l'interprete ricapitola ("SO") quanto udito a scopo confermativo, con aggiunte inferenziali legate al contesto (una straniera che chiama da un hotel deve essere in vacanza "on holiday").

Vediamo ora una sequenza di turni che ben illustra il margine di discrezionalità dell'interprete nel condurre la serie interrogativa (in corsivo), che sarebbe invece propria dell'operatore:

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

In queste interazioni si nota anche un elevato uso di segnali discorsivi. L'importanza di questi segnali discorsivi (anche definiti connettori discorsivi o marcatori del discorso) nell'interazione orale è fondamentale perché essi contribuiscono a favorire organizzazione, trasmissione e ricezione del parlato, oltre che la dinamica comunicativa interpersonale (si veda per un approfondimento sull'uso dei segnali discorsivi Flores in Report 1).

Berg-Seligson (1994/2002) ha dimostrato che le scelte linguistiche dell'interprete hanno un impatto sulla percezione che giudice e giuria possono avere dell'imputato o testimone, sull'attribuzione della colpa (uso di una forma verbale passiva anziché attiva), sul grado di cortesia (esempio di significato pragmatico), sull'organizzazione dello scambio comunicativo e sul significato pragmatico. Hale (1999) ha dimostrato che anche l'omissione o l'aggiunta da parte dell'interprete di segnali discorsivi può alterare il significato pragmatico degli scambi comunicativi.

Nel caso dell'interprete presenziale che traduce tra tedesco e italiano, si contano 19 segnali discorsivi autonomi in 11 turni su 28, sia con funzione ricapitolativa ("Also"> "Dunque", di gran lunga i più numerosi), che di conferma di aver ricevuto il messaggio (*acknowledgement tokens*, Ja, Ok, Sì).

In 3 casi si riscontrano all'interno di un turno e possono segnalare l'inizio di un nuovo enunciato che introduce un nuovo tema (es. 1) o anche cambiamento di destinatario e, in questo caso ce ne sono diversi nello stesso turno (es. 2), e in 11 casi sono un segnale di presa di parola e quindi di inizio turno (es. 3) (Amato e Mack 2015):

Esempio 1:
I: <u>Also</u> ich bin die Dolmetscherin, ich heiße Silvia Brome, und ich bin da, um die Polizei zu helfen, den Vorgang der Ereignisse zu rekonstruieren. <u>Also</u>, keine Sorge, weil ich zur Geheimhaltung verpflichtet bin. Wenn etwas nicht klar ist, dann können Sie ruhig sagen, ok?
(BT: <u>Dunque</u>, io sono l'interprete, mi chiamo Silvia Brome e sono qua per aiutare la polizia a ricostruire come si sono svolti i fatti. <u>Dunque</u> non si preoccupi, perché sono tenuta alla segretezza. Se qualche cosa non è chiara, lo può dire tranquillamente, ok?)
(ib.: 25)

Esempio 2:
C: Presto lo interrogheremo e poi…
I: <u>Sì</u>, ha detto che lo interrogheranno, sono sulle sue tracce, vero? <u>Sì</u>.
<u>Ja, also</u> sie sind ihm auf den Spuren und bald werden sie ihn vernehmen und …eine gute Nachricht <u>also</u>. (ib.: 67-68).

Esempio 3:
C: Ci vuole raccontare cosa le è accaduto?
I: <u>Also</u> möchten Sie uns erzählen was Ihnen passiert ist?
(BT: <u>Dunque</u> ci vuole raccontare cosa le è successo?) (Amato e Mack 2015: 33)

Per quanto concerne la traduzione dei segnali discorsivi pronunciati dagli altri parlanti, l'interprete agisce come segue. Il Commissario pronuncia solo 3 segnali discorsivi in 16 turni, di cui 2 all'interno dello stesso turno come organizzatori l'informazione ("Bene", "Adesso che…" ib.: 62), uno ad inizio turno ("Allora"). L'interprete traduce i 2 ad inizio turno. Questo scarso uso di segnali discorsivi da parte del commissario sembra riflettere la struttura asimmetrica e gerarchica dell'interazione in ambito legale osservata per quella monolingue (Russo in Report 1, González in Report 2), dove chi conduce l'intervista ha tono e modalità apparentemente più direttive, per quanto "morbide", che interazionali. Infine, la vittima non

impiega alcun segnale discorsivo, ma fornisce direttamente la risposta a quanto le è stato chiesto.

Nell'interazione telefonica analizzata, gli interlocutori ispanofoni dell'IT fanno un uso elevatissimo di segnali discorsivi, a differenza della chiamante rumena che evidentemente non dispone della medesima competenza pragmatica dei nativi anglofoni. La funzione fondamentale di tali segnali discorsivi è duplice: confermare di aver compreso l'intenzione comunicativa del parlante (*backchannel*) e organizzare i turni marcandone inizio e fine. Infatti, su 42 turni dell'interprete, si contano 18 segnali discorsivi di cui 16 di inizio turno. Ci si sarebbe attesi una maggiore differenza tra l'interprete presente e a distanza, non foss'altro per la multisensorialità di cui dispone la prima durante gli scambi comunicativi. In proporzione, invece, e anche se la prima interazione è durata più a lungo, la frequenza è simile se si considerano i numeri di turni, ovvero 11/28 (39%) nel primo caso e 16/42 (38%).

Tuttavia, nel caso dell'interprete presenziale i segnali discorsici paiono più indici dell'elaborazione cognitiva dell'interprete (il ricapitolativo "Also", dunque) e di contatto interpersonale o funzione fatica ("Sì", "Ja", "Ok"), che non effettivi interventi di gestione degli scambi comunicativi. L'interprete in Questura non seleziona i parlanti del prossimo turno, se non in brevi scambi diadici per richieste di chiarimento, e pertanto prevale il ruolo di traduttrice del messaggio dei partecipanti primari (relayer, nella terminologia di Wadensjö 1993/2002), più che di coordinatrice. Come già osservato, ciò si deve al contesto comunicativo stesso dell'interazione: un'intervista o un interrogatorio di polizia è uno scambio formale che segue un copione ritualizzato ben definito di coppie di turni in cui il commissario pone domande e la vittima risponde.

L'interprete telefonica manifesta, invece, un margine di coordinamento molto maggiore come abbiamo già osservato.

La similitudine tra interprete presenziale e interprete telefonica nell'uso dei segnali discorsivi sta nel fatto che in entrambi i casi marcano soprattutto l'inizio del proprio turno (nel primo caso con funzione ricapitolativa, nel secondo pragmatica), quale che sia la modalità. Appare interessante, però, un uso peculiare di tali connettori pragmatici nell'interprete telefonica, un uso che potrebbe corrispondere all'annuire dell'interprete in presenza, quando conferma con l'*acknowledgement token* "yes" delle informazioni puntali nella narrazione della chiamante rumena (turni 10-17).

Come già anticipato, anche l'operatore ispanofono impiega numerosi segnali discorsivi per indicare di aver compreso e organizzare lo scambio comunicativo ("vale", "de acuerdo", "bueno"), in 7 turni su 14. In questo caso, però, trattandosi di scambi diadici di gestione della comunicazione con l'interprete la loro traduzione non pare rilevante.

Generalmente la sequenza dei turni avviene in entrambi i casi (IF e IT) in maniera generalmente efficiente, in modo particolare nel caso dell'interprete telefonica in quanto evita sovrapposizioni di turno che potrebbero far perdere informazioni, ma si limita solo a brevissimi cenni di recepimento del messaggio (*acknowledgement tokens*).

Si osserva, infine, un forte dinamismo comunicativo nell'IT da parte dell'interprete che conduce gran parte della sequenza interrogativa anche con iniziative proprie al fine di raccogliere più informazioni possibili da riferire agli altri interlocutori.

2.3 Gestione dei riferimenti ai partecipanti primari

Il parlare in prima persona è una indicazione che viene solitamente fornita durante la formazione di interpreti dialogici allo scopo di favorire lo scambio fra i due partecipanti primari. Quando l'interprete condivide il medesimo spazio comunicativo, di norma, siede in posizione laterale, in modo che tra i due ci sia anche un contatto visivo diretto, proprio perché l'intervento dell'interprete idealmente non influisca sul rapporto che deve stabilirsi tra di essi: devono parlare tra loro, anche se mediante l'interprete, poiché sono loro i destinatari primari. Si è visto che in realtà, lungi dall'essere un canale neutrale della comunicazione, l'interprete svolge un ruolo attivo anche di coordinamento, per non dire addirittura di *advocacy*, cioè di supporto e difesa (si veda tra gli altri Merlini 2015).

L'analisi delle interazioni in presenza e a distanza mostra che entrambe le interpreti oscillano tra l'uso del discorso riportato diretto e indiretto introdotto dal verbo citante "dice".

Tendenzialmente, l'interprete presenziale si identifica con il parlante istituzionale (il commissario) riferendo il suo discorso in prima persona e usando il discorso diretto (C: "Ci vuole raccontare cosa le è accaduto?", I: "Also, möchten uns erzählen was Inhnen passiert ist? BT: Dunque ci vuole raccontare cosa le è successo? Amato e Mack 2015: 33)

Invece, l'interprete parla sempre in terza persona quando riferisce il racconto o le posizioni della vittima ("La ragazza stava dicendo che era appena arrivata…" ib.: 35), cambiando così il *footing* (Goffman 1981), ovvero l'allineamento tra i parlanti. Amato e Mack osservano (2015: 35):

> […] lo fa forse perché sente l'esigenza di distinguere il proprio sé da quello del parlante, perché si tratta di un passaggio contenente una descrizione delicata. Ad ogni modo, l'interprete non parla 'per conto della vittima', bensì 'della vittima'.

Colpisce il fatto che, invece, l'interprete parla in prima persona solo quando riferisce le seguenti frasi particolarmente pregnanti della vittima: "No, ce la devo fare. Dovete assolutamente trovare quel maiale, perché non si ripetano più queste cose" (ib.: 43), "Sì, io ho cercato di difendermi, in quel momento ho sentito fortunatamente Veronika gridare e a quel punto…" (ib.: 55), "Lui mi ha mollato la presa ed è corso in direzione della stazione" (ib.: 56).

Nel caso dell'interazione telefonica, il diverso contesto comunicativo condiziona l'uso dei riferimenti ai partecipanti primari. Questi, dal momento che la loro conversazione avviene attraverso un mezzo tecnologico (*technologized interaction*, si veda Iglesias Fernández e Russo in questo Report 2), evidentemente percepiscono anche l'interprete come un "mezzo" tramite il quale comunicare (O: "Ahora necesito que le pregunte", "Dígale" ecc). Anche l'interprete telefonica, pertanto, che procede prevalentemente con serie interrogative diadiche, riferisce sempre in terza persona quanto detto dalla chiamante rumena:

```
27 I: Ella ha venido aquí con una amiga desde Rumania están en un hotel en Madri-
28 O: Mhm  Mhm
29 I: La amiga salió anoche a las siete de la tarde para: ir a ver a una amiga o
a un amigo no sé
30 O: Mhm  Mhm
```

I discorsi riportati dei partecipanti primari vengono compresi senza ambiguità, fuorché nel seguente scambio dove, come nota anche González (in questo Report 2), l'accumularsi dei pronomi di terza persona fa sì che l'operatore richieda un chiarimento (anche rafforzato dal segnale avversativo "pero") e questo porta a una serie di turni di riparazione per ristabilire la comprensione:

```
32 O: Vale  Y conoce a la persona con la que había quedado?
33 I: Eh: bueno ella ha ido a ver un amigo o: una amiga no sé
34 O: Eh…pero pero la chica que llama sabe o conoce a la persona con la que había
quedado?
35 I: Con quién la amiga había quedado, no?
36 I: Sí. Now did you know the person she was meeting?
```

Si noti, tra l'altro, ancora una volta l'impiego di segnali discorsivi quasi a ogni turno per confermare di aver compreso il messaggio e, al contempo, per imprimere dinamismo al dialogo. La funzione di selezione del parlante e di organizzazione dei turni è ben evidenziata in questo turno dell'interprete che "chiude" il dialogo con l'operatore con un *acknowledgement token* ("Sì"), e immediatamente dopo seleziona il successivo parlante allofono richiamandone l'attenzione con un segnale ricapitolativo/esortativo ("Now").

2.4 Gestione dei problemi di comprensione

In entrambi i casi, si verificano lievi problemi di comprensione che le interpreti risolvono subito chiedendo chiarimenti prima di tradurre. Inoltre, vengono pronunciate anche domande di conferma di quanto udito. Nel caso dell'interpretazione faccia a faccia, l'interprete chiede una conferma di quanto detto dal Commissario con una domanda coda (I: "Sì, ha detto che lo interrogheranno, sono sulle sue tracce, vero? Sì." Amato e Mack 2015: 67).

Nel caso dell'interpretazione telefonica si verificano più casi di negoziazione del significato in cui l'interprete utilizza diverse efficaci strategie:

- domande coda:

```
34. O: Eh…pero pero la chica que llama sabe o conoce a la
persona con la que había quedado?
```

```
35. I: Con quién la amiga había quedado, no?
```

- domande "eco":

```
42. C: "She is forty years old."
43. I: "Forty? Cuarenta años"
64. I: Ok. And what colour is her hair?
65. C: She is tall. She is dark-haired.
66. I: Dark-haired. And her eyes?
67. C: Blue eyes.
68. I: Blue eyes. Now when you say dark-haired do you….

49. I: What's her second name? Her family name?
50. C: Po:pe:scu
51. I: Popescu? Paula Popescu?
```

Captare i nomi propri al telefono non è agevole, soprattutto nel caso di nomi stranieri. In questo caso, la comprensione mediante domanda eco è stata rafforzata anche dal fatto che già la chiamante rumena si premura di favorirla compitando il cognome dell'amica.

- riformulazioni parafrastiche:

```
47. I: And her surname?
48. C: Sorry?
49. I: What's her second name? Her family name?
```

Il fenomeno linguistico delle riformulazioni parafrastiche negli interpreti è già stato osservato da alcuni autori quali Straniero Sergio (2007). In particolare, Braun (2015) e Amato (in questo Report 2) ritengono che sia proprio la distanza che porta l'interprete a riformularsi più volte.

Ricordiamo anche il caso di incomprensione dovuto all'uso della terza persona singolare che ha generato diversi turni di riparazione (2.3).

2.5 Gestione delle risorse cognitive

Non paiono emergere evidenze comportamentali particolarmente significative o che, tantomeno, differenzino la prassi delle due interpreti.

Per quanto riguarda la memoria, ad esempio, in base all'immediatezza

della resa traduttiva si comprende che nessuna delle due interpreti prende appunti per alleviare il carico mnemonico. Tuttavia, nel caso dell'interprete presenziale dove i turni sono più lunghi e articolati, la scelta di non prendere le note si è rivelata controproducente poiché ha portato ad alcune interruzioni e sovrapposizioni con conseguente perdita di informazioni (Amato e Mack 2015).

L'unico segnale che potrebbe essere interpretato come uno sforzo cognitivo maggiore per l'interprete presenziale, vuoi per la maggiore complessità dei contenuti che per l'emotività di certi turni della vittima, è il frequente uso di segnali discorsivi ricapitolativi ("Also"), particolarmente numerosi nel suo turno finale:

I: Sì, ha detto che lo interrogheranno, sono sulle sue tracce, vero? Sì.
Ja, also sie sind ihm auf den Spuren und bald werden sie ihn vernehmen und...eine gute Nachricht... also. (BT: Sì, dunque sono sulle sue tracce e presto lo interrogheranno e…una buona notizia dunque. (Amato e Mack 2015: 67-68).

Come già osservato, per l'interprete telefonica, i segnali discorsi a inizio turno appaiono piuttosto come un'indicazione di aver recepito il messaggio (*backchannel*) e un invito per l'interlocutore ad iniziare il turno.

2.6 Gestione della chiusura

L'organizzazione e l'andamento delle fasi finali di queste due interazioni istituzionali è analoga:

IF (modalità presenziale)	IT (modalità a distanza)
Risposta	Risposta
Chiusura	Chiusura

Entrambe le interazioni si concludono con la risposta da parte del rappresentante istituzionale (commissario e operatore del 112) alla richiesta d'aiuto della vittima e della chiamante rumena. Nel primo caso, viene avvertita la signorina tedesca che si darà seguito alla sua querela; nel secondo che verrà allertata la polizia.

Dal punto di vista interazionale, il comportamento linguistico dell'interprete telefonica rivela un nuovo atteggiamento:

```
76: O: Mhm mhm bueno pues. Lo que vamos a hacer es que vamos a dar el comunicado
la comunicación a la policía y…
77. I: Sì
78. O: Dígale que deje la línea del teléfono móvil libre ¿Vale? Y…por si la policía
le tiene que llamar y…
79. I: De acuerdo. Ok we are going to inform le police (...) leave the line free
in case the police needs to telephone you. ¿Ok?
```

Si osserva un cambiamento di *footing* da parte dell'interprete: nel parlare in prima persona plurale ("we") si allinea per la prima volta con l'istituzione (Schegloff 1992) nel riferire alla chiamante cosa avverrà ora che lei ha espresso la sua richiesta d'aiuto. Parrebbe una mossa discorsiva rassicurante nei confronti di quest'ultima come a dire "tutti noi che abbiamo risposto alla sua chiamata, operatore del 112 e interprete, ci prenderemo cura di lei e della sua amica".

Infine, i saluti che chiudono l'interazione telefonica:

```
80. C: Ok thank you very much
81. I: You are welcome. Good bye.
82. C: Bye bye thank you
83. I: Buenos días compañero
84. O: Buenos días gracias. Hasta luego
85. I: Nada. Adiós
```

Il commiato avviene di nuovo separatamente, vale a dire è l'interprete si

accomiata da entrambi i partecipanti, ma non si salutano chiamante e operatore tra loro, come se l'interazione fosse avvenuta *con* l'interprete e non *tramite* l'interprete.

3. Osservazioni conclusive

Il confronto tra un'interpretazione in presenza dell'interprete e un'interpretazione telefonica in ambito legale ha messo in luce alcune similitudini e differenze significative. Per quanto le situazioni comunicative non fossero esattamente sovrapponibili, poiché si trattava in un caso dell'intervista di una vittima di violenza sessuale in Questura e nell'altro di una chiamata al 112 per denunciare la sparizione di un'amica, l'organizzazione complessiva di queste interazioni istituzionali è risultata simile: entrambe sono riconducibili alla struttura delle chiamate di emergenza in sei fasi: pre-apertura, apertura - identificazione - riconoscimento, richiesta, serie interrogativa, risposta e chiusura.

Sono stati esaminati i comportamenti verbali e interazionali delle interpreti ed è emerso che l'interprete telefonica ha un ruolo di gestione dei turni conversazionali e di selezione del parlante del turno successivo molto maggiore rispetto all'interprete della Questura, anche perché in questo caso si tratta di un'interazione asimmetrica (il commissario pone le domande e la vittima risponde) e molto più formale. Si osserva quindi in questo caso un andamento dell'interazione soprattutto triadico (commissario-interprete-vittima-interprete-commissario ecc.). Nel caso dell'interprete telefonica prevalgono, invece, scambi diadici tra interprete-operatore e interprete-chiamante, con frequenti iniziative discorsive dell'interprete (*non rendition*, spesso sotto forma di domande) per giungere quanto prima a cogliere la ragione della chiamata da riferire

all'operatore perché mandi il servizio opportuno. Questo modo di procedere è dettato, oltre che dalla competenza personale, anche dai protocolli dell'azienda Dualia che fornisce il servizio di interpretazione telefonica.

Un elemento comune, ma con funzioni diverse, è l'uso assai frequente di segnali discorsivi a inizio turno: per l'interprete telefonica è soprattutto un veloce modo di segnalare di aver recepito il messaggio (*acknowledgement token*) e di selezionare il parlante successivo (funzione pragmatica), per l'interprete in presenza pare, invece, essere più legato ad un momento ricapitolativo dell'informazione elaborata (funzione cognitiva).

Nonostante i suoi limiti, questo studio che si basa sul confronto di due casi singoli non reali (anche se verosimili perché ricostruiti in base a dati reali) fa emergere degli spunti utili per la formazione degli interpreti telefonici.

L'imprevedibilità della chiamata, degli interlocutori (la cui identità non tanto categoriale, ma individuale, viene riscostruita in base alla voce percepita) e dei contenuti, nonché la velocità degli scambi verbali richiedono nell'interprete grande prontezza di riflessi, automatismi traduttivi, competenza pragmatica e sensibilità sia percettiva che umana. La comunicazione privata delle sue componenti paralinguistiche, prossemiche, gestuali e contestuali viene forzatamente ridotta ad una dimensione monosensoriale. All'interprete spetta il compito di ridarle tutto il suo vigore e dinamismo.

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7. La conversación telefónica mediada por intérprete telefónico y su representación en el ámbito judicial-policial

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0. Premisa

El presente trabajo forma parte del conjunto de análisis dedicados a la fase de estudio de las interacciones presenciales y telefónicas en ámbito judicial-policial mediadas por intérpretes –con Russo en Report 2, como continuación de González y Russo en Report 1. Este informe se propone describir brevemente las características de la interpretación telefónica e identificarlas en ejemplos de *performances,* extraídos de grabaciones de conversaciones telefónicas en entorno judicial-policial mediadas por intérprete telefónico; [11] los materiales objeto de análisis son transcripciones –preparadas precedentemente siguiendo los protocolos establecidos en el proyecto SHIFT (véase Amato y Russo en este Informe)– de llamadas mediadas por intérpretes de DUALIA, con una

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[11] Con la descripción "interacción telefónica con intérprete telefónico" diferenciamos esta modalidad de la "interpretación telefónica con partes presenciales" –interlocutores que comparten espacio durante la interacción mediada por intérprete telefónico–, o de la "interpretación telefónica con intérprete presencial" –en la que el intérprete trabaja presencialmente con una de las partes mientras que la otra se encuentra al otro lado del teléfono. Esta última modalidad, muy presente en ámbito judicial, es la utilizada por el intérprete que trabaja en una operación de escuchas telefónicas (González 2015). Se recuerda que en el sub-corpus DUALIA del proyecto SHIFT se encontrarán exclusivamente ejemplos de prestaciones de intérpretes telefónicos, que median tanto interacciones telefónicas como interacciones presenciales (en particular, véase en Report 1 Amato, González, Russo).

perspectiva de análisis preferencial centrada en la figura del intérprete telefónico. Los datos relevantes, observaciones y resultados se podrán contrastar con aquellos obtenidos en la parte del output 2 dedicada a la interacción presencial mediada por intérprete en ámbito judicial-policial (véase Russo en este Informe).

Este trabajo recoge inicialmente algunas consideraciones genéricas sobre la interacción mediada por intérprete telefónico y generalidades de la interpretación en ámbito judicial-policial. A continuación, se pasa al análisis descriptivo de los materiales transcritos y el estudio de los mismos siguiendo los parámetros de los modelos citados en el *output* 1 de referencia (parte interacción telefónica monolingüe, González, Report 1), al que se incorporarán eventuales elementos para poder completar en la medida de lo posible este informe. En el análisis se prestará una cuidada atención a las fases identificadas como determinantes en los modelos referidos, como la apertura y cierre de la interacción, sin olvidarnos de gestión de turnos y discurso referido, gestión de dificultades, gestión del equipo y herramientas de trabajo, o gestión de los recursos cognitivos. A lo largo de este estudio se incluirán observaciones y/o reflexiones de naturaleza metodológica y anotaciones de carácter contextual o situacional que puedan revelarse útiles en una posible hipótesis de formación en interpretación telefónica o en el eventual ejercicio profesional de la misma.

1. La interpretación telefónica vs. interpretación bilateral presencial

Según el artículo 'fundacional' de Hen y Qian sobre interpretación telefónica (IT), la IT "…is a real-time language service that enables

speakers of different languages to communicate by telephone with the assistance of an interpreter via a three-way conference call" (Hen y Qian, 1997:51). Kelly (2007: XII-XII) define al intérprete remoto como "An interpreter who provides interpretation from a physical location that is different from the location of one or more of the other participants of the conversation", y a un intérprete telefónico como "an interpreter who provides interpretation via telephone". En esta ocasión, y para nuestros fines, preferimos la definición dada por Andres y Falk (2009:16), según la cual "Telephone interpreting can be defined as bilateral interpreting over the phone", por considerarla un adecuado punto de partida para nuestra propuesta de definición y descripción de la modalidad de interpretación telefónica que ilustraremos más adelante.

Genéricamente la literatura científica ha dejado claro que, si bien son tantas las características que la conversación telefónica comparte con aquella de tipo cara a cara, la interacción telefónica presenta una serie de elementos únicos, propios y diferenciales (véase González en este Informe, sección 7). Esta afirmación podría reconocerse como válida también para la interpretación telefónica (IT) respecto a la interpretación presencial, dado que, por un lado, son numerosos los denominadores comunes presentes en ambas,[12] pero por otro la IT se revela además como una modalidad singular con características únicas, como su naturaleza monosensorial, anticipada en el Report 1 (véase González).

En líneas generales, la interpretación telefónica –exactamente igual que la interpretación presencial– se encuadra en situaciones comunicativas dialógicas en las que los interlocutores, en este caso a ambos lados de la

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[12] En este trabajo, cuando se cita la interpretación presencial se está haciendo referencia a la disciplina de la interpretación bilateral o dialógica (Collados Aís y Fernández Sánchez 2001) con partes e intérprete en un mismo espacio compartido.

línea telefónica, no consiguen interaccionar por falta de un código lingüístico común; estamos siempre ante una interacción diádica que pasa a ser triádica con la inclusión del intérprete en la conversación, convirtiéndose así en 'una parte más' en ella, plenamente activa y partícipe como en una interacción cara a cara, aunque presente particularidades derivadas de la comunicación remota. En cualquier caso, tanto en la IT como en la modalidad presencial (a partir de aquí IB) se trabaja en interacciones "que van evolucionando gracias a las aportaciones de todos los participantes, los cuales, de manera conjunta, construyen negocian y acuerdan los significados dentro de la situación comunicativa compartida" (Amato y Mack 2015: 78, traducción propia).

Ahondando ya en lo específico y desde un punto de vista metodológico, resulta evidente el paralelismo casi completo que presenta la IT con los elementos caracterizadores disciplinares de la IB. No obstante, con el siguiente esquema, basado en Collados Aís y Fernández Sánchez (2001: 61-94) que resume los comunes denominadores entre ambas modalidades, se señalan en negrita aquellos puntos en los que estas se distinguen netamente, y se marcan con subrayado aquellos en los que se registra diferenciaciones notables:

Interpretación bilateral (Collados, A.)

1. Contacto directo y **espacio compartido - visibilidad** (CV/CNV)

   Dimensión interpersonal, control de gestión situacional, posibilidad de interrupción, aclaración dudas, complementar información, etc.

2. Bidireccionalidad - agilidad, adaptación, reflejos rápidos.

3. Diversidad contextos situacionales - flexibilidad comportamiento comunicacional.

4. Imprevisibilidad y gran diversidad temática

5. Automatismos conversacionales - 'actos de habla' = manifestación de valores socioculturales, intención comunicativa.

6. Improvisación – espontaneidad - intervenciones moderadoras, inclusión de una traducción a vista no prevista, chistes, etc.

7. Variedad de estilos y/o registros - lenguaje especializado / estándar, formal / informal.

8. Diferencias culturales entre interlocutores - fluidez intra- e intercultural.

9. Diferencias de roles - simetrías, asimetrías.

10. 'Posicionamiento' del intérprete variable –uso 1ª/3ª p., tuteo/Ud., aspectos proxémicos, cambios de perspectiva, etc.

11. Toma de notas - datos indispensables, densidad de información.

El punto 1 del esquema es sin duda el más representativo de una IB, y, al mismo tiempo, es el rasgo diferencial de la IT, ya que la 'no presencialidad' merma drásticamente los *inputs* recibidos por el intérprete telefónico (sólo audio, monosensorial) y la comunicación no verbal se reduce a la información paralingüística y acústica –ruidos, sonidos varios que suelen jugar un papel a veces determinante en la labor del intérprete telefónico y, llegado el caso, pueden resultar útiles y convenientes como *input* (González 2015: 115-117). Seguimos teniendo un 'contacto directo', pero a través de los dispositivos telefónicos, ya que el intérprete 'está' en la conversación, pero no se encuentra presente físicamente; se trata de una

cuestión de suma importancia que afecta no solo a la metodología y estrategias de trabajo, sino también al desarrollo de la conversación mediada, tanto en las formas como en los contenidos –deixis, o negociación de la información, por ejemplo. Las empresas del sector son muy conscientes de que la cuestión 'espacio compartido' es determinante en la IT, tanto es así que distinguen la 'llamada estándar' de la 'llamada a tres' (véase Spinolo en este Informe, sección 8): en la primera el intérprete trabaja con interlocutores A y B que sí comparten espacio, y ello significa que podrá trabajar con una tipología de gestión –de turnos, de instrumentos, activar determinadas estrategias de trabajo o utilizar ciertos recursos comunicativos y lingüísticos–, mientras que con la segunda esas gestiones y estrategias pueden cambiar sensiblemente, lo cual se traduce, a veces, en otra forma de operar, otra forma de escuchar, de hacer de intervenir los participantes primarios, etc. DUALIA, por ejemplo, avisa a sus intérpretes de estar ante una 'llamada a tres' con una señal acústica antes de entrar en contacto con sus interlocutores (anticipamos que los materiales que analizaremos en este trabajo responden a esta tipología).

Otros aspectos sobre los que se podría reflexionar como rasgos diferenciales de una IT respecto a la IB son los recogidos en los puntos 9, 10 y 11 del esquema anterior. El asunto de la asimetría (9), al que dedicaremos unas líneas más adelante, se revela de extrema importancia especialmente en ámbito jurídico-judicial-policial, donde los roles están muy definidos y las funciones y expectativas de las partes implicadas deben responder a reglas muy determinadas; todo ello hace que las interacciones pertenecientes a este ámbito se caractericen por una ritualidad y una formalidad preestablecidas, como ya indica Russo en este Informe (véase sección 6) (cfr. Garwood 2005: 149-156; Hale 2010: 65-97; González 2011: 193-195 y 2015: 113). En lo referente a la toma de

notas (11), se subraya que el estudio de esta técnica se ha reservado tradicionalmente para las disciplinas de la interpretación de conferencias – más en concreto para consecutiva–, mientras que en IB nunca ha sido considerada un instrumento indispensable ni en su recorrido formativo ni en su ejercicio profesional, escudándose en que la bidireccionalidad constante (cambio de código o *code switching*) no comporta turnos de larga duración con un volumen de datos importante;[13] sin embargo, sería conveniente incluir las técnicas de apuntes en la formación de todas las disciplinas de interpretación y recalcar su importancia en la práctica profesional, especialmente para un intérprete telefónico. En una IB se suele ir preparado con el tema del encargo, el intérprete puede incluso conocer ya a la/s parte/s implicadas, o cabe la posibilidad de que se haya especializado en determinado contexto profesional o temático. En una IT la toma de notas auxilia al intérprete ante el alto grado de imprevisibilidad, la diversidad temática, la inmediatez de las *performances* y no disponer de tiempos preparación, la variedad de contextos situacionales o el no conocer a las partes interlocutoras a las que asiste y depender únicamente de su voz para tomar datos. Todo ello, que forma parte de la normalidad cotidiana de un intérprete de IT, puede llegar a crear incertidumbre generando tensión en el intérprete, pero estas son cuestiones que trataremos en próximos puntos.

La cuestión de la 'colocación comunicativa' (10) del intérprete en la interacción telefónica muestra una cierta singularidad y se inserta dentro de lo que definimos como *footing*, término que hace referencia a los cambios de perspectiva que asumen los participantes en una conversación dependiendo del papel, de las relaciones que se van construyendo y/o de

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[13] Consideramos que la presencia de notas obedece más a densidad de datos en el flujo de información de cada turno que a la duración de los mismos.

los comportamientos que vamos adoptando en esa interacción (cfr. Amato y Mack 2015:106-109). Se trata de un aspecto innato a cualquier conversación, pero que produce unos efectos muy concretos, por lo que el estudio y análisis del cambio de perspectiva en una IT pueden resultar de especial interés. El intérprete, y en particular el intérprete telefónico, ha de ser rápido y flexible ya que su 'colocación comunicacional' varía no en pocas ocasiones (cfr. González 2006) –tanto de interacción a interacción, como dentro de una misma interacción–, acudiendo a la alternancia de discurso directo e indirecto (véase San Vicente en el Report 1) como mecanismo lingüístico por excelencia para expresar estos cambios de posicionamiento durante la interacción. Del mismo modo, el intérprete también conjuga sus intervenciones como *relayer* –traducir lo mejor posible los contenidos– y como *coordinator* –orquestando las intervenciones, gestionando turnos– (cfr. Torres 2014; Wadensjö 1998), o asume el papel de *reporter*, *responder* y/o *recapitulator* (1998) según el efecto o las consecuencias derivadas de aquello que ha escuchado de los participantes primarios o interlocutores (cfr. Amato y Mack 2015: 79-80).

La cuestión del *posicionamiento* encierra una cierta complejidad, tal vez aún más significativa en IT, una modalidad de interpretación en la que los cambios de perspectivas han de identificarse rápidamente, sin *input* visual, y adaptar todo ello a una 'llamada estándar' o bien a una 'llamada a tres'. En cualquier caso, siempre es oportuno recordar además que la bidireccionalidad (punto 2 del esquema), el elemento caracterizador por antonomasia de la IB y de la IT desde un punto de vista metodológico, genera ya de por sí un esfuerzo cognitivo íntimamente relacionado con la 'colocación conversacional', sobre todo cuando se trata de turnos breves y rápidos.

Por último, subrayamos lo que de alguna forma se ha ido apuntando a lo

largo de este apartado y que se refiere a los puntos 3, 4, 6 y 7 del esquema: la improvisación ante imprevistos, la diversidad y la variabilidad presentes en la IB se acentúan notablemente en la IT. Pero estas son características que trataremos más detenidamente en apartados sucesivos.

2. La interpretación telefónica como modalidad

Según lo referido hasta estas líneas, sería excesivamente banal considerar la IT como 'una IB realizada al teléfono'; es cierto que el origen de la IT está ligado a este medio, pero en realidad esta tipología de interpretación nace como respuesta a necesidades muy concretas y serán estas las verdaderas 'progenitoras' de la IT: premura e inmediatez, el conocido 'aquí y ahora'. La concepción de un servicio de interpretación que pueda ser prestado en minutos allá donde fuere necesario es el germen de la actualmente llamada 'interpretación a distancia' y los primeros experimentos se realizan a través de una línea telefónica. El medio (teléfono) es el instrumento principal de trabajo y se convierte asímismo – cada vez más– en 'elemento innovador y multiplicador',[14] que posibilita nuevas formas de interacción, distintas modalidades de comunicación y, consecuentemente, es capaz también de 'renovar' las condiciones de trabajo del intérprete telefónico. En resumen, la IT no es una interpretación bilateral clásica al teléfono, sino que podríamos hablar de una nueva modalidad surgida de exigencias espacio-temporales experimentadas tanto en los servicios públicos como en el sector privado, que opera con dispositivos telefónicos. El *modus operandi* del intérprete

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[14] Solo a modo de ejemplo, pensemos en la posibilidad de traducción a vista de un documento por captura de pantalla, envío de foto adjunta por whatsApp, envío de archivos, consulta de *cloud*, etc.

de IT se construye a partir del aparato metodológico de una IB presencial, pero debidamente implementado, de forma que la IT podría ser considerada, siempre desde la perspectiva metodológica, como una modalidad de interpretación derivada de la IB, catalogable dentro de la ya gran familia de la 'interpretación a distancia'.

Los elementos caracterizadores de una IT, presentes en mayor o menor grado en cada una de las *performances* que se desee analizar, son los siguientes: la particularidad de trabajar en 'modalidad percepción monosensorial', diligenciar una 'multidiversidad acelerada', gestionar situaciones comunicativas marcadamente asimétricas, y operar con 'grado de tensión cero', a través de dispositivo telefónico. Veamos estas cinco condiciones con detenimiento:

   a) Percepción monosensorial: se trabaja en una situación 'a ciegas', teniendo como único *input* comunicativo el audio telefónico. Como ya hemos indicado anteriormente, la condición de 'no ver' del intérprete no tiene que ser necesariamente compartida por las partes a las que asiste; en una 'llamada a tres' los participantes y el intérprete se encuentran en condiciones espaciales semejantes, mientras que en una llamada 'estándar' encontramos una cierta asimetría de poderes (cfr. Leonardi 2003: 26) entre los participantes primarios, que sí que comparten espacio, y el intérprete. La presencialidad compartida por los interlocutores ha de convertirse para el intérprete siempre que sea posible en un recurso ulterior, una 'ventaja' a tener en cuenta en las estrategias de trabajo. [15] Como ya indicado anteriormente, interpretar 'a

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[15] Un ejemplo de 'llamada a tres': el intérprete al teléfono atiende a un policía en Comisaría y a un turista que desde la recepción de su hotel denuncia que ha sido víctima de un robo en la calle; en este caso ninguna de las tres partes comparte

ciegas' ha de ser compensado con una buena capacidad receptiva (competencia en escucha activa) de elementos paralingüísticos, elementos prosódicos y de audio en general, porque será esta la que compensará la pérdida de la información visual.

b) 'Multidiversidad acelerada': hace referencia a los puntos 3, 4, 6-9 del esquema IB. Se debe entender que el intérprete de IT, por la modalidad de servicio y las exigencias que comporta esta modalidad (el 'aquí y ahora' antes mencionado), ha de atender multitud de temas, con situaciones comunicativas diferentes, contextos distintos, usuarios diversos, etc., y sus tiempos de reacción y 'colocación en situación' deben ser muy breves.[16] En la práctica habitual de esta modalidad el intérprete no siempre cuenta con un breve *briefing* dado por A (participante primario que llama y se conecta, por ejemplo con DUALIA, para poder atender a su interlocutor) y se ve a menudo en la tesitura de auto-dotarse de ese *briefing* escuchando a la parte B (usuario, alertante o llamante) que suele explicar en los primeros turnos el motivo de su llamada. Las primeras fases de la interacción telefónica mediada suelen ser rápidas, más aún si se trata de una llamada proveniente del 112, y el intérprete de IT ha de poner toda su atención en estos primeros minutos, esenciales para crearse un

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espacio. Por el contrario, en una llamada estándar las partes asistidas por el intérprete sí que comparten espacio (denunciante y policía en Comisaría, y el intérprete al teléfono, por ejemplo) una situación favorable, por ejemplo, para transmisión de datos personales (intérprete: "escriba donde le está indicando el policía su nombre y domicilio").

[16] Comisarías, hospitales, escuelas, para rellenar un formulario, para llamar una ambulancia, para denunciar un robo, para hablar con los padres de un alumno, para cita médica programada, para seguimiento de un paciente con movilidad reducida, para denunciar una desaparición, para tramitar un documento de identidad, permisos de residencia, etc. Tendencialmente, en una IT ocurren más cosas en menos tiempo respecto a una IB.

cuadro correcto de la situación. En definitiva, se podría afirmar que la 'multidiversidad' de la IT puede llegar a ser mayor respecto a la IB, y seguramente todo ocurre con mayor rapidez respecto a la modalidad presencial.

c) Asimetría marcada: la asimetría en IT presenta todo un abanico de posibilidades intrínsecas a la interacción mediada (asimetrías en la capacidad comunicativa de las partes, de los roles, de información, etc.). Este es un punto que sería interesante estudiar en profundidad e integrar en lo posible los resultados que se obtuvieren en hipótesis de formación. Dejando a un lado la IT dedicada al sector privado, y contemplando la ya importante presencia de la IT en los servicios públicos (SSPP), es plausible situaciones de fragilidad de al menos una de las partes de la interacción (accidente, urgencias, conflicto en la escuela), con diferencias de roles y situaciones importantes (paramédico / accidentado, médico / paciente, padres de alumno / director de escuela), especialmente en ámbito judicial-policial (policía / víctima, comisario / detenido, juez / acusado), situaciones todas ellas generadoras de asimetrías muy marcadas.

d) Tensión de 'grado cero': en una IT el intérprete debe estar preparado para cualquier cosa, [17] desde un banal trámite burocrático a un accidente de tráfico grave, un caso de violencia de género, llamadas de servicios de urgencias de hospitales, etc. Esta cuestión genera de por sí una tensión constante al intérprete telefónico, a la que ha de acostumbrarse y saber gestionar (lo que convenimos en llamar tensión 'grado cero'); en los casos de

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[17] Normalmente el intérprete desconoce lo que le espera al otro lado del teléfono: cuando acepta la llamada, habla directamente con las partes implicadas, y los clientes (médico, policía) le suelen referir el motivo de la llamada, si lo conocen.

llamadas de servicios de emergencias, el intérprete debe reaccionar en pocos segundos para contextualizar e identificar estrategias de trabajo en situaciones de gran dificultad comunicativa –por factores emocionales, por ejemplo–, y en ocasiones, el intérprete de IT ha de adaptarse a situaciones de alta tensión entre las partes.[18] En definitiva, partimos de una tensión generada por la incertidumbre que el intérprete experimenta cuando está de turno laboral y sabe que puede llegar cualquier tipo de llamada, hasta llegar a la que puede heredar por uno o ambos participantes ya en tensión, o incluso aumentarla en caso de producirse alguna dificultad o conflicto entre las partes (A cliente, B usuario e I, intérprete) durante la llamada. Sería oportuno profundizar en este aspecto e incluirlo en un recorrido formativo especializado en IT.

e) Incidencia del dispositivo telefónico: muy brevemente subrayamos que para la toma de notas en una IT hay que preparar previamente cuaderno y bolígrafo antes de aceptar la llamada, por seguridad. Esto obliga a operar con el dispositivo telefónico en modalidad 'manos libres' o mejor aún, con auriculares. Pero en cualquier caso, el estar al otro lado del teléfono nos obliga a trabajar con un audio que, en la mejor de las hipótesis, presentará una calidad que será siempre netamente inferior a la que se suele obtener en una cabina de simultánea, por ejemplo. Se trata de un audio 'sucio' al que nos debemos acostumbrar, por no hablar de la caída de línea, problemas de cobertura, etc. Los primeros estudios

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[18] Diferenciamos entre tensión 'grado cero', generada ya en espera de servicio/llamada por el propio intérprete en esta modalidad de trabajo, y la tensión heredada/creada por los contextos y/o las situaciones que pueden surgir en llamada, que afecta al intérprete y que puede comprometer su buen hacer.

sobre la IT observaban una mayor demanda de repetición de informaciones, que incidía en una gestión de turnos más complicada respecto a los de una IB genérica (cfr. Wadensjö 1999), y se interpretaban como dificultades creadas por el propio intérprete, cuando en realidad en muchas ocasiones se puede tratar de operaciones/turnos de confirmación que el intérprete lleva a cabo a veces por problemas técnicos, o para asegurarse del contenido comunicado por los participantes primarios.

3. Interpretación telefónica en ámbito judicial-policial

Por razones de espacio y por mantener el punto de mira sobre la figura del intérprete telefónico, nos limitaremos a incluir a modo de marco genérico un breve retrato de la presencia de esta modalidad de interpretación en España[19] y de soslayo en Italia, dado que los materiales analizados que incluimos en el presente trabajo hacen referencia a estos dos países.

Partamos de una premisa siempre necesaria: la evolución de las TIC han determinado un auge sin precedente del número de idiomas presentes en la 'comunidad internacional comunicada', y la globalización ha amplificado el campo de las actividades delictivas (trata de personas, tráfico de drogas, armas, terrorismo internacional, etc.). El intérprete es una figura conocida (e indispensable) para la Justicia en general desde tiempos remotos y en las últimas décadas recurren cada vez más a sus servicios las Fuerzas de Seguridad del Estado con funciones de Policía Judicial (en España, Cuerpo Nacional de Policía, Guardia Civil e incluso Policía Local; en Italia: Polizia di Stato, Carabinieri, Guardia di Finanza,

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[19] Para ulterior información: http://linkterpreting.uvigo.es/interpretacion-policial-y-en-centros-penitenciarios/

etc.) [20] en Comisarías, establecimientos penitenciarios, audiencias de tribunales y demás estamentos judiciales. El marco legislativo que nos presenta la figura del intérprete al servicio de las Fuerzas de Seguridad en España parte del art. 17.3 de la Constitución española, la ley orgánica 4/2000 de la Ley de Extranjería y su art. 20 y el desfasado art. 441 de la Ley de Enjuiciamiento Criminal (LECrim) que se remonta al siglo XIX. A este breve cuadro habría que añadir el artículo 6 del Convenio Europeo de Derechos Humanos[21] (*Carta de Niza*, firmada en 2000) y la innovadora directiva 64/2010/UE [22] del 20 de octubre del 2010 del Parlamento Europeo y del Consejo que define el derecho al acceso a servicios de interpretación y traducción en los procesos penales. En dicha directiva se subraya, entre otras importantes cuestiones, la obligación por parte de la Justicia de los países miembros de la UE a garantizar en pleno los servicios de interpretación necesarios en todos y cada uno de los mecanismos y procesos judiciales que tengan lugar, recurriendo, cuando proceda, "al uso de tecnologías de la comunicación como la videoconferencia, el teléfono o internet, salvo cuando se requiera la presencia física del intérprete con miras a salvaguardar le equidad del proceso." (texto de la directiva, artículo 2, punto 6).

Los servicios prestados por el intérprete en ámbito judicial-policial son múltiples y variados y abarcan desde interrogatorios, audiencias, toma de declaraciones, entrevistas con abogados, denuncias, asistencia a algún tipo

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[20] Tanto en España como en Italia, no existe una entidad policial integrada en el poder judicial y con dedicación exclusiva, sino que los cuerpos policiales (o incluso determinadas autoridades designadas) prestan servicios al poder judicial y al ministerio público, para la investigación de delitos y ejecución de sentencias.

[21] http://www.derechoshumanos.net/Convenio-Europeo-de-Derechos-Humanos-CEDH/articulo6CEDH.htm

[22] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2010:280:0001:0007:es:PDF

de trámite, etc. (Hale 2007: 68; Olalla 2006; Ortega 2011) hasta investigaciones policiales e interpretar para escuchas telefónicas e intervenciones de las comunicaciones (González 2015). En el caso de España los servicios de interpretación y traducción para la Dirección General de la Policía se encuentran externalizados (Ortega 2011) a través de licitaciones públicas (un sistema que ha sido muy criticado, por la mala calidad de las prestaciones y las bajas tarifas), aunque también existe la posibilidad de trabajar como intérprete por concurso-oposición para la Guardia Civil y convertirse en personal laboral, o ser contratado como intérprete interino para plazas vacantes, o como *free-lance*. Italia presenta una realidad similar, contando con intérpretes y traductores dentro del propio funcionariado de las Fuerzas de Seguridad del Estado y la posibilidad de contratar servicios de interpretación y/o traducción de manera puntual a criterio interno de las fuerzas del orden interesadas. Por último, como dificultades genéricas que registra el intérprete trabajando en este ámbito encontramos algunas como: trabajar con otros profesionales que tal vez no conocen la labor de intérprete y no colaboran como sería menester (cfr. Pajarín 2011; Halle 2007: 66), o la diversidad de escenarios laborales, muchos de ellos con gran carga habitual de estrés, de tensión y/o de riesgo/peligro. Considerando lo expuesto, sería precavido trabajar como intérprete telefónico en aquellas circunstancias en las que el intérprete presencial, en un arresto, por ejemplo, arriesgaría su seguridad e incolumidad. Lo que sí es cierto es que, si bien la IT se consolida como modalidad importante en el ámbito sanitario, en el sector judicial policial se requiere indefectiblemente la presencialidad de las partes implicadas y, en ese sentido, la evolución natural hacia la interpretación a distancia (la necesidad del 'aquí y ahora') se va orientando netamente hacia la interpretación por videoconferencia (cfr.

Braun 2012; Balogh y Hertog, 2012) y no hacia la IT, exactamente como ocurre en Italia.

Para concluir este apartado y desde el punto de vista lingüístico, se apunta que el género de comunicación que encontrará el intérprete en ámbito judicial-policial se caracteriza por comprender una amplia gama de géneros textuales, estilos, registros, una suerte de lenguaje multifuncional y multiforme pero que, al mismo tiempo, presenta una vinculación a convenciones y ritualismos típicos de la interacción en ámbito jurídico-judicial (cfr. Hale 2007: 65-103). Las posibilidades de interacciones prototípicas que el intérprete podría afrontar en este ámbito quedan bien ilustradas en la tabla realizada por Hale (2007: 68) en la que recoge las posibles combinaciones dependiendo de qué tipo de participantes primarios se trate (policía/sospechoso, policía/testigo, abogado/cliente, etc.) según las relaciones entre dichas partes, la función, el nivel de formalidad, la finalidad del evento, etc.

4. Análisis de una interpretación telefónica en ámbito judicial-policial

Este apartado está dedicado al análisis de algunos de los materiales recabados en el proyecto SHIFT, en particular, al análisis de interacciones telefónicas en ámbito policial mediadas por intérprete telefónico. Los modelos que se utilizarán en este apartado responden a los expuestos en el output 1 (véase González en Report 1).

4.1. Presentación de materiales y modelo de análisis

Anticipamos que el volumen de materiales a disposición en ámbito judicial-policial es por norma notablemente menor respecto al ámbito sanitario, por ejemplo, por las circunstancias apuntadas en apartados

anteriores. En nuestro caso, contamos con un total de 4 grabaciones de llamadas que pueden catalogarse como interacciones telefónicas mediadas por intérprete telefónico en ámbito policial, tres de ellas con la combinación español-italiano, y una última con inglés-español. Se trata siempre de grabaciones de simulaciones que reproducen interacciones reales que han tenido lugar anteriormente; el intérprete lleva a cabo el servicio y solo al final del mismo se le informa que en realidad ha trabajado en una simulación. Este sistema suele ser utilizado por las empresas para controles de calidad, monitorización de las prestaciones por parte de los intérpretes, para probar a los intérpretes de última adquisición en la empresa y para material de investigación, como el caso de SHIFT (véanse secciones 6 y 8 de este Informe). Seguidamente se presentan de forma esquemática las grabaciones objeto de análisis y transcripción:

- Grabación 1: "Niño perdido"

Duración: 7 minutos 17 segundos; se trata de una llamada al 112, por lo que nace como llamada a *call-center* para atender emergencias; el objeto de la llamada es la desaparición de un niño en una playa valenciana y se contacta a la Policía para pedir ayuda y asistencia, enviando un coche patrulla de la Policía Nacional. La llamada es interesante desde varios puntos de vista, rica en detalles prototípicos, y completa en cuanto a estructura y contenidos. Los participantes son: madre del niño desaparecido (B), policía nacional varón (A), intérprete femenina (I). El número de turnos registrados es 95.

- Grabación 2: "Tirón de bolso" (1ª parte)

Llamada al 112 de la misma naturaleza que la anterior desde un punto de vista de categorización (servicio emergencia) aunque en esta ocasión están más presentes los elementos típicos de llamada a servicios institucionales

(Guardia Civil). En realidad, son dos grabaciones de un único servicio, pero al caer la línea se conformarán dos interacciones con estructura completa (salvo cierre final por caída de línea). Esta primera parte dura 3 minutos y 38 segundos; el objeto de la interacción: la víctima de un tirón de bolso (B) en Barcelona llama al 112 para ser atendida y asistida por las Fuerzas de seguridad; será atendida por intérprete mujer (I) junto a un guardiacivil varón (A). Turnos registrados: 32.

- Grabación 3: "Tirón de bolso" (2ª parte)

Continuación de la anterior llamada con una duración de 6 minutos 26 segundos, con apertura interesante (con heteroidentificación y autoidentificación por los motivos ya expuestos); representa la clásica llamada con serios problemas de conexión y cobertura. Los participantes son exactamente los mismos que en la llamada anterior –en el caso de Dualia, el sistema de distribución de llamadas que siguen contempla la posibilidad de reasignar el mismo intérprete en caso de caída de línea o desconexión de llamada, y capitalizar así el trabajo anterior del intérprete y evitar a los clientes y usuarios un *re-brifing* o repeticiones de contenidos ya tratados. Turnos registrados: 52.

- Grabación 4: "Mujer desaparecida"

Llamada de 4 minutos y 57 segundos con inglés y español como par de lenguas de la interacción; una llamada muy representativa de los preliminares de una investigación policial sobre un caso de desaparición. El objeto: una mujer rumana de vacaciones en Madrid contacta al 112 para dar cuenta de la desaparición de su amiga al no presentarse en el hotel desde el día anterior. Resulta igualmente interesante esta llamada como ejemplo de estudio de interacciones telefónicas mediadas por intérprete con participantes primarios que se expresan en un idioma que

no es su lengua nativa:[23] la señora que llama es rumana (B), pero elige el inglés como código para la interacción, y será atendida por intérprete femenina (I) y un policía nacional (A). El análisis pormenorizado de esta llamada queda incluido en Russo (véase sección 6).

El modelo de análisis utilizado en estas grabaciones sigue las líneas-guía expuestas por González en el documento Report 1 y se concentrará en la apertura y cierre de la interacción, sin olvidar la utilización del discurso referido y 'colocación comunicacional' del intérprete ante los participantes primarios, la gestión de turnos y de dificultades, la gestión del equipo y herramientas de trabajo, o la gestión de los recursos cognitivos.

4.2. Inicios y aperturas

En los segundos iniciales de las cuatro llamadas objeto de este análisis se encuentra presente la sintonía musical de 'llamada en espera' de DUALIA. Con esta música los participantes primarios esperan la entrada de un intérprete de la lengua precedentemente seleccionada. Esta pre-apertura se aproxima muy de cerca a las llamadas de servicio/*call center* monolingües, una situación habitual y frecuente en la cotidianeidad de todos nosotros, lo que induce a una colocación comportamental de los participantes primarios cómoda, por ser ya conocida, familiar. En la grabación 2 contamos con 63 segundos de voz pregrabada, que nos guía en la selección de opciones del menú que nos presenta; es un largo minuto, aunque muy útil por acercarnos al recorrido que ha de realizar la parte primaria A para acceder al servicio de interpretación. Una última

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[23] Se subrayaba en el capítulo del Report 1 dedicado a las interacciones telefónicas monolingües (González) el interés despertado entre los estudiosos por el tema de las interacciones telefónicas entre hablantes no nativos.

cuestión sobre el audio: desde estos primeros segundos detectamos la presencia intermitente de un 'bip' (de casi un segundo de duración) durante toda la interacción mediada; este sonido, de volumen alto, aparecerá en las transcripciones, en las que se podrá apreciar su superposición en fragmentos de turnos creando cierta perturbación y a veces, dificultades en la escucha y consecuentes problemas de comprensión (en contraste con lo observado por Russo en este Informe en su análisis).

La apertura del canal corre a cargo de la figura del intérprete, con autoidentificación –a veces con nombre comprensible, otras no, pero siempre rápida y protocolarizada con la fórmula prototípica de *call center*/servicios institucionales ("Buenos noches le atiende Isabel ¿en qué puedo ayudarle?"), incluyendo en el mismo turno saludo e identificación; lo mismo hará el participante primario A –policías y guardiacivil en nuestro caso–, pero con autoidentificación vaga todos ellos ("buenas tardes llamo del 112 de Valencia", "buenas tardes, mira verás, te llamo desde el puesto de la Guardia Civil de Barcelona"). Es bastante frecuente en la vida real que la apertura en esta tipología de interacción esté exenta de convencionalismos afables ("¿cómo está Ud.?", "encantado de conocerle") ya que se trata de llamada de servicios en ámbito institucional y ninguna de las partes se conoce.

En la apertura de este tipo de llamadas vemos como el *first topic* (tema/objeto principal de la llamada) llega en el segundo turno entre A e I, o sea, que después de la apertura del canal y su respuesta (primer par adyacente) entraríamos directamente en el esperado *briefing* para el intérprete, que encontramos a menudo en las interacciones mediadas en ámbito sanitario y en el que se facilita una resumida presentación del caso y su objeto. En ninguna de las llamadas incluidas en este análisis facilitan

un mínimo de *briefing*, tal como cabría esperar en señal de buena práctica. Ante esta ausencia, el intérprete se ve obligado a averiguar todo hablando con la parte B –en nuestro caso, madre del niño perdido (grabación 1), víctima de robo (grabación 2 y 3) y amiga de desaparecida (grabación 4)–, y lo hará ya en la apertura del contacto con B con pregunta protocolarizada ("pronto, salve signora, come possiamo aiutarla?", "signora?", etc.). Este será un momento de gran tensión para el intérprete; ya se espera una situación de emergencia (llamada del 112) y en este turno será la parte 'afectada' (B) la que le intentará exponer su problema con un discurso probablemente desordenado, rápido, con prosodia complicada, mucha carga emocional, etc. Es el turno posiblemente más difícil y, al mismo tiempo, el más importante para el intérprete, ya que en esa toma de contacto no solo conocerá el objeto de la llamada, sino que podrá/deberá ir construyendo un plan de estrategias para que la interacción vaya adelante. En la grabación 1 la intérprete entiende perfectamente los nervios y el estado de ansiedad de la madre ante la desaparición de su hijo y usa numerosos elementos prosódicos (timbre, tono y velocidad) y elementos paralingüísticos (elementos onomatopéyicos, pausas y respiración) durante toda la interacción, especialmente a la hora de transmitir lo que A argumentaba para calmar a B ("deve essere tranquilla" (sic), "i bambini si trovano subito di solito" (sic)), y añade con tono afectivo e intención de expresar cercanía emotiva su propia despedida ("grazie della telefonata signora", "grazie", "grazie e arrivederci") [24],

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[24] Se observa que tanto en la fase inicial (apertura del canal con A y primer contacto con la parte B) como en despedida y cierre de la interacción con/entre las partes primarias, las intérpretes gestionan (en 1ª persona implícita) los saludos y las despedidas, es decir, que la naturaleza triádica de la interacción mediada en esas fases pasa a ser claramente 'bi-diádica' con turnos 'I con B' e 'I con A', y no 'A↔I↔B'; un detalle interesante para ser estudiado, poco frecuente en una IB tradicional, en la que las partes se saludan y se despiden a través del intérprete y, eventualmente, a

mientras que en la grabación 2 la intérprete se coloca 'menos próxima' –
tal vez por estar más pendiente de un problema con la transferencia de los
contenidos de los turnos, que en algunos de ellos no pasan a la otra parte
de manera completa. En la grabación 1 se observa también cómo la
intérprete, en los momentos en que detecta picos de ansiedad o
nervosismo en la parte B, acelera notablemente la transferencia hacia A de
la información dada por B, como estrategia de gestión de varios aspectos:
colaboración con la parte B, facilitar el trabajo de la parte A, compensar
con menos tiempo de exposición los momentos de grandes flujos de
información y mantener el control de la tensión emocional para evitar
problemas con la gestión de turnos.

```
89. I: eh deve essere tranquilla signora perché in questi casi di
solito (.) i bambini ((mamma piange a singhiozzi)) eh:: si
trovano:: (.) subito eh:: di solito ((mamma piange a singhiozzi))
per d- e- vicino (.) vicino a dove:: (.)si è perso va bene
signora?
90. B: ((piange)) va- va bene grazie
91. I: va bene grazie per la telefonata signora ((commossa))
grazie
92. B:          [grazie ]
93. I: grazie[ arrivederci]
94. A:        [e hasta luego]
95. I:               [arrive]derci (.) >gracias compañero buenas
noche:s< buen servicio
```

```
49. B: (..) otto nove sette [>per favore datemi una mano] perché-
50. . I: (..)              [otto nove sette]              sì sì
(.) un attimo solo signora >tenga un'attimo< >>in linea vale
compañero es un teléfono español<< ((bip))(.) seis nueve siete?
```

Una mención aparte merece la apertura de la grabación 3: la línea
telefónica con el intérprete cae al final de la grabación 2 y los
participantes primarios se ven en la tesitura de volver a solicitar intérprete;
es cuando comienza la grabación 3 con música en espera. La intérprete

interacción concluida, el intérprete de la IB saluda a sus interlocutores.

que abre el canal saluda según protocolo y en la apertura se reconocen mutuamente las voces (A e I) –heteroidentificación y autoidentificación–, para acto seguido retomar el punto de la conversación interrumpida en la grabación 2.

```
1. I: >hola buenas tardes le atiende ((XXX))< en qué puedo
ayudarle:?
2. A: ho:la buenas tardes >creo que se me ha cortao una llamada
anteriormente<
3. I. Sí (.) hola
4. A: er- verá- ((bip)) >es la misma intérprete verdad?
5. I: sí [soy la] misma: (1) [la dirección] de los Mossos (.) sí?
6. A:    [verá ((bip))]       [bien le estaba contand-]  (1)
sí le estaba contando que es simple que ((ruídos)) solamente vaya
en dirección la Plaza de Cataluña (.) y algo más adelante está
Gracia (.) y que al final d:el de Gracia está l- la Comisaría
   [vam: e: fácil] es fácil de llegar
   [((bip))]
7. I: [uhum] va:le
8. A: y:: lo único que yo >par para: reflejar aquí el caso<
pregúntele: qué es lo que: [han XXX]
9. I:                        [QUÉ LE HAN ROBADO] (..) uhum (..)
vale (4) signora?
```

4.3. Gestión de herramientas e instrumentos

En las llamadas que tenemos a disposición no aparece ninguna referencia explícita a las cuestiones instrumentales, como subir o bajar volumen, acercarse el teléfono para oír mejor, pedir permiso de pausa para ajustar auriculares, o coger el block para tomar nota, etc. En la IT, como ya se ha indicado anteriormente, resulta fundamental que el intérprete tenga libres las manos para la toma de notas y asegurarse la escucha y la producción de notas con unos buenos auriculares dotados de micrófono. Por los elementos paralingüísticos que encontramos en las grabaciones ("uhum", "o::k", "m::?") deducimos que la intérprete toma nota de la narración (grabación 1, 2), o del contenido del turno, o del número de teléfono (grabación 1), direcciones, lugares (grabación 1, 2, 3), etc.

4.4. Colocaciones comunicacionales, discurso referido

En los materiales analizados observamos que las intérpretes presentan

unas estrategias similares; la comunicación con la parte A se abre siempre en 1ª persona ("¿en qué puedo ayudarle?") y la respuesta de A en grabación 1, 3 y 4 mantiene el mismo tratamiento de cortesía y el estilo directo, lógicamente –la interacción es aún diádica– mientras que en la grabación 2 cambia el tratamiento a tuteo ("mira, verás, te llamo desde el puesto de la GC de Barcelona"). Cabe la posibilidad de que a lo largo de la interacción la intérprete alterne ("¿me confirma compañero?", "perdona compañero, me falta un número", "mira, es un hombre de mediana edad"). La colocación del intérprete respecto a la parte B es siempre de cortesía ("mi fa parlare con il mio collega, per favore?", aunque encontramos alguna rara alternancia y/o anacoluto (grabación 3: "signora mi sente? (…) devi andare (…)", "mio collega adesso è molto facile arrivare", "lui vorrei", o grabación 1 con "deve fermarsi dove sei"). En la transferencia hacia A de lo comunicado por B las intérpretes en todos los casos analizados utilizan la 3ª persona introducido por "dice", "le ha parecido", "compañero, pide la dirección de", etc., con 'forma narrativa'. Por su parte, en el camino contrario, cuando la intérprete transmite a B lo dicho por A utiliza diferentes formas: 1ª persona ("chiedo cortesemente dove si trova", grabación 1) estilo directo sin marca ("deve annullare la carta", grabación 1), o la 1ª persona plural ("potrebbe darci qualcuna informazione? (sic)", "adesso riportiamo alla Polizia" grabación 1). Lo interesante es que estos ejemplos, antes de ser traducidos por la intérprete, han sido emitidos por la parte A en español con discurso referido, en 3ª persona ("dígale que tiene que ir a la Comisaría de los Mosssos", "dígale […] es muy importante, tiene que bloquear la tarjeta", "pregúntele si nos puede dar una descripción").

En la grabación 4 se registra un problema de discurso referido de carácter deíctico, por acumulación de turnos en 3ª persona que genera ambigüedad

en un intercambio de información entre A e I ("conocían a la persona con quien había quedado?", "bueno, ella ha ido a ver un amigo o una amiga no sé", "pero la chica que llama, ¿sabe o conoce la persona con la que había quedado?", "con quién la amiga había quedado, ¿no?"), una cuestión que ha derivado en una serie de turnos entre A e I de carácter aclaratorio, turnos de reparación.

4.5. Gestión de turnos

En los protocolos de DUALIA se contempló desde el inicio la cuestión de la gestión de turnos, uno de los asuntos más espinosos en interpretación telefónica. Con la idea de homogeneizar instrumentos y estrategias entre todos los intérpretes creó protocolos al respecto, y lo habitual es que el intérprete utilice el término "compañero/a" para apelar la parte A e iniciar turno con ella, mientras que se utiliza "signor/a" para dirigirse a la parte B italiana, por ejemplo. En cualquier caso, los momentos de confusión como el descrito en las últimas líneas del punto anterior –un discurso referido dentro de otro discurso referido–, o la superposición parcial de turnos disturban la evolución de la interacción y se hace necesario acudir a turnos de reparación. Los casos de superposición en llamadas de emergencias no son raros, ya que la celeridad de los acontecimientos y la tensión de la situación provocan impaciencia y ansiedad, el caldo de cultivo ideal para que los turnos a veces no sean respetados por completo, y en ocasiones, no le será nada fácil al intérprete ejercer su labor de *coordinator*. Encontramos numerosos ejemplos de lo expuesto en las grabaciones analizadas, especialmente en la grabación 1 y 3.

En una IT la cuestión de segmentar los turnos (por larga duración, o por un gran volumen de información, o por dificultad en memorizar o tomar nota) no es tarea fácil; en una IB contamos con elementos no verbales y

gestos comunicacionales para introducir una pausa si fuera necesario. En nuestro caso, el intérprete telefónico cuenta solo con su voz para emitir una señal, un gesto o introducir una breve disculpa en un momento de pausa o intermedio entre información e información por parte de los participantes primarios. En los materiales analizados no se ha verificado ninguna interrupción de turno por parte del intérprete, mientras que en la grabación 1 y 2 la parte B interrumpe abruptamente al intérprete por desacuerdo (grabación 3: "no no, aspetti, non, non ha senso!"; grabación 1: "c'è qualsiasi posto per..." "eeeh aspetti che guardo"). Contamos también con un ejemplo en el que el intérprete, dando el número de teléfono de B a la parte A se da cuenta de un error, interrumpe el propio turno y explica a A que va a comprobar con B dicho número (grabación 1).

```
50. I: (..)                    [otto nove sette]                sì sì
(.) un attimo solo signora >tenga un attimo< >>in linea vale
compañero es un teléfono español<< ((bip))(.) seis nueve siete?
51. A: (..) uhum?
52. I: (.) dos nueve? Ou (.)
53. A: sí?
54. I: >perdona compañero me falta< (.) un número voy a
confirmarlo con: con la señ[ora]
55. A: [>está bien<]
56. I: signora? possiamo confermare il quest[o numero] mi ha detto
<tre cuattro sei?>
```

4.6. Gestión de dificultades y esfuerzo cognitivo

En este apartado podemos incluir tantos aspectos, pero por cuestiones de espacio nos concentraremos en un asunto con una presencia muy frecuente en IT y que encontramos igualmente en los materiales analizados. Se trata de las operaciones que realiza el intérprete en el momento de transferir información determinante, como nombres y apellidos, datos de un DNI, nombre de un lugar o una dirección, números telefónicos, etc. En estas ocasiones el intérprete suele hacer uso de numerosos turnos, en los que, apoyándose en la toma de notas, deletrea

con atención, registra números, pide confirmación, asegura fragmento por fragmento, turno por turno, la información que se entiende como principal. En el ejemplo de un número telefónico (grabación 1), las partes lo facilitan en breves fragmentos y la intérprete confirma y transfiere cada uno de ellos, autocorrigiéndose si es necesario:

```
64. I: (.) manca un numero (..) mi sembra
65. B: no e- e- e- è italiano c'è il [prefisso italiano]
66. I:                              [è italiano] questo numero::
(.) va bene il prefisso [ita- qual è? numer-]
67. B:                  [eh tre- trenta nove] più trenta nove
68. I:    tre [nove va bene] un [attimo solo] signora
69. B:        [trenta nove]     [((bip))]
70. I: >vale compañero perdona es un numero italiano< (.) te [digo
es:] el tre- el:: cero cero tres nueve es el código de país (.) y
después el número de teléfono es tres cuatro?
71. A: [oye?]                                        si? tres cuatro?
72. I: (.) seis nueve?
73. A: (.) seis nueve?
74. I: (.) siete dos? ((bip))
75. A: siete dos?
76. I: (.) nueve ocho?
77.: nueve ocho?
78. I: nueve (.) siete
79. A: >nueve siete< muy bien (.) >bien pues dígale entonces que
```

Resulta interesante el tono interrogativo a final de cada uno de los turnos como elementos paralingüísticos utilizados para comunicar las ideas de "¿me sigues?" y la de "sí, lo tengo, ¿me das otro más?", que desaparece en los dos turnos finales –I termina la secuencia y elimina el tono interrogativo, A lo entiende y responde con el mismo gesto comunicativo–; es también conveniente subrayar que las frecuencias de datos numéricos pueden variar de idioma a idioma –en español es habitual la frecuencia de 3+3+3 para dar un número de móvil (seiscientos trece, ciento cinco, ciento veinte), mientras que en italiano se prefiere la frecuencia 3+2+2+3, como en los ejemplos incluidos. Son aspectos culturales que hay que tener en cuenta en el momento de anotarlos.

Decidimos incluir dificultades y esfuerzos cognitivos en el mismo apartado porque, de alguna forma, guardan relación; en tantas ocasiones

en el aula de formación de IB y de IT hemos apreciado que la concentración, piedra angular para poder operar en estas disciplinas, se pierde de forma fulminante desde el momento en que el intérprete se da cuenta de un error o de una mala operación.

```
21. A: bien >ea muy bien< >dígale por favor< que:: que recuerde
anular la tarjeta de crédito lo antes posible (.) bien? (.) y::
tiene ella alguna dirección aquí en España? Bueno >me imagino que
está en un hotel< (..) evidentemente (..) vale (.) ok entonces
nada yo anoto aquí: [pídale] el nombre por favor
                    [((bip))]
22. I: (5)
23. B: si pregúntele el nombre por favor
24. I: (.) el nombre del hotel? (.) o el suyo?
25. A: >no no< el nombre de ella el nombre de ella >>pa (sic)
registrarlo aquí efectivamente<<
26.I: vale a (XXX)) ((XXX)) ((bip)) (5)
27. A: nos escucha? (3)
28. B: pronto?
29. I: (1) pronto signora? ((audio malo, cobertura)) de[ve
an]nullare prima di tutto ((bip)) deve annullare:: la carta di
credito (.) va bene? [((XXX))]
30. B:       [si]            [e come faccio come fai?]
31. I: deve chiamare per annullare (.) e:h la carta di credito: e
poi noi- lui vorrei sapere l'indirizzo qual- n:: quale è il nome
dell'albergo dove [sta] lei
                  [((bip))]
```

En esos casos, cuando detectamos un error, la concentración disminuye e indefectiblemente se deja de memorizar y visualizar los contenidos de la interacción, y por un instante perdemos el hilo e incluso es posible que se produzcan interferencias o no hagamos el cambio de código (*code switching*, la bilateralidad) cuando cambiamos turno entre A y B. De hecho, el desgaste cognitivo o la falta de concentración del intérprete suele quedar al desnudo precisamente en las operaciones de *code switching*.

4.7. Cierres y conclusiones

Los casos analizados presentan cierres y conclusiones que cuadran

perfectamente con los modelos clásicos de análisis; en la grabación 1 encontramos presentes todas las fases, desde el pre-cierre y propuesta de conclusión, ratificación de la propuesta, agradecimientos –muy marcados entre B e I, menos marcados y más protocolarizados entre A e I–, saludos y cierre-despedida final. Adjuntamos una imagen de este fragmento:

```
85. I:                                          [uhum]
                 [si]           >eh si< va bene grazie signora
un'attimo [solo] vale compañeros están e:: frente al chiringuito
          [((bip))]
 <El Trampo>(.) y dice que se quedarán allí esperando:
86. A: muy bien >pues dígale que madamos pa llá a la policía< y
que esté tranquila que normalmente (.) >cuando desaparece un niño
normalmente lo acaban encontrando cerca de por allí< y: entonces
que la policía se encargará de hablar con ellos ((bip)) y
probablemente hagan alguna búsqueda por la zona de la playa
87. I: (.) um va:le va bene signora (..) adesso contattiamo alla
polizia [(.)] perché: vengano a tro[varvi]
88. B: [seh ((singhiozzi))]          [va bene]
89. I: eh deve essere tranquilla signora perché in questi casi di
solito (.) i bambini ((mamma piange a singhiozzi)) eh:: si
trovano:: (.) subito eh:: di solito ((mamma piange a singhiozzi))
per d- e- vicino (.) vicino a dove:: (.)si è perso va bene
signora?
90. B: ((piange)) va- va bene grazie
91. I: va bene grazie per la telefonata signora ((commossa))
grazie
92. B:        [grazie ]
93. I: grazie[ arrivederci]
94. A:        [e hasta luego]
95. I:              [arrive]derci (.) >gracias compañero buenas
noche:s< buen servicio
```

Del mismo modo podemos presentar un ejemplo diametralmente opuesto, con una ausencia de despedida debido a problemas con la línea telefónica que, después de algo más de medio minuto de vacío comunicativo, la parte B da por concluida la conversación con A e I, colgando ella también:

```
44. I: **vale** muy bien compañero:: me pasa con  la [((XXX))]
45. A:    [sí ((ruidos))] sí se la pas- ya se la paso y ya se puede
despedir
46. I: **vale** (..) ok gracias (4) pronto?
47. B: (1) pronto::
48. I: (.)((bip))pronto signora mi- e::: mio collega adesso è
molto facile di arrivare a:l alla Questura (..) de: los Mossos de
Squadra (.) deve solamente prendere tutto diritto (.) deve
prendere Piazza Cataluña dopo la fnac e::h deve prendere tutto
diritto ((bip)) el paseo di [Grazia] e alla fine si trova sono **15**
minuti più o meno a piedi va bene?
49. B:                          [ok]
50. I: e:hh lì può [far] può fare la dinu:ncia può parlare coi: col
Polizi:a
51. B:             [va bene]
52. I: e::h molto importante signora di chiamare (.) al suo
[banco] per: per: per cancellare la carte bancarie
[((bip))]
52. B: eh (.) v- va bene (..) quindi io vado: vado direttamente
ora in Questura e e fanno tutto loro così no? (2) ((bip)) (4)
pronto:? (4) pronto? (7) ((bip)) (2) pronto? (3) ci siete? (5)
((ruidos)) pronto? ((bip)) (6)

Final de grabación (se pierde la línea, queda B sola)
```

Los problemas técnicos con los instrumentos de trabajo están al orden del
día, y como buena práctica el intérprete debería procurar encontrarse
disponible en su turno laboral en un lugar posiblemente tranquilo y sin
ruidos, dotado de auriculares y block para notas, en una posición cómoda
donde la cobertura esté asegurada. En cualquier caso, bien sabemos que
estamos expuestos siempre a este tipo de problemas a pesar de tomar
medidas al respecto como las citadas. La grabación 2 presentaba ya
problemas de cobertura y, de hecho, cae la línea y se pierde la interacción,
y en la grabación 3 continúan los mismos problemas. La conclusión de la
grabación 4 presenta el clásico cierre de esta tipología e interacciones:
propuesta de saludo de I a B, B se muestra de acuerdo, B e I se saludan
con agradecimiento y cierran; acto seguido la intérprete se dirige a la parte
A, se saludan con agradecimiento y cierran definitivamente (Russo, en
Report 2).

4.8. Ejemplo de transcripciones

En este apartado se especifica que, por razones de espacio, no se adjuntan las transcripciones completas, y se decide su integración a través de ejemplos en el presente documento en formato JPG. Como se ha apuntado precedentemente, las transcripciones presentadas siguen los modelos acordados en el proyecto SHIFT, que parten de una versión simplificada de los modelos de Jefferson. A través de los ejemplos incluidos se persigue facilitar una visión parcial de las interacciones analizadas y favorecer así la correcta interpretación de los datos referidos hasta estas líneas.

5. Últimas reflexiones

En este último apartado se incluyen algunas consideraciones que podrían resultar útiles, o al menos apropiadas o pertinentes, en el caso de abordar posibles hipótesis de formación en/para la modalidad de interpretación telefónica, en particular la IT en ámbito judicial-policial.

En los últimos años se registra un incipiente número de publicaciones sobre experiencias formativas dedicadas a la IT; en algunas de ellas se reflexiona sobre la didáctica y la metodología de trabajo en aula pensadas para la formación en IT (Fernández 2015), o se exponen experimentos de formación multilingüe en IT con mediadores ya operativos en ámbito sanitario o/y judicial-policial (González y Spinolo 2015). En principio nuestra hipótesis para formar en IT es similar o paralela a las ya operativas y consolidadas ofertas de formación en IB, entre las que encontramos presentaciones de cursos de formación concebidos desde la adquisición de metodología de trabajo de corte multidisciplinar (González 2006 2014a), aplicable transversal e independientemente del ámbito contextual/temático. Desde esta perspectiva, la especialización no se

alcanza solo con el trabajo en determinados contextos específicos (sanidad, justicia, ámbito social, empresa, sindicatos, etc.) sino sobre todo con la evolución y consolidación de nuestro *modus operandi*, adquiriendo técnicas y herramientas, mejorando su utilización, pero sobre todo entrenando con ahínco las propias habilidades y capacidades para procurarse un aparato metodológico multidisciplinar, multifuncional, que nos permita afrontar sin vértigo la diversidad (González 2011, 2014a) que nos reserva la IT.

Respecto al tema de la diversidad en esta modalidad de interpretación, caracterizada por una 'celeridad' innata apuntada en el apartado 2 de este trabajo: en una hipótesis de formación en IT sería menester concebir un entramado de baterías de ejercitación que buscasen entrenar al destinatario a realizar rápidas 'lecturas situacionales' en cada una de las interacciones que debe mediar. Se trata de que el estudiante de IT aprenda a concentrarse no sólo en los términos concretos utilizados en una interacción, sino sobre todo en quién y cómo los ha utilizado, con qué intención comunicativa y, por último, en qué situación y dentro de qué contexto (González 2011: 193). Este tipo de 'lecturas situacionales' nos permiten identificar inmediatamente estrategias metodológicas adecuadas a la interacción telefónica que se afronta, y asiste al intérprete en los casos de inexistencia de *briefing* inicial, una situación que se verifica con cierta frecuencia en IT, como hemos podido observar en los materiales analizados. Sería más adecuado, por ejemplo, pensar más que en varios ejercicios de simulación[25] 'monotemáticos' –comisaría/denuncia de robo,

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[25] Por 'ejercicio de simulación' se entiende la realización en aula de una interacción preconcebida y estructurada con fines didácticos (en nuestro caso, didáctica de la IB y la IT); desde nuestro punto de vista, la simulación de IB o de IT debe correr a cargo de dos docentes 'en copresencia', evitando en lo posible realizarla con estudiantes. De esta forma la simulación se ejecuta desde la perspectiva del ejercicio profesional y se

urgencias/infarto–, concebir ejercicios en los que surjan varios temas –comisaría, infarto durante denuncia y llamada ambulancia–, calibrando la velocidad de aparición de los mismos –de menor a mayor– y cuidando su interrelación. La celeridad se verá implementada cuando se consigue dotar al destinatario de este recorrido formativo de la capacidad de tomar decisiones 'en bloque', de esquivar la dificultad terminológica reformulando, de anticipar posibles contenidos –o dificultades– en los turnos siguientes gracias a una correcta identificación previa de las necesidades, las posibilidades, los límites comunicativos de los participantes primarios y, cómo no, de la relación (González 2014b) que se instaura entre ellos durante la llamada.

Otro aspecto que se debería considerar en un recorrido formativo en IT es el de la asimetría en la comunicación; se sabe que en el ámbito judicial-policial es un elemento de extrema importancia (2014b) –incidencia frecuente de casos de fragilidad mencionados–, por lo que habría que estudiar con detenimiento la tipología de asimetrías que podrían encontrarse en una interacción telefónica mediada por intérprete. Una posible catalogación de las mismas podría imaginarse de la siguiente forma: asimetría contextual (ámbito policial), asimetría situacional –y derivada ya en parte por la inevitable presencia del intérprete– (mayor en víctima de un delito, menor en el testigo de un delito) y asimetría entre las partes (policía molesto y/o víctima enfadada, mayor; policía disponible y víctima colaboradora, menor). Por todo esto es factible pensar que la asimetría no viene dada solo por un contexto determinado, sino por la suma de cada una de las asimetrías enunciadas. En cualquier caso, una buena práctica para un intérprete en IT sería conseguir una cierta

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van calibrando *in itinere* tanto las dificultades como los parámetros de evaluación de las *performances*.

'horizontalidad' en los registros, estilos y formas, y fórmulas comunicacionales (González 2011: 192-193), a través de la adaptación a las 'condiciones de asimetría' dadas en la interacción, o intentar reducir los diferenciales de asimetría a través de turnos de aclaración, de reparación si fuera el caso, y de activar los *footing* según fuere conveniente asumir el papel de *reporter*, *responder* y/o *recapitulator*. En una hipótesis de formación, sería de rigor integrar este aspecto dentro de las dificultades programadas en los ejercicios de simulación.

Un discurso similar cabría plantearlo sobre el asunto de la tensión; este factor, como ya expuesto precedentemente, juega un papel determinante en las prestaciones del intérprete de IT ya que, entre otras cosas, merma la capacidad de concentración e incide negativamente en la memorización. La tensión en IT también habría que estudiarla con detenimiento, para conocer sus posibles tipologías e identificar posibles grados de las mismas en una interacción telefónica mediada y así poder gestionarla adecuadamente. En entrevistas con intérpretes telefónicos profesionales[26] sale a la luz la llamada 'tensión 0', que es aquella que soporta el intérprete telefónico habitualmente, derivada de las naturales circunstancias y condiciones de la IT. En el apartado 2 se hace también referencia a las diferentes tipologías de tensión que el intérprete de IT puede experimentar según su proveniencia –contexto, situación, partes, y puede ser a su vez propia, generada o heredada. Conocer mejor los orígenes de esta condición psicoemocional que afecta al intérprete en su prestación comportará una mejor gestión y un mayor control de las operaciones realizadas y, por lo tanto, reducir posibles dificultades en la interacción.

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[26] Entrevista analizada por Letizia Foracchia en su trabajo de fin de carrera "L'interpretazione telefonica nell'azienda DUALIA: Una prospettiva di interpreti e clienti" (2016).

En un recorrido formativo para IT, la tensión ha de estar presente en los ejercicios de simulación, debidamente calibrada de menor a mayor, y de forma progresiva; pensando específicamente en el ámbito judicial-policial, se podría integrar un pequeño módulo dedicado al estrés de la profesión del intérprete en este sector (Handi y Ortigosa 2011), las implicaciones emocionales, el trauma vicario, etc.

Dejamos como último punto para revisión la 'no visibilidad' a consecuencia del único input con el que trabaja el intérprete de IT: el audio. Trabajar a ciegas no forma parte de las condiciones prototípicas del trabajo del intérprete de conferencias o de dialógica presencial, o incluso la interpretación por videoconferencia. Sería conveniente iniciar con ejercicios de simulación de IB alternados con IT, y dar la posibilidad al estudiante de observar, desde su práctica, dificultades y diferencias entre ambas modalidades, para pasar después a prácticas de IT en condiciones lo más reales posibles –con dispositivos telefónicos en ambiente separado–; el audio sería el elemento protagonista con el que el estudiante se debe familiarizar y hacerle practicar en todas sus versiones posibles, con calibración de dificultades, implementación de ruidos y elementos paralingüísticos, cambios de volumen, etc.; se trata de hacer una didáctica del audio distinta a la que siempre hemos encontrado en las aulas de interpretación, trabajando y practicando con 'audios sucios', desde el principio hasta el final del recorrido formativo. Añadimos también la conveniencia de 'trabajar con lo lingüístico desde la perspectiva extralingüística', es decir, ahondar inicialmente en el trabajo con contenidos lingüísticos (registro, estilo, léxico, fonética), ir creando dificultades (inclusión de elementos paremiológicos, trabajar con metáforas y reformulaciones), extender las prácticas a elementos prosódicos (ritmo, tono, velocidad, acentos) y llegar a agregar gestos

comunicacionales (elementos paralingüísticos, gestos vocálicos, ruidos, superposición voces). El objetivo es alcanzar lo antes posible un buen nivel de 'escucha activa' y acostumbrar al estudiante a trabajar con todo tipo de audio, de voz, de ruidos, etc.; escuchar nos permite comprender para memorizar, y nuestro 'radio de acción' acústico debe ir más allá de la palabra dicha, o mejor aún: debe empezar por la palabra dicha, por cómo se ha dicho, y prestar igual atención a lo que no se ha dicho pero sí comunicado ("uhum", "m::" "a:::h", "ah" "pfff"), incluidos los silencios y su colocación en el discurso. En este complejo panorama se pueden encontrar líneas-guía para analizar con tino estos aspectos de la mano de Poyatos (1994) y poder identificar "las cualidades primarias o rasgos personales básicos de la voz" (1994: 25-49), o los "calificadores o tipos de voz" (1994: 49-82) y las "coactividades sonoras del lenguaje: de la kinésica [sic] audible a los sonidos ambientales" (1994: 235-262). En la 'ceguera' propia de la IT es necesario tocar la tridimensionalidad de la comunicación (lingüística, paralingüística y kinésica); esta habilidad se revelará elemento clave en las 'lecturas situacionales' y poder imaginar con acierto estrategias de trabajo en IT. Como conclusión, una práctica constante durante todo el ciclo formativo en IT de la técnica de toma de notas engarzaría adecuadamente con lo anteriormente expuesto en este punto.

Hasta el momento no se tiene constancia de la existencia de una oferta de formación institucional específica y especializada en IT o en interpretación a distancia; encontramos admirables experimentos y acertadas propuestas didácticas, pero la realidad que nos rodea es que, en el mejor de los casos, la formación de intérpretes en IT corre a cuenta de las propias empresas del sector. Son las agencias y las empresas que suministran servicios de IT las que se han encargado de una tarea

compleja, en clave 'autodidacta', con encuentros formativos entre/para sus intérpretes, reuniones, foros, intercambio de herramientas e instrumentos web, etc.; en los mejores casos los intérpretes que trabajan para empresas dedicadas a la IT cuentan con protocolos que se revisan periódicamente y se acuerdan/concuerdan con los propios clientes de la empresa (hospitales, escuelas, fundaciones, servicios de urgencias, museos, etc.), dependiendo de las necesidades prototípicas de cada uno de ellos (protocolo para 112, para sistema sanitario, para línea de asistencia violencia de género, etc.). Sin duda su aportación es muy significativa, esencial y determinante para el (buen) funcionamiento de los servicios de interpretación IT que oferta, pero la complejidad y la evolución de esta modalidad de la profesión del intérprete requieren la participación (inmediata, considerando la evolución del mercado de trabajo en interpretación) de instituciones y personal docente-profesional (a ser posible, con experiencia en el campo de la IT), competente en su tarea (formar y enseñar), capaz de preparar con calidad a futuros intérpretes de calidad. Además, está visto que la enseñanza de la interpretación, en cualquiera de sus modalidades, no debe ir exclusivamente dirigida a estudiantes y/o profesionales que deseen actualizarse o innovarse; se hace cada vez más necesaria una enseñanza específica de la interpretación para profesionales/operadores que trabajan con intérpretes. En defensa de lo expuesto, aportamos una experiencia docente sobre interpretación para operadores del sector jurídico-judicial en la Universidad de Rosario (Argentina) donde se ratifica la necesidad de dar a conocer la interpretación a los profesionales que trabajan con intérpretes (cfr. Hale 2007; Pajarín 2011). Es evidente que la interpretación en ámbito judicial-policial, y más aún la IT en este ámbito, es un trabajo de equipo, que requiere un esfuerzo de colaboración constante entre intérpretes y

operadores del sector, y la única vía posible, y la base de buenas prácticas, es el conocimiento mutuo.

Visto lo expuesto en los apartados anteriores, la formación en IT se revela como una prioridad que ha de estar presente en todo recorrido universitario dedicado a las disciplinas de la interpretación, o de la mediación interlingüística especializada. En el contexto actual la interpretación a distancia en general, y en específico la IT, se encuentra en proceso de crecimiento, evolución y desarrollo –dentro de la profesión y del mercado laboral internacional– que no tiene marcha atrás. Estas nuevas modalidades de interpretación han llegado para quedarse y la calidad profesional en nuestros futuros intérpretes de IT puede nacer solo en/con una oferta formativa institucional específica, eficaz, moderna, válida.

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8. Interpretazione telefonica per i servizi turistici

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0. Introduzione

Per quanto riguarda l'interpretazione nella combinazione linguistica italiano/spagnolo nel settore dei servizi, i dati forniti da DUALIA, l'azienda partner del progetto specializzata in interpretazione telefonica, provengono tutti dall'ambito turistico.

L'interpretazione telefonica per i servizi è, come la dialogica presenziale, un'interazione in cui l'interprete svolge un ruolo estremamente attivo nella conversazione. Come spiega infatti Wadensjö (1993/2002) riferendosi all'interpretazione dialogica presenziale, l'interprete svolge due ruoli nell'interazione da lui/lei mediata. In primo luogo, quello di *relayer*: trasmette cioè il messaggio di uno degli interlocutori rendendolo nell'altra lingua nella maniera più accurata possibile. In secondo luogo, svolge il ruolo di *coordinator* o *gatekeeper*: contribuisce cioè fattivamente (e, in molte occasioni, in maggior misura rispetto agli interlocutori primari) al coordinamento della conversazione, scandendo l'alternanza fra i turni e discostandosi ove necessario dal messaggio originale per favorire la comprensione e la comunicazione fra le parti.

La stessa Wadensjö (1999) compara interpretazione telefonica e

presenziale analizzando due interazioni reali. Nonostante l'analisi sia svolta su interazioni di ambito legale/giudiziario, l'autrice individua alcune differenze generali fra queste due modalità. In particolare nota come la condivisione di uno spazio fisico, come accade in interpretazione presenziale, renda più fluido sia l'alternarsi dei turni nell'interazione, sia i turni stessi e l'eloquio degli interlocutori, con meno sovrapposizioni e interruzioni rispetto la modalità telefonica. Infatti, questa osservazione sarà tenuta in conto come uno dei parametri da analizzare.

Le interazioni fornite dall'azienda DUALIA e sottoposte all'analisi sono sei. In tutti i casi, si tratta di chiamate cosiddette "chiamate a tre", in cui gli interlocutori e l'interprete si trovano in luoghi diversi.

In tutti i casi, si tratta di interazioni nella coppia di lingue italiano/spagnolo. Il lavoro con due lingue affini può certamente, da una parte, costituire un vantaggio per l'interprete per la vicinanza sia lessicale che sintattica, e perfino per certi versi culturale; dall'altra, proprio queste caratteristiche possono costituire in alcuni casi la causa scatenante di problemi e inconvenienti quali calchi lessicali e sintattici e addirittura interventi da parte degli interlocutori primari che interrompono la resa dell'interprete sicuri (ma non sempre a ragione) di avere già compreso il contenuto dell'intervento del proprio interlocutore.

Le registrazioni, come indicato nei capitoli precedenti, sono simulazioni che riproducono interazioni realmente avvenute (si veda sezione 3); l'interprete viene messo a conoscenza del fatto che si tratta di una simulazione solo a interazione conclusa. Vengono proposte agli interpreti dell'azienda a scopo di controllo qualità, monitoraggio degli interpreti recentemente ingaggiati dall'azienda, ricerca (come nel caso del progetto *SHIFT in Orality*).

Lo scopo del presente capitolo è quello di analizzare le interazioni telefoniche mediate da interprete nell'ambito dei servizi turistici, per individuare caratteristiche ricorrenti e buone prassi. Nella sezione 1, si presentano le interazioni analizzate, la loro lunghezza, gli interlocutori coinvolti, la durata, le caratteristiche. Si procede poi, nella sezione 2, all'analisi delle interazioni, concentrandosi in particolare su fenomeni ricorrenti e strategie (gestione delle aperture, dell'attrezzatura, riferimenti ai partecipanti primari, gestione dei problemi di contenuto e di comportamento, gestione delle risorse cognitive e delle chiusure) (si veda sezione 4; 6:2.6 e 7:4.7). Nella sezione 3, infine, si raccolgono gli esempi di buone prassi individuati nel corso dell'analisi; le sezioni 4 e 5 sono rispettivamente l'appendice delle abbreviature e delle convenzioni di trascrizione e quella delle trascrizioni integrali delle interazioni.

1. Presentazione dei dati

Registrazione 1

La prima registrazione presa in esame ha una durata di 4 minuti e 41 secondi. Si tratta di una turista italiana che telefona al Patronato de Turismo (Ufficio informazioni turistiche) di Siviglia, chiedendo informazioni per raggiungerli. I partecipanti all'interazione sono due donne (la turista italiana e l'interprete) e un uomo (l'operatore del Patronato).

Registrazione 2

La seconda registrazione ha una durata di 6 minuti e 8 secondi. La traccia dell'interazione è la stessa della telefonata precedente, con piccole variazioni. Cambia, in questo caso, l'interprete che non è la stessa della prima registrazione elencata.

Registrazione 3

La terza registrazione ha una durata di 4 minuti e 20 secondi. In questo caso, l'operatore (uomo) che contatta il servizio di interpretazione telefonica lavora alla Ciudad de las Artes y las Ciencias di Valencia. Riceve una telefonata da una turista italiana che ha acquistato il biglietto online ma non ha ricevuto una e-mail di conferma. L'interprete è donna.

Registrazione 4

La quarta registrazione dura 7 minuti e 10 secondi. Si tratta della chiamata di una turista italiana all'Ufficio Turistico di Madrid; le risponde un'operatrice, alla quale chiede informazioni riguardo alle opzioni di trasporto pubblico e trasporto turistico in città. Anche l'interprete è donna.

Registrazione 5

La quinta registrazione ha una durata di 9 minuti e 18 secondi. In questo caso, l'ente chiamato è il Museo del Prado di Madrid; risponde un'operatrice. La chiamante italiana è una docente che sta organizzando una gita scolastica per i propri studenti; chiede informazioni riguardo alle visite guidate per i gruppi e alle attività proposte per i gruppi scolastici. Anche l'interprete è donna.

Registrazione 6

La sesta registrazione ha una durata di 14 minuti e 6 secondi. Di nuovo, il ricevente della chiamata è il Museo del Prado; questa volta, risponde un operatore. La chiamante chiede informazioni riguardo all'accessibilità del museo per i disabili in sedia a rotelle. L'interprete è donna.

2. Analisi dei dati

I fenomeni osservati nelle registrazioni verranno proposti attraverso una selezione di esempi che verranno descritti; ove possibile, nei casi di divergenza rispetto alle strategie tipiche dell'interpretazione dialogica presenziale, in cui cioè sia gli interlocutori che l'interprete condividono lo stesso spazio, le divergenze verranno evidenziate mediante il confronto con la descrizione e trascrizione di estratti di simulazioni di interpretazione dialogica presenziale registrate durante le lezioni di interpretazione di trattativa fra lo spagnolo e l'italiano del secondo anno della Laurea Triennale in Mediazione Linguistica Interculturale della Scuola di Lingue, Letterature, Interpretazione e Traduzione dell'Università di Bologna, Vicepresidenza di Forlì. In tali simulazioni, gli interlocutori primari sono impersonati da due docenti di interpretazione, una di madrelingua spagnola e l'altra di madrelingua italiana, mentre l'interpretazione dialogica è svolta da studenti della suddetta laurea triennale.

In tutte le trascrizioni delle interazioni telefoniche, i turni dell'interprete sono indicati con la lettera A, quelli dell'operatore del servizio con la B, e quelli dell'utente italiana con la C. Nelle trascrizioni delle interazioni presenziali, accompagnate da immagini, l'interprete-studente è quello collocato al centro della triade (indicato con A nelle trascrizioni), mentre le due persone collocate a destra e a sinistra sono gli interlocutori primari (nelle trascrizioni, B per lo spagnolo e C per l'italiano).

2.1 Gestione delle aperture

Nelle chiamate a tre analizzate (in cui sia i due interlocutori che l'interprete si trovano in luoghi diversi), l'operatore contatta l'interprete dopo avere ricevuto la chiamata e avere identificato la lingua parlata dal chiamante.

In tutti i casi, e come esempio di buona prassi, dopo la risposta dell'interprete, l'operatore fa un breve *briefing* in cui introduce la situazione all'interprete (si veda sezione 4; 6:2.1 e 7:4.2). Non potendo fornire dati sul chiamante e sui motivi della chiamata (dato che è necessario l'interprete per individuarli), l'operatore comunica l'ente da cui sta chiamando, permettendo all'interprete di identificare il settore e, a grandi linee, l'argomento della chiamata.

In gran parte dei casi (esempi 1, 2, 3, 6), l'apertura avviene secondo le quattro mosse di apertura di una telefonata di servizio monolingue (si veda González e Tonin, Report 1): apertura del canale, identificazione, saluti e offerta del servizio. Vi si inserisce, però, l'interprete che solitamente apre il canale in due tempi: con l'operatore che lo ha chiamato prima, e con l'utente poi. Vediamo ciò che accade, ad esempio, nell'esempio 1. Alla riga 1, l'interprete apre il canale con l'operatore, rispondendo alla chiamata; l'operatore si identifica e illustra brevemente la situazione, specificando la lingua di lavoro richiesta (righe 2-3-4). L'interprete conferma di avere compreso (riga 5); a questo punto, l'utente italiana che, non conoscendo lo spagnolo, non ha seguito lo scambio fra l'interprete e l'operatore, interviene cercando di aprire un canale di comunicazione (riga 6); l'interprete conferma l'apertura del canale e saluta (riga 7); l'utente italiana può così spiegare il motivo della chiamata (righe 8-9).

```
[1 (registrazione 3)]
1 A: Dualia mi nombre es XXX en qué puedo ayudarle?
2 B: Ho:la buenas tarde mire llamo de: la Ciudad de de las
3 Artes de Valencia y a la espera tengo una llamada de una señora en
4 italiano le paso
5 A: de acuerdo
6 C: sì? Pronto?
7 A: Pronto? Pontro (sic)? Buongiorno
8 C: Pronto ehm salve ehm sto chiamando perché ho avuto un
9 problema con il biglietto per la s- si- Ciudad de las Artes
```

In linea teorica, anche nelle interazioni presenziali la comunicazione deve necessariamente essere aperta in due tempi, dato che deve essere l'interprete a rendere saluti e presentazioni. In realtà, però, la presenza fisica aiuta gli interlocutori a stabilire un contatto anche prima che l'interprete li presenti, grazie a sguardi, sorrisi, cenni del capo e altre risorse non verbali. Ne è un esempio l'estratto 1; nella simulazione, in questo caso, l'interlocutrice spagnola è una giornalista che cura una rubrica di viaggi per un famoso quotidiano spagnolo e intervista la rappresentante dell'Ente Terme Emilia Romagna per uno speciale sul turismo del benessere.

Immagine 1/Estratto 1. *Interpretazione presenziale*

```
 1 B: Bueno lo primero saludar muy buenos días (.) buenas
 2 tardes ya porque acabamos de comer como ya sabemos (1.0) entonces
 3 me presento eh: yo me llamo Lola Jiménez
 4 C: Salve benvenuta salve
 5 B: Hola eh encantada y bueno eh: estamo- e- colaboro con
 6 El País exactamente con una sección del País Semanal dedicado a
 7 viajes ehm es la sección del Viajero y ehm bueno estamos
 8 trabajando ahora mismo en una serie de reportajes ehm en todo el
 9 territorio europeo y por lo que respecta a Italia hemos dec- bueno
10 vamos por partes el objeto del reportaje es el turismo del
11 bienestar el turismo de aguas
```

Come si evince dalla trascrizione di questo breve estratto, nelle primissime battute della conversazione le interlocutrici primarie si salutano senza che per questo intervenga l'interprete (righe 1, 4, 5); i loro cenni di saluto sono supportanti dalla ricerca del contatto visivo, da sorrisi e cenni di assenso con il capo. Segue poi, dopo i saluti, una presentazione più estesa degli interlocutori, con l'inizio di un lungo turno (riprodotto nella sua parte iniziale nelle righe 5-11) per il quale, invece, sarà

indispensabile l'intervento dell'interprete per la resa dei contenuti.

Tornando all'interpretazione telefonica, negli esempi 2 e 3 l'interprete utilizza inoltre strategie di *backchannelling* (si veda Russo sezione 6 e Amato sezione 4) per confermare che sta seguendo e comprendendo (esempio 2, riga 5; esempio 3, riga 4).

```
[2 (registrazione 4)]

1 A: Dualia mi nombre es XXX en qué puedo ayudarle?
2 B: Ho:la buenos días (.) mira te llamo desde el servicio
3 de turismo de Madrid eh: tengo a una turista italiana y no sé qué
4 me quiere preguntar
5 A: [de acu]erdo
6 B: =[si]        si me podéis ayudar vosotros
7 A: sí por supuesto (2.0) pronto?
```

```
[3 (registrazione 5)]

1 A: (xxx) mi nombre es XXX en qué puedo ayudarle?
2 B: Hola buenos días mira te llamo desde el Museo del
3 Prado
4 A: sí
5 B: tengo al teléfono a una señora en italiano y no sé qué
6 es lo que necesita si me puedes ayu[dar]
7 A:                                   [de] acuerdo sí por supuesto
```

In un'interazione presenziale mediata da interprete, il *backchannelling* viene spesso fornito attraverso sguardi, movimenti del capo e mantenendo il contatto visivo con l'interlocutore (Immagine 2).

Immagine 2 Interpretazione presenziale

Come già descritto in precedenza, lo scambio di informazioni iniziale comporta una duplice presa di contatto dell'interprete con i propri interlocutori. Questo può comportare una rottura delle coppie adiacenti[27] nei turni conversazionali. In particolare, nell'esempio 4, mentre l'interprete stabilisce il contatto con l'operatore, confermando che lo sta sentendo e ascoltando (riga 3) l'interlocutrice italiana è già in linea durante il breve *briefing* dell'operatore all'interprete, ed è disorientata rispetto a quando iniziare il proprio turno (riga 4, riga 10).

---

[27] "Schegloff (1968 1972) […] identifica "coppie" di turni che si trovano ricorrentemente abbinati […]. Un esempio classico sono le coppie di saluti; altri esempi sono costituiti da richiesta-risposta, offerta-accettazione, scuse-minimizzazioni. Tali coppie sono chiamate coppie adiacenti e sono legate da un rapporto cosiddetto di "rilevanza condizionale", in quanto la prima parte della coppia rende rilevante la seconda" (Gavioli 1999:53).

```
[4 (registrazione 1)]
 1 A: Dualia buenos días en qué puedo ayudarle
 2 B: ho:la buenos días me escucha?
 3 A: [Sí?]
 4 C: [Pronto]
 5 A: Sí?
 6 B: hola buenos días le llamo del Patronato de Turismo de
 7 la: ci de la: de la ciudad de Sevilla tengo aquí a una señora
 8 italiana pregúntele por favor qué es lo qué necesita
 9 A: Che cosa che [co-]
10 C:               [pronto? ]
11 A: Pronto signora buongiorno di che cosa ha bisogno?
```

Un fenomeno simile si verifica anche nell'esempio 5, in cui l'operatore interviene con un tono di voce piuttosto basso (riga 2), la chiamante prova ad intervenire (riga 3) e la stessa interprete cerca di stabilire un contatto, cominciando dall'operatore (righe 4-5).

```
[5 (registrazione 2)]
 1 A: Dualia buenas tardes (xxx) en qué puedo ayudar?
 2 B: °ho:la buen-°
 3 C: pron- pronto?
 4 A: hola me eschucha por favor? (1.0) Dualia buenas tardes
 5 quién está- (xxx) puedo ayudarle?
```

In interpretazione presenziale non si verificano solitamente casi simili, in quanto gli interlocutori, condividendo lo spazio, non hanno generalmente dubbi rispetto al fatto che tutti stanno sentendo e ascoltando, e la scansione dei turni è coadiuvata dall'utilizzo della comunicazione non verbale e, in particolare in questo caso, dall'interprete che ricerca il contatto visivo con uno o l'altro interlocutore (cf. Immagini 1 e 2).

Nell'esempio 6, invece, l'interprete non capisce subito quale sia la

provenienza della chiamata. Con un esempio di buona prassi, prima di continuare con l'interazione, si assicura di avere chiaro il contesto in cui si accinge a lavorare (righe 10-11):

```
[6 (registrazione 6)]
1 A: Dualia mi nombre es XXX en qué puedo ayudarle?
2 B: Hola buenos días es la intérprete de italiano?
3 A: sí
4 B: Ho:la buenos días mire la estoy llamando de aquí desde
5 el Museo del Prado verà yo soy Juan de gestión de: de grupos y
6 tengo aquí a una señora que no entiendo qué es lo que me está
7 diciendo (.) me la han pasado directamente a mí debe de ser algo
8 de un grupo o algo así pero no sé qué es lo que me dice me habla
9 en [italiano]
10 A:[pero] me puede repetir por favor de dónde está
11 llamando?
12 B: del Museo del Prado
```

A conclusione del commento alla gestione delle aperture, è necessario sottolineare quanto siano importanti la formazione e l'esperienza dell'interprete, da una parte, e quella dell'operatore, dall'altra; l'interprete, infatti, dovrebbe sapere fin dal principio che dovrà condurre e gestire una conversazione fra due interlocutori in uno scambio triadico che, in alcune occasioni (come in quella dell'apertura descritta nel presente paragrafo), può diventare un *subdialogue* diadico, ovvero un momento nell'interazione in cui questa passa da essere triadica, cioè con tre partecipanti, a diadica, coinvolgendo solo l'interprete e uno degli interlocutori (cf. anche Oviatt e Cohen 1992). Sarebbe quindi auspicabile un'approfondita conoscenza delle caratteristiche della conversazione a distanza e di come queste si modificano in presenza di un interprete (si veda González, sezione 6). È evidente che non è possibile preparare gli

utenti occasionali all'uso dell'interpretazione telefonica, alla gestione e rispetto dei turni, alle caratteristiche diadiche e triadiche della conversazione; sarebbe al contrario opportuno, ove possibile, formare su questo gli operatori che abitualmente accedono al servizio, al fine di rendere l'interazione il più efficace e collaborativa possibile.

1.2   Gestione dell'attrezzatura

L'ideale in situazioni di interpretazione dialogica presenziale è che tutti gli interlocutori si posizionino in modo da potersi vedere e sentire l'un l'altro. Nel caso della videoconferenza, in cui l'*input* visivo a disposizione degli interlocutori è solo parziale, è di fondamentale importanza che tutti i partecipanti all'interazione utilizzino l'attrezzatura (webcam, cuffie, microfono, ecc.) in maniera appropriata, facendo in modo che il viso sia sempre inquadrato, che i gesti delle mani, se rilevanti, siano ben visibili, e che l'audio sia della migliore qualità possibile.

Nel caso dell'interpretazione telefonica, il telefono (e, di conseguenza, l'*input* sonoro) è l'unico collegamento dell'interprete con gli interlocutori. È quindi estremamente importante che tutti i partecipanti utilizzino lo strumento correttamente e che, anche in questo caso, l'audio sia della migliore qualità possibile.

L'unico caso in cui si fa riferimento esplicito alla gestione del telefono è quello dell'esempio 7 in cui l'interprete, all'inizio dell'interazione, chiede all'operatore di parlare a voce più alta per poterlo sentire chiaramente (righe 4-5):

```
[ 7 (registrazione 2)]

1 B: ho:la muy buenas le llamo del Patronato de Turismo de
2 Sevilla y tengo a una señora aquí hablando italiano pregúntele por
3 favor qué es lo que necesita
4 A: pe- eh: disculpe compañero puede usted hablar un poco
5 más alto por favor que no se le oye?
6 B: sí por supesto
7 A: muy bien
```

2.3 Gestione dei turni

La gestione dei turni in interpretazione telefonica è un aspetto complesso e fondamentale. Nell'interpretazione a distanza il ruolo dell'interprete come *gatekeeper* e *coordinator* (cf. paragrafo 0 e Wadensjö 1993/2002) dell'interazione è reso infatti estremamente complicato; si pensi, ad esempio, a possibili ritardi nella trasmissione del suono, che possono causare involontarie sovrapposizioni dei turni, o alla distanza fisica fra interlocutore e interprete (cf. Braun 2012). In interpretazione telefonica, inoltre, a differenza di quella in videoconferenza, l'interprete non può utilizzare nessun tipo di segnale visivo per coordinare la conversazione (alzare una mano per interrompere e/o chiedere chiarimenti, annuire, ecc.).

Per quanto riguarda le chiamate di servizio, come quelle analizzate nel nostro caso, la scansione dei turni è in molti casi resa evidente dal susseguirsi di coppie adiacenti domanda/risposta. Come afferma Zorzi (1990) analizzando incontri dialogici presenziali monolingui:

L'elemento base della struttura di un incontro di servizio è la coppia adiacente richiesta/risposta. Le richieste nei nostri dati ottengono sempre una risposta, o nel turno successivo, o dopo altro lavoro discorsivo: sequenze di chiarimento (in che edizione lo vuole?), time-out (del genere

Adesso controllo) o altro. La maggior parte del lavoro discorsivo, quindi, è dedicato da un lato a chiarire ciò che il cliente vuole, […] e, dall'altro, a far in modo che sia la richiesta sia la risposta siano accettabili (Zorzi 1990: 19).

2.3.1 Utilizzo di della segmentazione (chunking)

In interpretazione presenziale, gli interpreti possono fare ricorso a una vasta gamma di risorse per segnalare la necessità di interrompere un interlocutore che sta pronunciando un turno particolarmente lungo e/o denso di informazioni, o per segnalare, nel caso che sia l'interlocutore a interrompere, che il proprio turno non si è concluso. In alcuni casi (immagine 3/estratto2), un solo scambio di sguardi fra interprete e interlocutore può essere sufficiente a segnalare una richiesta di conclusione o interruzione del turno. Anche in questa simulazione la situazione è quella di un'intervista alla referente di Terme Emilia Romagna che sta in questo momento elencando e descrivendo le diverse tipologie di acque termali presenti nella zona. Alla fine di un lungo turno, denso di informazioni, è la stessa interlocutrice a rendersi conto di doversi fermare incrociando lo sguardo dell'interprete.
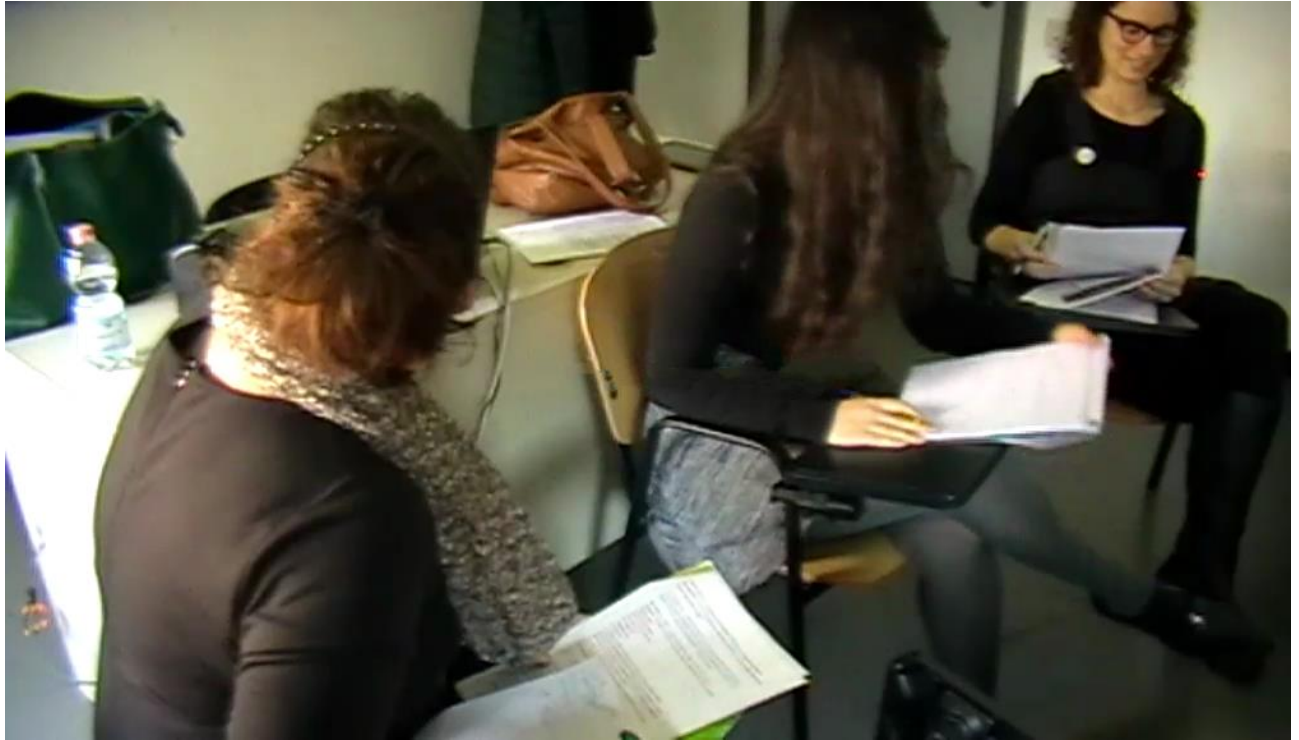
Immagine 2/ Estratto 3 *Interpretazione presenziale*

```
1 C: […] eh:: in realtà in questo momento ehm se le può
2 interessare insomma se l'articolo esce a breve eh: purtroppo è
3 attiva solo la fonte eh: sulfurea rinfrescativa perché ehm le
4 altre sono insomma chiu- chiuse per manutenzione straordinaria
5 però dovrebbero essere riaperte a breve ehm l'acqua sulfurea
6 rinfrescativa ha tutta una serie di benefici per il corpo che però
7 le dico dopo perché la vedo un po' provata ((ride))
7  A: ok grazie ((ride))
  C: ok bene
```

Alcune di queste risorse possono essere utilizzate anche nell'interpretazione in videoconferenza (ad esempio, sollevare una mano per chiedere a un interlocutore di fermarsi o per sottolineare che il proprio turno non si è concluso).

In interpretazione telefonica, invece, l'interprete può ricorrere solo alla propria voce come strumento per interrompere il turno di un interlocutore. Nei dati analizzati, non si annoverano casi in cui l'interprete, in presenza

di un turno particolarmente lungo, sia costretto a interrompere il proprio interlocutore per procedere alla resa dei contenuti. Questo si deve probabilmente al fatto che si tratta per la maggior parte di turni brevi, sebbene contenenti, in alcuni casi, una certa quantità di informazioni. L'interprete preferisce piuttosto attendere la fine del turno per raccogliere tutte le informazioni, e renderle poi all'altra parte; si tratta, in effetti, di una strategia efficace per la pratica dell'interpretazione telefonica in cui, precisamente per le caratteristiche precipue della comunicazione telefonica e della mancanza di input visivi, la gestione dei turni può risultare complicata già in una conversazione monolingue non mediata da interpreti e a maggior ragione in una interpretata. Per poter mettere in atto efficacemente l'approccio appena descritto, di favorire cioè turni lunghi degli interlocutori, è fondamentale che l'interprete telefonico abbia un buon dominio delle tecniche di memorizzazione e di presa di note consecutiva, per trattenere e riportare in maniera corretta le informazioni ricevute nei turni più lunghi e/o densi.

Sono, al contrario, vari i turni che subiscono piccole interruzioni in cui gli interlocutori confermano con segnali di *backchannelling* che stanno ascoltando, seguendo e comprendendo le informazioni dell'interprete (esempio 8, righe 4, 6, 11, 16, 19; in questo caso, l'interprete riferisce informazioni appena ricevute dall'operatore).

```
[ 8 (registrazione 5)]

1 A: ah vale de- vale de acuerdo (.) eh: pronto?
2 C: sì pronto?
3 A: sì non [c'è nessun prob]lema
4 C:        [sì sì la sento]
5 A: =perché c'è guida c'è guida in italiano eh:
6 C:                          [ok]
7 A:                =[funziona] con audifono allora
8 che non c'è un problema po- per un gruppo così grande perché con
9 l'audifono po- può parlare normale e non c'è nessun problema per
10 gli [altri visitatori] il prezzo è dodici euro
11 C:[ah ho capito]
12 A: =dodici euro e dura quarantacinque min[uti]
13 C:                                       [ok] dodici euro a
14 testa per bambino?
15 A: no no in totale
16 C: [ah ok]
17 A: [ah vuole] sapere anche ma- questo è il prezzo del
18 gui- della guida (1.0)
19 C: ok
```

Mentre, come buona prassi, si raccomanderebbe all'interprete di evitare di inserirsi e prendere la parola generando sovrapposizioni nei turni, questi piccoli segnali di *feedback* sostituiscono in qualche modo i cenni di assenso che notiamo in presenziale, e risultano estremamente utili per rassicurare gli interlocutori sul fatto che il canale audio è aperto e che non ci sono problemi di comprensione.

2.3.2 Pause

Particolarmente significativa in interpretazione telefonica è la presenza e la gestione delle pause nell'eloquio. In assenza di *input* visivi una pausa, specialmente se lunga, può essere ambigua e fuorviante per chi ascolta: potrebbe indicare, infatti, la presenza di un problema tecnico, oppure la fine di un turno e l'attesa dell'inizio del turno di un altro interlocutore.

Si riscontrano nei dati vari casi della seconda istanza in cui una pausa,

seppur non eccessiva, viene interpretata come la fine di un turno.

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

In questo caso, la chiamante interpreta una pausa dell'interprete (riga 4) come una sua difficoltà di ascolto o comprensione, e inizia un turno di rinforzo in cui si accinge a riformulare quanto appena detto (riga 5). La pausa dell'interprete corrisponde invece al momento di cambio di codice linguistico, che ha evidentemente comportato un (brevissimo) momento di riflessione; subito dopo, l'interprete inizia il turno con l'operatore (riga 6).

La mancanza di coordinazione rispetto agli inizi di turno viene ancora una volta mitigata, in interpretazione presenziale, grazie all'utilizzo della comunicazione non verbale, nella quale l'interprete segnala il passaggio di turno rivolgendosi a uno degli interlocutori (cf. Immagini 1, 2, 3).

Un fenomeno simile si ha all'esempio 10:

```
[10 (registrazione 2)]
1 A: mh mh ok Reyes Huertas gracias (.) ok eh: signora mi
2 sente?
3 C: (.) [sì]
4 A:    [signo-]
5 C: sí
6 A: eh: per arrivare al Patronato di Turismo da dove da
7 dove lei sé da dove lei è devi prendere vue- eh vabbeh il
7  Patronato de Turismo è si trova alla- alla strada Reyes Huertas
8  numero venti
```

In questo caso l'interprete teme che una pausa della turista italiana (riga 3) in seguito ad una sua richiesta di attenzione (righe 1-2) sia dovuta ad un problema tecnico, tanto che accenna una nuova chiamata di attenzione (riga 4) che si sovrappone alla conferma della signora (riga 3), la quale torna quindi a confermare (riga 5).

```
[11 (registrazione 3)]
1 B: vale muy bien un momento que busco (1.0) [sí está aquí
2 su conf-]
3 A:                                           [vale muy
4 bien]
5 B: =está por aquí vamos a ver dígale que no se por qué no
6 habrá llegado su: su confirmación pero bueno tenemos aquí la
7 reserva (.) entonces te voy a dar si te parece bien el número de
8 reserva
```

Con l'esempio 11, infine, vediamo come una pausa "tecnica" (riga 1), durante la quale l'operatore cerca la prenotazione sul database, possa portare a sovrapposizioni nei turni; in seguito alla pausa, l'interprete si dichiara in attesa (righe 3-4), ma il suo turno si sovrappone a quello dell'operatore (righe 1-2), che nel frattempo ha trovato la prenotazione.

2.3.3 Presenza e gestione di sequenze diadiche

Come già accennato nell'introduzione al presente capitolo, l'interprete dialogico svolge una doppia funzione nell'interazione. Da una parte, svolge il ruolo di *relayer*, riportando con le sue rese i contenuti della conversazione e, dall'altra, il ruolo di *coordinator* o *gatekeeper* della comunicazione. Tale ruolo può essere svolto dall'interprete in maniera implicita o esplicita; lo svolge in maniera implicita attraverso le sue rese che, implicitamente, contengono indicazioni su chi debba prendere il

successivo turno di parola. Lo svolge invece in maniera esplicita attraverso le cosiddette *non-renditions*, cioè tutti quegli interventi che non costituiscono la resa dei contenuti espressi dagli interlocutori primari. Fra questi interventi espliciti per il coordinamento della comunicazione, si annoverano contributi quali (a) risposte dirette a un interlocutore, (b) iniziative dirette verso uno degli interlocutori, con una richiesta di ulteriori informazioni che l'interprete ritiene siano necessarie o utili (cf. esempio 9 più sotto), e (c) meta-commenti che servano a spiegare, ad esempio, ciò che intende uno dei partecipanti primari, cosa uno dei partecipanti non comprende, ciò che uno dei partecipanti sta facendo o sta per fare (Wadensjö 1993/2002). Tali interventi possono innescare delle sequenze diadiche, che coinvolgono cioè l'interprete e uno degli interlocutori; è importante che l'interprete sappia gestire tali sequenze, facendo in modo che l'interlocutore che momentaneamente non partecipa alla conversazione capisca cosa sta succedendo e non si senta escluso.

Immagine 5 / Estratto 4 *Interpretazione presenziale*

```
1 A: […] bueno que es una ciudad que también tiene mucha
2 cultura museos por visitar
3 B: mh mh
4 A: y:
5 B: bien (1.0) eh: monumental?
6 A: eh: sí que: o sea que también tiene monumentos y:
7 B: mh mh bueno sí aquí en Italia mh cualquier cosa
8 tiene grandes monumentos verdad?
9 C: eh: non so non capisco
10 B: (1.0) vamos bien?
11 A: yo creo que sí pero dijo que tenía que seguir
12 C: cos'è successo?
13 A: la signora ehm si chiede se ci siano anche dei
14 monumenti da visitare […]
```

L'estratto 4 illustra un esempio di sequenza diadica fra l'interprete e l'interlocutrice spagnola; quest'ultima fa una domanda (riga 5) a cui l'interprete decide di rispondere direttamente (riga 6); la giornalista si dirige dunque con lo sguardo alla propria interlocutrice, riformulando la domanda. Segue un momento di incomprensione, in cui la giornalista si rivolge all'interprete per capire cosa sta accadendo (righe 10-11). Infine, l'interlocutrice italiana, esclusa dallo scambio diadico per il quale non ha ricevuto alcuna spiegazione, chiede di essere messa al corrente (riga 12). Da questo momento, l'interazione triadica riprende, e l'interprete le pone la domanda iniziale.

Nel caso dell'interpretazione telefonica, la gestione di tali momenti diventa, in mancanza di input visivo, ancora più delicata e importante; mentre, da una parte, l'operatore dovrebbe essere abituato al lavoro con l'interprete, e sapere che possono esserci momenti di scambio diadico senza rimanere interdetto, non è scontato che l'utente sia uso all'interpretazione telefonica. In alcuni casi, l'interprete decide quindi di

avvisare l'utente che sta per rivolgersi all'operatore. Vediamo l'esempio 9:

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

```
23 B: bien de la Plaza de Toros entonces tiene que eh: como
24 situarse en la puerta princi[pal]
25 A:                           [mh mh]
26 B: =y a la derecha verá una calle que desciende y es la
27 calle Oviedo [bien]?
28 A:           [mh mh]
29 B: entonces que siga la calle Oviedo hasta llegar a una
30 plaza que es la plaza de Capuchinos y ahí en esa plaza a mano
31 derecha está la calle Reyes Huertas
32 A: mh mh ok Reyes Huertas gracias (.) ok eh: signora mi
33 sente?
34 C: [sì]
35 A:[signo-]
36 C: sí
37 A: eh: per arrivare al Patronato di Turismo da dove da
38 dove lei sé da dove lei è devi prendere vue- eh vabbeh il
39 Patronato de Turismo è si trova alla- alla strada Reyes Huertas
40 numero venti
```

In questo caso, la turista italiana chiede indicazioni stradali. L'interprete, probabilmente intuendo che le spiegazioni potrebbero prolungarsi, avvisa l'utente dell'inizio del turno di resa verso lo spagnolo (righe 4-5), in modo che questa non si senta esclusa e sappia cosa sta succedendo. Allo stesso modo, e seguendo il protocollo DUALIA, l'interprete segnala all'operatore spagnolo l'inizio della resa, per assicurarsi di avere la sua attenzione; a causa di una sovrapposizione nei turni, l'attenzione dell'operatore non viene però immediatamente catturata. Solo dopo avere ricevuto conferma, l'interprete inizia il turno di resa (righe 7-10). Segue una lunga sequenza diadica (righe 11-32) in cui l'operatore fornisce le indicazioni stradali richieste, assicurandosi che l'interprete stia seguendo con frequenti enunciati interrogativi (righe 17, 21, 27). Una volta conclusa la sequenza diadica, l'interprete torna a richiamare l'attenzione dell'altra interlocutrice (righe 32-33) e, anche in questo caso, comincia la resa solo dopo avere avuto la conferma della sua attenzione (righe 34-38).

Sono diversi anche i casi in cui è la stessa interprete a fare domande all'interlocutore, ponendo in alcuni casi quesiti che non sono stati posti dal chiamante, ma che ritiene potrebbero essere utili per completare le informazioni richieste (cf. Wadensjo 1993/2002). Si veda, ad esempio, l'esempio 13:

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

In questo caso, le informazioni richieste dall'insegnante che chiama il Museo del Prado (righe 4-6) sono (a) se il museo ha un parcheggio privato, (b) se è a pagamento e (c) se il pullman può attendere fuori dal museo durante la visita. L'interprete chiede le stesse informazioni richieste dalla chiamante e cioè se il museo ha un parcheggio o se lo stazionamento dei pullman funziona in altro modo (righe 8-9) e se è a pagamento (riga 20). Prende inoltre l'iniziativa chiedendo, allo scopo di

fornire un'informazione più completa, se è necessario prenotarlo (riga 14).
Come già discusso in precedenza è fondamentale che al termine di una
sequenza diadica o di un turno particolarmente lungo, l'interprete richiami
l'attenzione dell'interlocutore momentaneamente escluso dalla
conversazione, per poi iniziare il turno di resa. DUALIA indica ai propri
interpreti di svolgere questo compito utilizzando l'appellativo
"compañero" (esempio 14, riga 2) quando si rivolgono all'operatore
ispanofono e "signore/signora" (esempio 15, riga 10) quando si dirigono
invece all'utente italiano.

[14 (registrazione 2)]

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

[15 (registrazione 4)]

```
1 A: mh mh (.) está diciendo si hay algún guía gratuita m-
2 que da para para pasear por la ciudad (1.0) andando
3 B: no a ver gratuito no eh: tenemos un servicio de: de
4 guías aquí en en Turismo Madrid que sale a veinte euros por
5 persona eh:
6 A: mh mh
7 B: para grupos de hasta quince personas la visita dura dos horas y
8 le recorre todo lo que es l- el centro y los eh: monumentos
9 principales de Madrid pero gratuito no tenemos ese servicio
10 A: °mh sí° signora c'è una guida (1.0) [c'è] una guida che
11 può prendere
12 C:[mh mh]
13 A: =che costa venti euro per persona per gruppi e dura
14 due ore ma non è gratuita
```

In un caso l'interprete utilizza un'informazione ricevuta in un turno

precedente per rivolgersi all'utente con il suo nome (esempio 16, riga 7):

```
[16 (registrazione 6)]

1 B: tiene por la la mañana nueve y cuarto o sobre las nueve
2 nueve y media por ahí o sea da igual pero bueno es el mejor
3 momento
4 A: de [acuerdo]
5 B: [hay mayor] probabilidad de que algún voluntario esté
6 libre para para recogerla
7 A: de acuerdo allora signora Gor[elli]
8 C:                               [sì?]
9 A: lei ha prenotato per il giorno due alle nove di
10 [mattina]
11 C: [perfetto]
```

2.4 Riferimenti ai partecipanti primari

Non si registra nessun caso, nei dati, in cui l'interprete utilizzi la prima persona nelle proprie rese; la prima persona viene riservata, infatti, alle dichiarazioni dell'interprete come partecipante all'interazione. Tale strategia, indicata specificamente dal protocollo di DUALIA in quanto ritenuta più efficace e "più naturale in una conversazione telefonica, rende più facili gli interventi diretti dell'interprete" [28], e risulta essere estremamente adatta all'interpretazione telefonica, giacché permette di prevenire incomprensioni e confusione riguardo a chi sta parlando e a chi ha pronunciato un enunciato, specialmente data la frequente presenza di interazioni diadiche fra l'interprete e uno dei partecipanti primari.

Come affermano anche Tipton e Furmanek (2016): "The use of first person in telephone interpreting is something that interpreters may find interferes with the need for interpreter-initiated communications at the periphery of interaction in this mode of delivery. Research (e.g. Lee 2007)

[28] Comunicazione personale del referente qualità dell'interpretazione di DUALIA, Gabriel Cabrera Méndez.

has found that interpreters often privilege the third person, chiefly as a response to the lack of eye-contact between interlocutors and the need to (re-)establish turn-taking and the narrative thread of the conversation when the floor is handed to a different interlocutor." (Tipton e Furmanek 2016: 64).

Anche Rosenberg (2007), riferendosi alla propria esperienza professionale come interprete telefonico, nota: "One of the first rules all interpreters are taught is to always interpret all utterances in the first person and not preface them with the equivalent of "he said/she said". However, in my years of professional experience I have found this rule extremely hard to put in practice." (Rosenberg 2007: 74).

L'autore sottolinea che, infatti, gli interlocutori primari spesso si rivolgono all'altro interlocutore usando la terza persona, e spesso trovano innaturale rivolgersi direttamente, usando la prima persona, a qualcuno che non può comprenderli, soprattutto sapendo che, invece, l'interprete li comprende. Infine, potrebbe non sempre essere chiaro da chi è stato pronunciato un certo enunciato (si veda González, sezione 6).

Sempre a questo proposito, Lee (2007) interroga venti interpreti di coreano attivi in Australia riguardo alla loro attività come interpreti telefonici. Le risposte sull'uso della prima o della terza persona mostrano una certa indecisione riguardo a quale sia la strategia più adeguata; il 40%, infatti, afferma di usare la prima persona, il 15% dice di usare la terza e il 45% sostiene di usare ora l'una, ora l'altra.

```
[17 (registrazione 6)]

 1 C: Pronto? [Pronto salve]
 2 A:     [Pronto signora] salve come possiamo aiutarla?
 3 C: Salve senta oi- allora io ho chiamato il Museo perché
 4 m: vado a Madrid fra poco e volevo vedere una mostra che c'è nel
 5 Museo la mostra del Bosco soltanto che io sono sulla sedia a
 6 rotelle e quindi ho bisogno di sapere se posso comunque entrare
 7 nel Museo se ehm posso fare: vedere la mostra normalmente se devo
 8 organizzarmi in qualche modo:
 9 A: ma vuole sapere se può entrare al Museo senza
10 reserva (sic)?
11 C: (1.0) ehm no in generale io sono su una sedia a
12 rotelle quindi non so se il Museo è m: può accogliermi ecco
13 questo volevo sapere se c'è qualche problema: per muovermi sulla
14 sedia a rotelle perché non posso muovermi altrimenti
15 A: ah: ho capito ho capito che: sì d'accordo eh: sí e-
16 compañero q- ella quiere venir a la exposición de Bosco pero está
17 en una silla de ruedas entonces quiere saber si si ella podrá eh:
18 visitar el Museo sin problemas
19 B: (.) sí sí por supuesto le puede decir que no hay
20 problema y: puede visitar todo el Museo del Prado y hay
21 accesibilidad para silla de ruedas tanto para el Museo completo
22 como también para la exposición temporal del Bosco
23 A: de: acuerdo sì signora non c'è nessun problema (.)
24 che può visitare tutto il Museo senza nessun problema è
25 perfettamente adaptada (sic) a: sedia a rotelle
```

Nell'esempio 17 l'interprete (riga 2), dopo avere ricevuto nei turni precedenti il briefing da parte dell'operatore, decide di rivolgersi all'utente utilizzando una prima persona plurale, e associandosi quindi all'operatore nell'offerta di aiuto all'utente. Alla riga 16, dopo avere compreso il motivo della chiamata in uno scambio diadico con l'utente (righe 3-14), l'interprete richiama l'attenzione dell'operatore ("compañero") e riferisce il motivo della chiamata utilizzando la terza persona: "ella quiere venir a la exposición…" (riga 16).

La scelta di usare la terza persona per evitare fraintendimenti, però, non implica necessariamente e in tutti i casi la sua esplicitazione, con formule quali "la signora dice che…", "la señora pregunta si…", ecc. Quando l'alternanza dei turni è chiara e non sono in atto sequenze diadiche,

l'interprete può solitamente riportare direttamente in modo efficace il contenuto del turno, senza utilizzare il discorso riferito, come nel caso dell'esempio 18, in cui l'interprete trasmette direttamente il contenuto dell'enunciato senza ricorrere al discorso riferito, alle righe 9 e 15-16.

```
[18 (registrazione 1)]

1 A: allora lei si trova nella porta principale di Plaza de
2 Toros (.) prende la calle Oviedo
3 C: ok
4 A: arriva alla prima piazza e prende la calle Capuchinos
5 C: prima [piazza](.)
6 A:      [e lí] troverà (.) e lì troverà la Calle Reyes Huertas
7 C: ok ok <calle Reyes Huertas> sì (.) eh: ok c'è parcheggio
8 lì vicino?
9 A: hay posibilidad de aparcar?
10 B: eh: dile que sí no que el Patronato tiene un gran
11 aparcamiento público bien que es para todos los turistas aquí no
12 hay ningún problema puede dejar el coche que además es un
13 aparcamiento más de la ciudad pero bueno de °pertenencia del
14 Patronato [de Turismo]°
12 A:          [c'è un] c'è un grande parcheggio pubblico quindi non
13 c'è problema per parcheggiare
```

In un caso (esempio 19), l'interprete inizia un turno di resa con la prima persona, per poi immediatamente autocorreggersi (riga 4):

```
[19 (registrazione 1)]

1 C: eh: va bene allora: adesso provo a orientarmi e arrivare al
2 patronato e gli dica che: che cercherò di arrivare lì che mi
3 aspettino insomma
4 B: voy a intenta- va a intentar llegar al al patronato y que les
5 esperen ahí
6 A: muy bien vale muchas gracias
```

2.5 Gestione dei problemi di comprensione

Uno dei problemi di comprensione maggiormente ricorrenti è quello relativo ai nomi propri o ai toponimi, la cui trasmissione al telefono non è sempre facile o immediata (si veda sezioni 4:5.1; 5:2.1.3 e 6:2.4).

Mentre, in interpretazione presenziale, la trasmissione di tali elementi può essere facilitata dal ricorso a supporti grafici quali volantini, biglietti, documenti, in telefonica comporta in molti casi lo sviluppo di sequenze diadiche piuttosto lunghe, gestite con competenza ed esperienza dall'interprete nelle interazioni analizzate.

Nell'estratto 5 (accompagnato dall'Immagine 6), una tour operator italiana specializzata in viaggi enogastronomici, in visita a una fiera spagnola, chiede alla responsabile dello stand del Jamón Ibérico di lasciarle i contatti di alcuni produttori che offrono tour di degustazione. In questo caso, la trasmissione dei contatti attraverso l'interprete è evitata grazie all'uso di materiale informativo sul quale questi sono riportati (righe 6-16).

Immagine 6/ Estratto 5 *Interpretazione presenziale*

```
1 A: esto es justamente lo que la señora estaba buscando
2 B: oh: menos [mal]
3 A:            [((ride))]
4 A: y: quería que le dejara sus contactos o los de los de
5 alguien con el que se pudiera poner en cont[acto]
6 B:                                [claro claro] vamos a empezar por
7 aquí te voy a dar material folletos varios sobre ehm la feria y:
8 econtrará ahí mismo ya un listado de lo que son los expositores
9 (.) en este caso ahora ella visitará lo que más le conviene pero
10 por lo menos ahí ya tiene directamente contactos eh: y no tiene
11 que ir pidiendo uno por uno creo que esto ya es comodo para ella
12 y después bueno una vez que: ella haya dado la vuelta que:
13 pertinente en la ferie pues nada seguimos aquí a su entera
14 disposición si no hoy mañana también que es el último día
12 A: m: questo è materiale che riguarda i vari espositori
13 […]
17 C:[grazie grazie]
```

Vediamo, con l'esempio 20, come vengono trasmessi il nome e il numero di documento dell'utente che vuole prenotare un servizio di accompagnamento per il Museo del Prado.

[20 (registrazione 6)]

1 B: (1.0) no para por el para el voluntario sí tiene que
2 reservarlo la audioguía no ya están allí pero para el voluntario
3 sí tiene que reservarlo y para ello necesito su nombre completo y
4 el DNI o el pasaporte de la señora
5 A: mh mh ok per l'autoguida non c'è nessun problema
6 questo non è non non c'è nessun bisogno di prenotare ma per il
7 volontario sì [e per prenotare] il volontario
8 C: [d'accordo]
9 A: mh abbiamo bisogno del suo nome completo e il numero
10 del suo passaporte (*sic*) o numero de identificazione
11 C: (1.0) ok allora posso darlo a lei direttamente?
12 A: sì: sì sì
13 C: allora io mi chiamo Giovanna Gorelli
14 A: <Giovanna Lorelli?>
15 C: no Gorelli con la [G (**xxx**)]
16 A: [con la G Gorelli] mi dispiace e- e il numero di
17 passaporte (*sic*)?
18 C: eh: no il passaporto non ce l'ho ho la carta di
19 identità [perché:]
20 A:[d'accordo] sì sì sì

```
21 C: =ho solo quella va bene? allora a erre quindi Ancona
22 Roma
23 A: sì
24 C: =settecentocinquant[uno]
25 A: [sì]
26 C: =ventitré
27 A: sì
28 C: =zero cinque
29 A: vado a ripetere <a erre sette cinque uno due tre zero
30 [cinque]>
31 C:[(xxx)] perfetto grazie
32 A: d'accordo (.) bueno m: me ha dado su nombre que es
33 <Giovanna>
34 B: mh vale va a hacer la reserva entonces vale el nombre
35 sería Giovanna y sé que es Giovanna y cómo se escribe esto?
36 A: Giovanna tal como suena <Gorelli> tal como suena con
37 dos eles
38 B: mh mh
39 A: =y el número de la: de la tarjeta de identificación es
40 a ere
41 B: a ere
42 A: =siete cinco
43 B: siete cinco
44 A: =doce
45 B: doce
46 A: =tres cero cinco
47 B: muy bien bueno en principio todo quedaría reservado
```

In questo caso, l'operatore specifica che per prenotare l'accompagnamento sono necessari nome, cognome e numero di documento dell'utente (righe 3-4). Si apre di conseguenza una sequenza diadica fra l'interprete e l'utente italiana, in cui l'interprete si assicura di avere tutti i dati necessari prima di riportarli all'operatore. L'interprete non ritiene necessario spiegare o introdurre all'operatore la sequenza diadica che sta per aprirsi; questo è probabilmente dovuto al fatto che l'operatore conosce il servizio di interpretazione telefonica ed è avvezzo al suo uso. L'interprete passa quindi a chiedere nome e numero di documento all'utente (righe 9-10); l'utente comincia riferendo il proprio

nome (riga 13); prima di procedere, l'interprete si assicura di averlo compreso correttamente (riga 14) pronunciandolo lentamente e con tono interrogativo (si veda González, sezione 6). L'utente corregge l'incomprensione (riga 15) e l'interprete si scusa (riga 16); a questo punto, l'interprete decide di non riferire il nome all'operatore, ma di ottenere prima tutti i dati richiesti e procedere poi a riferirli. Passa quindi alla richiesta del numero di documento (righe 16 e 17) e, una volta risolta un'incomprensione riguardo al tipo di documento da fornire (righe 18-21), l'utente inizia a trasmettere il numero di carta di identità (riga 21), con segmenti molto brevi in seguito a ciascuno dei quali l'interprete conferma con vari segnali di *backchannelling* (righe 23, 25, 27). Infine, l'interprete torna ad assicurarsi che il dato sia corretto ripetendolo per intero (righe 29-30); una volta ricevuta la conferma dell'utente (riga 31), si rivolge all'operatore riferendo i dati; il trasferimento delle informazioni si svolge con la stessa modalità descritta per la sequenza diadica interprete-utente: brevi segmenti seguiti da conferma dell'operatore (righe 38, 41, 43, 45). Attraverso l'esempio 20 è possibile osservare come uno scambio di informazioni che, in modalità presenziale, si risolverebbe con pochi turni, utilizzando risorse visive e fisiche come documenti, supporti scritti, fogli e matite, in interpretazione telefonica diventa invece uno scambio efficace, ma lungo e laborioso. Le stesse risorse visive, invece, potrebbero essere utilizzate in interpretazione telefonica, anche su suggerimento dell'interprete, nel caso in cui l'utente e l'operatore occupassero lo stesso spazio fisico, e fosse solo l'interprete a trovarsi collegato telefonicamente. L'interprete, infatti, potrebbe chiedere all'utente di consegnare un documento all'operatore, o di scrivere i propri dati; nel caso che decida di operare in questa maniera, dovrà però chiedere ai propri interlocutori di descrivere le azioni che stanno svolgendo, per essere sempre al corrente di

ciò che sta succedendo e seguire così l'interazione. Per questo motivo, mentre non è possibile formare gli utenti all'uso dell'interpretazione telefonica, in quanto potrebbero trovarsi ad utilizzarla per la prima volta nella loro vita, e in maniera casuale, è invece importante formare gli operatori (si veda González, sezione 6), in modo che conoscano le procedure in questo caso di DUALIA, vale a dire i protocolli, l'utilizzo degli appellativi, la descrizione delle azioni di eventuali oggetti nel caso che il loro interlocutore condivida con loro lo spazio fisico, etc.

2.6 Riconoscere e gestire comportamenti rilevanti degli interlocutori

Le interazioni analizzate si caratterizzano in generale per essere collaborative, tutti gli interlocutori si dimostrano pazienti e partecipano fattivamente alla buona riuscita della conversazione.

In un solo caso, la registrazione 4, l'interprete trova l'utente già spazientita all'inizio dell'interazione (esempio 21, riga 8), probabilmente perché aveva tentato di comunicare con l'operatore senza riuscirvi.

```
[21 (registrazione 4)]

1 A: Dualia mi nombre es XXXX en qué puedo ayudarle?
2 B: Ho:la buenos días (.) mira te llamo desde el servicio
3 de turismo de Madrid eh: tengo a una turista italiana y no sé qué
4 me quiere preguntar
5 A: [de acu]erdo
6 B: [si]        si me podéis ayudar vosotros
7 A: sí por supuesto (2.0) pronto?
8 C: pronto? Final[mente]
9 A:             [sì] [sì]
46 A: =tres cero cinco
47 B: muy bien bueno en principio todo quedaría reservado
```

L'atteggiamento poco amichevole dell'utente emerge anche in altri momenti dell'interazione; l'interprete decide di gestirla non trasmettendola all'operatore, e mitigandola con un trattamento molto

cortese, utilizzando sempre l'appellativo "signora" e manifestando il proprio dispiacere in caso di risposte 'dispreferite'[29] alle sue richieste e ai suoi quesiti.

[22 (registrazione 4)]

```
 1 A: che c'è anche l'autobus c'è la metropolitana e si può
 2 comprare per turisti di solito per un giorno o due (.) per un
 3 giorno costa quindici euro e per dui- due giorni costa trenta euro
 4 (.) e si può comprare nell'ufficio di turismo o se no m: alla
 5 metropolitana (.) nelle macchine
 6 C: tren- trenta euro? Mah allora c'è anche un autobus
 7 turistico incluso che mi faccia fare un giro de: delle cose
 8 principali o no?
 9 A: eh: un [attimo] (1.0)
10 C: =[o trenta] euro soltanto il: sì
11 A: eh: compañera
12 B: sí
17 A: [me] está preguntando si eso incluye también el
18 autobús turístico que que va por toda la ciudad
19 B: el autobús turístico no está incluido porque es en la
20 t- es una empresa a parte es otra empresa no es la de transportes
21 de Madrid y este no entra dentro de- del bono transporte (.) el
22 bono transporte está pensado para desplazamientos en Madrid eh:
23 de forma general no para le bus turístico que le digo es una- es
24 otra es otra empresa
25 A: sí (.) eh: signora no mi dispiace nell'autobus
26 turistico **no** non entra lì perché è altra ditta questa è altra
27 cosa
```

Nel caso dell'esempio 22, l'utente manifesta chiaramente che trova eccessivo il prezzo dell'abbonamento turistico ai trasporti, e chiede se sono previsti ulteriori servizi, quali ad esempio una visita guidata (righe 6-8). L'interprete verifica con l'operatore senza manifestare in alcun modo il malessere dell'utente e, al riportare una risposta negativa, e quindi dispreferita per l'utente, si scusa (riga 25).

---

[29] Levinson (1982) definisce le accettazioni, le risposte che soddisfano una richiesta, le espressioni di accordo come "preferite", mentre il rifiuto o un'espressione di disaccordo sono "dispreferite".

È estremamente importante che, in situazioni di questo genere, l'interprete sappia riconoscere i comportamenti dell'utente e scegliere di conseguenza come comportarsi a seconda del contesto dell'interazione; se, nell'ambito dei servizi turistici, mitigare il malumore dell'utente può contribuire a rendere più efficace e collaborativa la comunicazione, in altri contesti (si pensi, ad esempio, all'ambito giudiziario, a quello sociale, o anche quello commerciale) gli interlocutori dovranno essere messi a conoscenza dello stato d'animo e dell'atteggiamento dell'altra parte, per poter agire di conseguenza.

2.7 Gestione delle risorse cognitive

Come già illustrato in precedenza (cf. par. 3, 3.1.), l'interpretazione telefonica è un'attività che richiede una grande concentrazione, sebbene sia solitamente per interazioni relativamente brevi. La totale assenza di input diversi da quello uditivo, infatti, richiede all'interprete di concentrarsi solo sull'audio, immaginando situazioni e partecipanti. Tutto ciò è reso anche più gravoso dalla velocità con cui l'interprete viene 'catapultato' nella situazione; quando riceve la chiamata, infatti, non sa da dove proviene e, nel caso che lavori con più di una combinazione linguistica, non sa nemmeno quale sarà la lingua richiesta. In pochissimo tempo, dunque, attraverso il *briefing* iniziale dell'operatore, dovrà capire 'dove si trova' e con chi sta parlando.

Anche la qualità dell'audio, non sempre ottimale al telefono, richiede una maggiore attenzione e, di conseguenza, una maggiore concentrazione; in alcuni casi, inoltre, le voci non degli interlocutori possono non essere chiare per motivi non necessariamente tecnici (caratteristiche personali, luogo da cui si sta chiamando, rumori di fondo, malessere, ecc.).

Nelle interazioni analizzate, sono stati notati alcuni casi in cui lo sforzo cognitivo dell'interprete si rende evidente attraverso piccoli lapsus. Un esempio che caratterizza in particolare l'interpretazione telefonica è quello di non ricordare esattamente, dopo il briefing iniziale, come sono collocati gli interlocutori nello spazio. Questo può generare un momento di confusione, come vediamo nell'esempio 23.

```
[23 (registrazione 1)]

1 C: sí eh:: buongiorno io mi trovo in questo momento a
2 Siviglia eh: eh:: avrei bisogno di arrivare al <Patronato de
3 Turismo> eh: avrei bisogno di: di indicazioni per arrivarci
4 A: la señora se encuentra en Sevilla y necesita llegar al
5 patronato de turismo le puede dar indicaciones para llegar?
6 B: sí: dígale que nosotros estamos en la calle Reyes
7 Huertas número veintidós
8 A: (1.0) sì ci troviamo adesso nella in calle Reyes
9 Huertas ventidue
10 C: come si chiama scusi?
11 A: <calle Reyes Huertas ventidue>
12 C: [Reyes?]
13 A: [è dove] ci troviamo ade- dove lei si trova adesso
12 C: dove io mi trovo adesso o dov'è il Patronato de
13 Turismo?
16 A: eh:: es donde tiene que ir la señora o es donde están
17 donde están ahora?
18 B: ah nosotros estamos aquí en el [Patronato de Tu]rismo
19 A:                                [ay perdone sí]
```

In questo caso, nonostante sia stata chiarita la posizione degli interlocutori, e nonostante l'interprete, infatti, renda correttamente (righe 4-5) la domanda della turista, che chiede indicazioni proprio per arrivare al Patronato de Turismo (righe 1-3), si genera (a partire dalla riga 13) un momento di confusione riguardo a dove si trova ciascun partecipante. L'interprete stessa (riga 19) si rende poi conto del suo lapsus e si scusa.

Un altro lapsus estremamente comune, anche in interpretazione

presenziale, è quello di rivolgersi a uno degli interlocutori nella lingua sbagliata. Ne è un esempio l'immagine 7/estratto 6, in cui la direttrice dei Baños Árabes di Córdoba (Spagna) spiega a un'autrice di guide turistiche le caratteristiche e la storia della struttura.

Immagine 7/Estratto 6 *Interpretazione presenziale*

```
1 B: [...] pero al fin y al cabo parte de
2 estos baños eran ya baños califales es decir estamos tocando de
3 alguna manera sensorialmente la historia
4 A: °sí°
5 B: y esto es importante
6 A: vale ehm sí ha dicho que: (1.0) bueno si possono
7 paragonare più o meno alle terme romane […]
```

Nell'esempio 24 (e in sequenza immediatamente successiva al lapsus e

momento di confusione descritto con l'esempio 23), l'interprete si rivolge inizialmente all'utente italiana in spagnolo (righe 2-3), salvo poi rendersi immediatamente conto dell'errore, manifestandolo con una pausa piena ("e:::") e riformulare immediatamente in italiano.

```
[24 (registrazione 1)]

1 B: ah nosotros estamos aquí en el [Patronato de Tu]rismo
2 A:                                [ay perdone sí]         a
3 ver tiene que llegar a la eh::: deve arrivare alla calle Reyes
4 Huertas ventidue dove si trova il Patronato de Turismo
```

2.8 Gestione delle chiusure

Per quanto riguarda la chiusura delle interazioni, anche questa si trova nella maggior parte dei casi in mano all'interprete.

È infatti l'interprete che, una volta compreso da una delle due parti che la conversazione è conclusa e i dubbi sono stati risolti, avvisa l'altra parte e saluta gli interlocutori. Come per le aperture, quindi, anche le chiusure avvengono in due tempi.

```
1 C: [ho capito] (1.0) perfetto d'accordo allora io ne parlo
2 con i miei colleghi e poi posso chiamarvi di nuovo in modo che se
3 voglio prenotare prenoto [d'accordo]?
4 A:                               [perfetto]
5 C: va bene gra- (1.0)
6 A: prego
7 C: grazie allora
8 A: prego buona giornata
9 C: buona giornata grazie [mille]
10 A:                       [mh] bien e- buenos días compañera
11 B: sí (1.0) hasta [luego]
12 A: [adiós] a- hasta luego adiós
13 B: sí
```

Nell'esempio 25, è l'utente italiana ad annunciare (righe 1-3) che la chiamata si sta concludendo, segnalando che ha ricevuto le informazioni di cui aveva necessità; dopo i ringraziamenti, quindi, l'interprete chiude il canale di comunicazione con lei, salutandola (righe 8-9). In seguito (riga 10), annuncia anche all'operatrice che la comunicazione si è conclusa, e chiude anche questo canale con i saluti (righe 11-13).

Uno schema simile si ritrova anche nell'esempio 26:

[26 (registrazione 6)]
```
1 C:                    [perfetto] perfetto d'accordo io
2 sono a posto la [ringrazio]
3 A:               [(xxx)] prego buona giornata arrivederla
4 C: grazie eh grazie arrivederci
5 A: buenos días compañero
6 B: vale muchas gracias hasta luego
7 A: nada adiós
```

Nel caso dell'esempio 27, invece, l'interprete si accerta che la

conversazione sia conclusa (riga 5) prima di chiudere i due canali (righe 7-8 e 9-12).

```
[27 (registrazione 4)]
1 C: mh capito va beh io non sono ehm né un gruppo né voglio
2 spendere venti euro quindi va beh non importa
3 A: d' [accordo]
4 C:    [d'accordo] niente
5 A: d'accordo c'è altra cosa con che possiamo aiutarla?
6 C: no grazie a posto
7 A: mh niente prego buona giornata
8 C: arrivederci
9 A: buenos días compañera
10 B: venga buenos días
11 A: adiós
12 B: adiós
```

3. Conclusioni e buone prassi

Dall'analisi delle interazioni interpretate e dal confronto con l'interpretazione presenziale è possibile individuare esempi di fenomeni ricorrenti e buone prassi che dovrebbero conoscere sia gli interpreti che lavorano a distanza sia, ove possibile, gli operatori dei servizi che vi si rivolgono abitualmente.

Emerge innanzitutto con evidenza che esistono sostanziali differenze fra l'interpretazione dialogica presenziale e quella telefonica, e che quest'ultima comporta alcune difficoltà aggiuntive e peculiarità dettate dalla distanza fra gli interlocutori e dall'assenza di *input* visivi che richiedono una particolare attenzione da parte dell'interprete e anche dei partecipanti primari (si veda González, sezione 6).

1. Per quanto riguarda le aperture, è fondamentale che l'operatore ragguagli l'interprete su chi è e da dove sta chiamando; mentre

infatti in interpretazione presenziale, anche in assenza di un *briefing* approfondito, l'interprete conosce in anticipo perlomeno il luogo in cui si svolgerà l'interazione e di conseguenza (almeno a grandi linee, se non come sarebbe auspicabile nel dettaglio) l'ambito in cui dovrà lavorare, in telefonica tale rivelazione avviene soltanto all'inizio dell'interazione. Nel caso che l'operatore non fornisca tali informazioni, o che le informazioni fornite non siano sufficienti, è quindi consigliabile che l'interprete le richieda e si assicuri di avere compreso correttamente.

2. Nel corso dell'interazione, l'interprete dovrebbe assicurarsi che gli interlocutori lo stiano seguendo, chiedendo conferma in caso di assenza di segnali di *backchannelling*. Allo stesso modo, cioè utilizzando piccoli segnali di *feedback*, può rassicurare sulla comprensione i propri interlocutori durante i loro turni. Inoltre dovrebbe, in particolar modo in presenza di sequenze diadiche, rassicurare gli interlocutori momentaneamente esclusi dalla conversazione su quanto sta accadendo, in particolare se si tratta di utenti non abituati ad utilizzare l'interpretazione telefonica. Infine è consigliabile, in particolare alla fine di turni lunghi o sequenze diadiche, richiamare l'attenzione dell'interlocutore escluso (es. "compañero", "signore", "signora"), che potrebbe nel frattempo essersi distratto. Nel caso che l'interlocutore abbia riferito il proprio nome nel corso dell'interazione, potrebbe risultare utile appuntarlo, in modo da utilizzarlo per richiamare la sua attenzione all'inizio di un turno di resa (es. "signora Gorelli").

3. Particolare attenzione dovrebbe essere prestata alle pause; in particolare, le pause vuote dell'interprete non dovrebbero essere troppo lunghe, in quanto potrebbero comportare delle

sovrapposizioni coni turni degli altri interlocutori, che potrebbero pensare ad un problema tecnico o interpretarle come la fine di un turno.

4. La trasmissione di informazioni quali nomi propri o toponimi è spesso una complicazione. Nel caso della chiamata a due, in cui cioè i due interlocutori sono assieme e l'interprete si trova a distanza, l'interprete può chiedere ai partecipanti di utilizzare documenti o altro materiale grafico per trasmettere l'informazione; ad esempio, per trasmettere i dati anagrafici di un utente, può chiedergli di consegnare all'operatore il proprio documento di identità. Dovrà poi però tenere presente di avere uno "svantaggio" rispetto ai propri interlocutori, non vedendo ciò che accade; potrà quindi chiedere loro di spiegare ciò che stanno facendo, in modo da essere sempre al corrente (es. "sto guardando la carta di identità", "sto cercando l'indirizzo", ecc.). Se, invece, tutti gli interlocutori si trovano in luoghi diversi, potrà essere necessario ricorrere allo *spelling* nel caso di nomi e toponimi e farsi dettare altri dati di tipo, ad esempio, numerico. In questo caso, è consigliabile che l'interprete si assicuri di avere preso correttamente i dati, ripetendoli all'interlocutore che glieli ha forniti, prima di riferirli all'operatore. Eventualmente, può anche nuovamente verificarli con l'operatore, dopo averglieli trasmessi. Sembra essere maggiormente efficace, in queste situazioni, ricorrere se possibile a uno scambio diadico, chiedendo all'operatore di elencare tutti i dati necessari (nome, indirizzo, telefono, numero documento, ecc.) e poi di chiederli tutti all'utente, invece di richiederli e trasmetterli uno ad uno. Risulta inoltre efficace divide l'informazione in piccoli *chunks*, e riprendendo nel turno successivo (*latching*).

5. Per quanto riguarda il riconoscimento e la gestione dei comportamenti rilevanti degli interlocutori, è fondamentale che gli interpreti sappiano decidere, a seconda del contesto, se trasmettere o no, e in che misura, i sentimenti di disagio, rabbia, paura dell'interlocutore.

6. Infine, per quanto riguarda le chiusure, sarà l'interprete a dover capire che l'interazione si è conclusa, avvisare e congedare entrambe le parti. Nel caso che non ne sia sicuro, è opportuno verificare ("desiderava chiedere altro?") prima di ringraziare e salutare gli interlocutori.

4. Abbreviature e convenzioni di trascrizione

Interlocutori:

A: Interprete

B: Operatore

C: Utente

?	intonazione ascendente
grassetto	enfasi
MAIUSCOLO	voce alta, grida
Lu:ngo	suoni allungati
°basso°	parole pronunciate sottovoce
>veloce<	maggiore velocità di eloquio
<lento>	minore velocità di eloquio
[parole]	le parentesi quadre indicano eloquio sovrapposto
=	latching, enunciate contigui o continuazione dello stesso enunciato nel turno successivo
(.)	micro pausa, meno di un secondo
(2.0)	lunghezza della pausa in secondi (approssim.)
((cough))	suono non facilmente trascrivibile
(xxx)	inaudibile o dubbio del trascrittore
wor-	parola troncata

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9. Características prosódicas-fonéticas de la interacción telefónica a distancia mediada por intérpretes en varios géneros

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0. Introducción

En este capítulo se presenta un estudio comparativo de los elementos prosódicos-fonéticos utilizados en la interpretación telefónica en distintos contextos comunicativo o variable diasémica, por todos los participantes en la interación: a) cita médica (concertar cita, cancelar cita, modificar cita); b) emergencias médicas; c) emergencias 112; y d) servicios sociales. El estudio expone los rasgos fonético-prosódicos de cada uno de los que interactúan, pero pone en valor las características peculiares y específicas de las díadas entre el intérprete y el proveedor del servicio y la díada entre el intérprete y el cliente o *call-placer*.

1. Metodología

1.1. Muestra, material y sujetos

Este estudio se ha realizado con seis muestras de conversaciones

telefónicas grabadas en distintos contextos comunicativos a partir de grabaciones simuladas por actores que interpretan a un operador y un usuario este último de habla extranjera, en particular en inglés. Dos de los clientes son hablantes nativos de inglés y el resto representan a la realidad profesional en la que un gran número de usuarios eligen el ingés como lengua de interpretación, aunque se trate de hablantes no nativos de esta lengua. Los intérpretes son personal de la empresa DUALIA, socio del proyecto de investigación SHIFT, que prestarán sus servicios sobre todo para Administraciones públicas o empresas públicas. El grueso de las grabaciones coreresponde a llamadas a al servicio de sanidad pública Salud Responde, de la Junta de Andaludía. Adicionalmente, se cuenta con una llamada a Emergencias 112 y otra a Cruz Roja. Los intérpretes que forman parte de este corpus desconocían que estaban siendo grabados para este estudio. Las grabaciones corresponden a los siguientes servicios: emergencias médicas (2 grabaciones), cita médica (2 grabaciones), emergencias 112 (1 grabación), servicios sociales (1 grabación).

1.2 Variables dependientes

Se han seleccionado las siguientes medidas para evaluar las muestras de habla:

1. *Talking time*: tiempo total de habla de cada interlocutor (operador, intérprete, usuario o client/paciente).

2. *Words*: número de palabras totales en la grabación

3. *Syllables*: número de sílabas totales en la grabación

4. *Micropauses*: número de micropausas.

5. *Elongations*: número de elongaciones de sonidos (elongaciones vocálicas y consonánticas).

6. *Autocorrections*: número de autocorreciones.

7. *Speech markers*: número total de tokens: "mira", "vale", "pues", etc.

8. *Speed variations*: número de variaciones de velocidad en el total de la conversación

9. *Overlapping*: número de solapamientos en la conversación.

10. *Number of words per minute*: número de palabras/minuto

11. *Number of syllables per minute*: número de sílabas/minuto

12. *Mean intensity*: intensidad media (volumen)

13. *Mean pitch*: tono medio

14. *Low pitch*: tono bajo

15. *High pitch*: tono agudo

2. Resultados

Resultados del comportamiento vocal del intérprete con el resto de los interlocutores en los distintos contextos comunicativos

3.1 Valores obtenidos por los intérpretes en todas las conversaciones telefónicas grabadas

En esta sección mostramos los resultados obtenidos por los intérpretes en las variables analizadas en cada una de las grabaciones. En la tabla 1 se presentan los resultados de cada variable analizada en todas las grabaciones (ver Tabla 1 y Gráfico 1).

Tabla 1. Resultados obtenidos por los intérpretes en cada conversación (grabación)

Intérpretes	Emergencia 112 (Romanian lady missing)	Urgencia sanitaria (Emergency call to Sotogrande Golf)	Cita médica con enfermería (Spider in caller´s ear)	Servicios sociales (Call to migrant shelter)	Cita médica (Russian woman´s child vaccination)	Urgencia sanitaria (Caller´s sprained ankle)
Talking time	108	76	168	100	317	49
Words	334	220	425	273	261	126
Syllables	504	350	629	365	378	205
Micropauses	2	8	5	5	16	7
Elongations	0	6	51	4	10	0
Autocorrec-tions	0	4	4	0	1	2
Markers	4	7	25	7	18	11
Speed variations	2	13	18	2	8	0
Overlapping	4	4	11	3	3	2
Words/minute	179	198	162	160	130	139
Syllables/Minute	276	315	237	210	211	237
Mean intensity	70	73	55	65	65	63
Mean pitch	222	135	191	201	246	143
Low pitch	141	91	123	104	151	103
High pitch	380	274	344	442	432	361

INTERPRETERS

Legend:
- Romanian lady missing
- Emergency call to Sotogrande Golf
- Spider in caller's ear
- Call to migrant shelter
- Russian woman's child vaccination
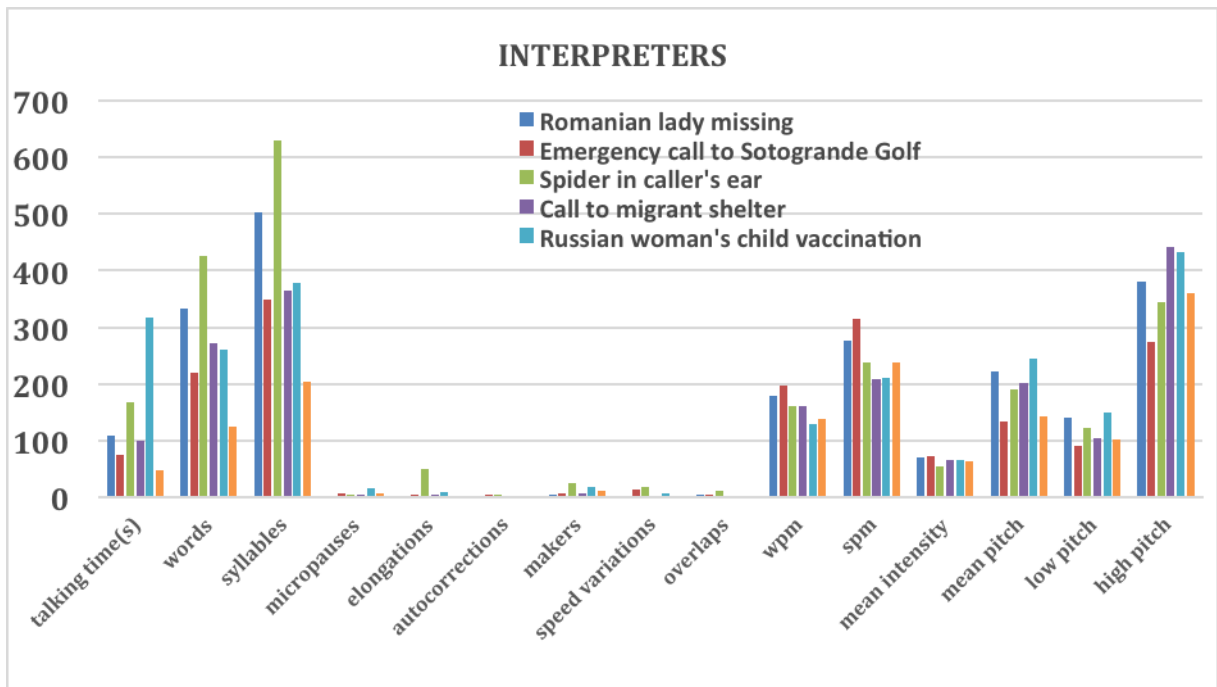
Note: wpm= Words per minute; spm = syllables per minute

Gráfico 1. Representación gráfica de los valores obtenidos por los intérpretes en cada grabación

3.2 Valores obtenidos por los operadores telefónico en todas las grabaciones

En esta sección mostramos los resultados obtenidos por los operadores en las variables analizadas en cada una de las grabaciones (ver Tabla 2 y Gráfico 2)

Tabla 2. Resultados obtenidos por los operadores en cada conversación (grabación)

Operadores	Emergencia 112 (Romanian lady missing)	Urgencia sanitaria (Emergency call to Sotogrande Golf)	Cita médica con enfermería (Spider in caller's ear)	Servicios sociales (Call to migrant shelter)	Cita médica (Russian woman's child vaccination)	Urgencia sanitaria (Caller's sprained ankle)
Talking time	55	36	73	107	256	59
Words	178	112	187	335	223	123
Syllables	323	224	376	596	391	222
Micropauses	6	4	2	0	6	5
Elongations	3	25	27	30	7	47
Autocorrec-Tions	5	7	2	5	1	1
Markers	16	6	12	17	20	6
Speed variations	0	0	2	6	0	0
Overlapping	0	3	5	11	2	3
Words/ Minute	189	195	147	194	157	97
Syllables/minute	321	372	280	342	283	184
Mean intensity	65	69	63	64	60	56
Mean pitch	145	145	152	144	206	209
Low pitch	96	103	104	90	135	155
High pitch	323	310	376	339	335	297

Note: wpm= Words per minute; spm = syllables per minute

Gráfico 2. Representación gráfica de los valores obtenidos por los operadores en cada grabación

2.2 Valores obtenidos por los usuarios en todas las grabaciones

En esta sección mostramos los resultados obtenidos por los usuarios en las variables analizadas en cada una de las grabaciones (ver Tabla 3 y Gráfico 3).

Tabla 3. Resultados obtenidos por los usuarios en cada conversación (grabación)

Usuarios	Emergencias 112 (Romanian lady missing)	Urgencia sanitaria (Emergency call to Sotogrande Golf)	Cita médica con enfermería (Spider in caller´s ear)	Servicios sociales (Call to migrant shelter)	Cita médica (Russian woman´s child vaccination)	Urgencia sanitaria (Caller´s sprained ankle)
Talking time	83	42	123	123	41	23
Words	176	95	323	323	78	52
Syllables	220	130	424	424	101	70

Micropauses	8	1	4	4	3	6
Elongations	8	13	17	17	1	2
Autocorrec-Tions	5	4	3	3	0	1
Markers	5	2	6	6	5	1
Speed variations	4	0	14	14	0	0
Overlapping	2	5	6	6	0	0
Words/ minute	134	135	138	138	131	136
Syllables/ minute	167	183	177	177	161	185
Mean intensity	73	72	69	69	53	60
Mean pitch	247	217	176	176	209	264
Low pitch	140	151	96	96	112	138
High pitch	422	330	378	378	355	501

Note: wpm= Words per minute; spm = syllables per minute

Gráfico 3. Representación gráfica de los valores obtenidos por los usuarios en cada grabación

3.3 Valores obtenidos por los intérpretes cuando interpretan por teléfono para los operadores y/o personal sanitario

En esta sección se muestran los resultados obtenidos por los intérpretes en cada variable cuando éstos interactúan con los operadores y/o el personal sanitario (ver Tabla 4 y Gráfico 4).

Tabla 4. Resultados obtenidos por los intérpretes cuando interpretan a los operadores o personal sanitario

Intérpreters hablando con operadores y/o personal sanitario	Emergencia 112 (Romanian lady missing)	Urgencia sanitaria (Emergency call to Sotogrande Golf)	Cita médica con enfermería (Spider in caller´s ear)	Servicios sociales (Call to migrant shelter	Cita médica (Russian woman´s child vaccination)	Urgencia sanitaria (Caller´s sprained ankle)
Talking time	61	37	44	62	33	29
Words	178	87	104	184	84	73
Syllables	312	160	201	317	126	137
Micropauses	1	3	1	2	8	5
Elongations	0	6	13	31	0	0
Autocorrec-Tions	0	1	0	2	0	0
Markers	2	4	10	13	10	7
Speed variations	2	4	4	12	2	0
Overlapping	3	2	5	10	3	2
Words/ Minute	159	183	148	187	130	146
Syllables/ Minute	333	324	281	336	229	258
Mean intensity	75	69	54	58	63	63
Mean pitch	225	112	183	173	240	139
Low pitch	145	84	120	88	166	107
High pitch	386	252	330	301	401	341
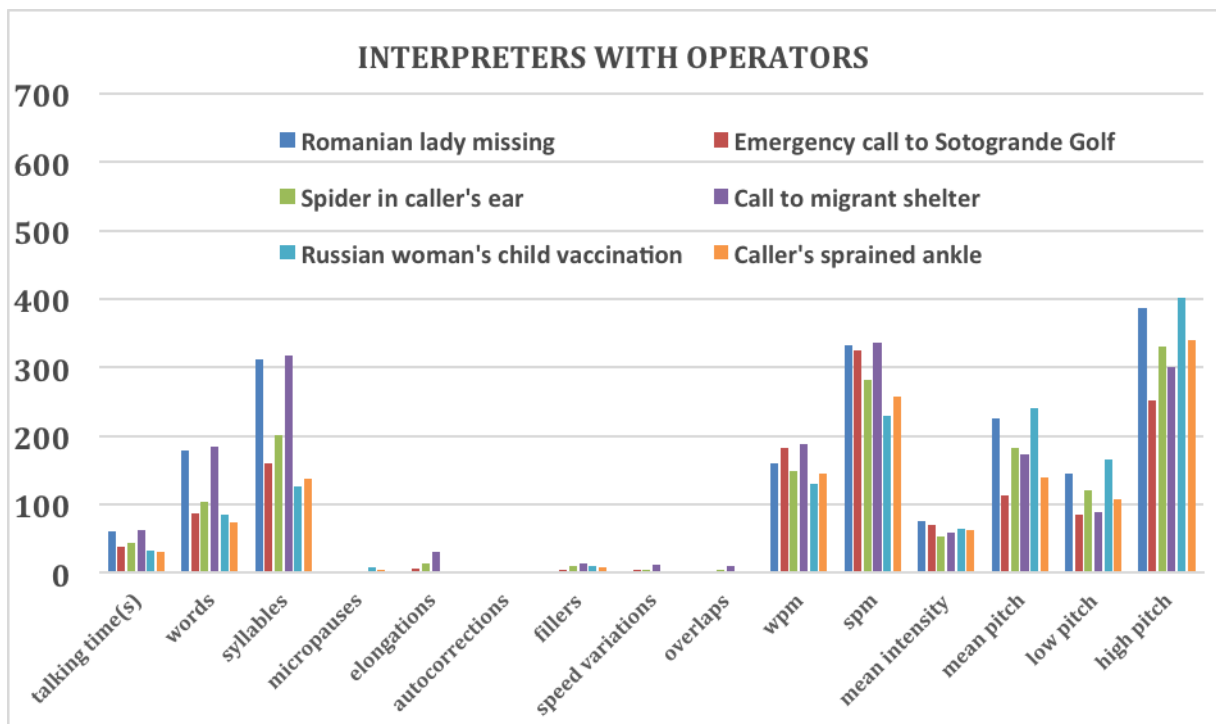
Note: wpm= Words per minute; spm = syllables per minute

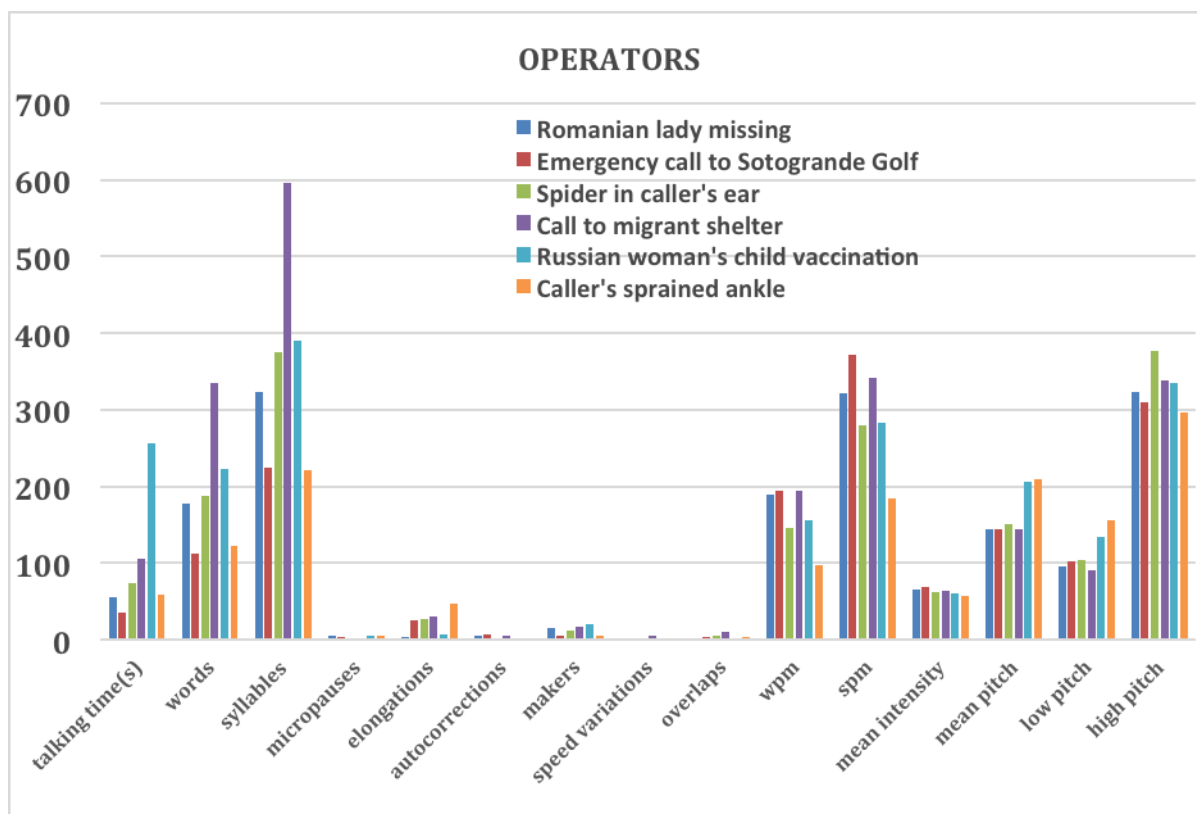*Gráfico 4. Representación gráfica de los valores obtenidos por los intérpretes cuando interactúan con los operadores*

2.4 Valores obtenidos por los intérpretes cuando interpretan por teléfono para los usuarios

En esta sección se muestran los resultados obtenidos por los intérpretes en cada variable cuando éstos interactúan con los usuarios (ver Tabla 5 and Gráfico 5).

Tabla 5. Resultados obtenidos por los intérpretes cuando interactúan con los usuarios

Intérpreters hablando con usuarios	Emergencias 112 (Romanian lady missing)	Urgencia sanitaria (Emergency call to Sotogrande Golf)	Cita médica con enfermería (Spider in caller´s ear)	Servicios sociales (Call to migrant shelter)	Cita médica (Russian woman´s child vaccination)	Cita médica (Caller´s sprained ankle)
Talking time	48	44	124	87	284	19

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Words	156	133	321	183	177	53
Syllables	192	190	428	260	252	68
Micropauses	1	5	4	3	8	2
Elongations	0	0	38	36	10	0
Autocorrec-Tions	0	3	4	2	1	2
Markers	2	3	15	9	8	4
Speed variations	0	9	14	8	6	0
Overlapping	1	2	6	3	0	0
Words/ Minute	197	210	174	121	131	123
Syllables/ Minute	225	307	218	172	187	185
Mean intensity	66	76	57	54	67	64
Mean pitch	218	154	201	181	253	155
Low pitch	137	97	129	84	130	94
High pitch	374	293	363	357	474	411
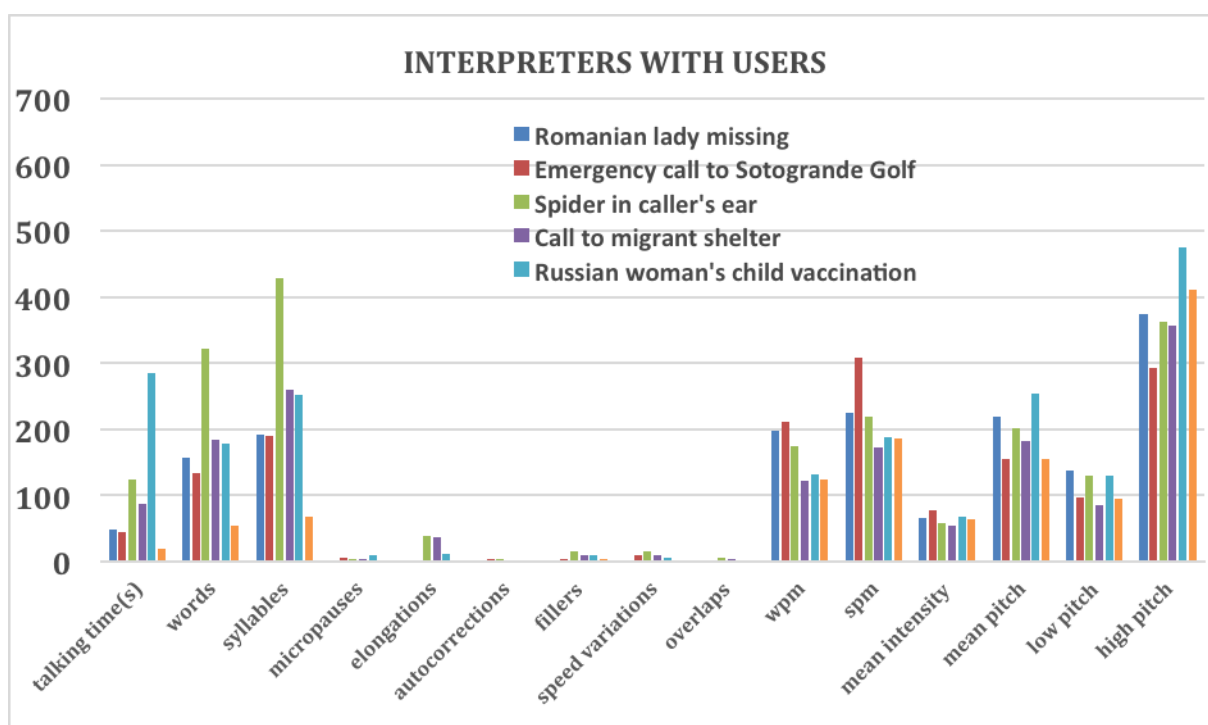
Note: wpm= Words per minute; spm = syllables per minute

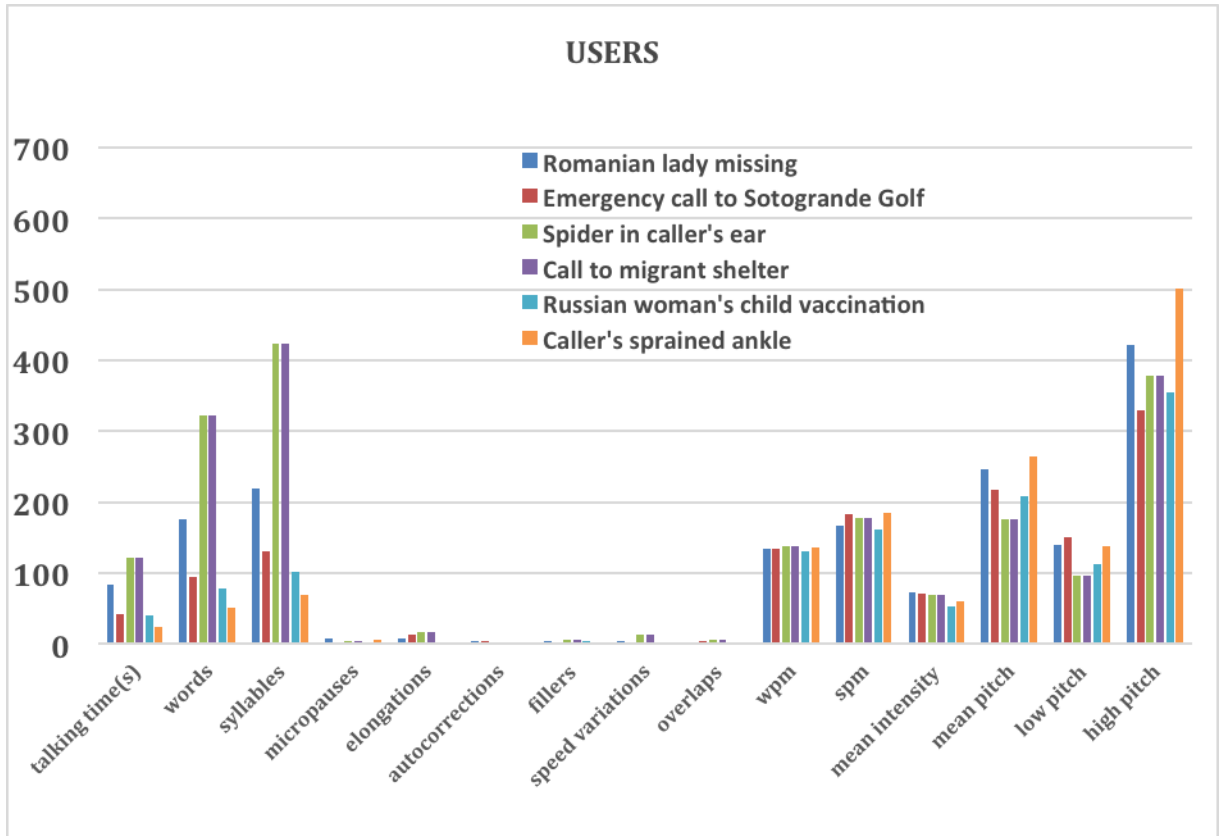*Figure 5. Representación gráfica de los valores obtenidos por los intérpretes cuando interactúan con los usuarios*

2.5 Comparación de los resultados obtenidos por los intérpretes cuando interpretan para los operadores y/ personal sanitario y los obtenidos cuando interpretan para los usuarios

En esta sección se muestran los resultados comparativos de las interacciones-intérprete con usuario e interprete con operador (ver Tabla 6).

Tabla 6. Comparación de los resultados obtenidos por el intérprete cuando interacciona con el operador y con el usuario

Intérpreters en su interacción con usuarios	Emergencias 112 (Romanian lady missing)	Urgencia sanitaria (Emergency call to Sotogrande Golf)	Cita médica con enfermería (Spider in caller´s ear)	Servicios sociales (Call to migrant shelter)	Cita médica (Russian woman´s child vaccination)	Cita médica (Caller´s sprained ankle)
Talking time	0,8	1,2	2,8	1,4	8,7	0,7
Words	0,9	1,5	3,1	1,0	2,1	0,7
Syllables	0,6	1,2	2,1	0,8	2,0	0,5
Micropauses	1,0	1,7	4,0	1,5	1,0	0,4
Elongations	-	-	2,9	1,2	-	-
Autocorrec-Tions	-	3,0	-	1,0	-	-
Markers	1,0	0,8	1,5	0,7	0,8	0,6
Speed variations	-	2,3	3,5	0,7	3,0	-
Overlapping	0,3	1,0	1,2	0,3	-	-
Words/ Minute	1,2	1,1	1,2	0,6	1,0	0,8
Syllables/ Minute	0,7	0,9	0,8	0,5	0,8	0,7
Mean intensity	0,9	1,1	1,1	0,9	1,1	1,0
Mean pitch	1,0	1,4	1,1	1,0	1,1	1,1
Low pitch	0,9	1,2	1,1	1,0	0,8	0,9
High pitch	1,0	1,2	1,1	1,2	1,2	1,2

Nota:

>1,2 El intérprete tiene valores superiores a un 20% respecto al paciente/usuario.

< 0,8 El intérprete tiene valores superiores a un 20% respecto al

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operador/personal sanitario.

3. Conclusiones

En las distintas actuaciones de los intérpretes se observa los siguientes comportamientos vocales:

3.1 Compartamiento vocal del intérprete en urgencias médicas

En las dos grabaciones de urgencias médicas (**Urgencia sanitaria Sotogrande Golf y Ankle sprained),** comparadas con el resto, el intérprete habla menos tiempo y tiene una mayor velocidad de habla (mayor número de sílabas/minuto) e incluso lo hace con mayor intensidad.

3.2 Compartamiento vocal del intérprete en citas médicas

En las dos grabaciones de citas médicas (**Spider in caller´s ear** y **Russian woman´s child vaccination),** los intérpretes usan mayor número de *speech markers* y de elongaciones de sonido que en el resto. Su habla es más oralizada.

3.3 Comportamiento vocal en la interacción entre intérpretes con los operadores y/o personal médico

3.3.1. Interacciones de los intérpretes con los operadores/personal sanitario

En las interacciones de los intérpretes con los operadores se observa:

a) Los intérpretes hablan más tiempo y con mayor velocidad de habla (sílabas/minuto) cuando interactúan con los operadores en las grabaciones de servicios sociales (**Migrant shelter)** y emergencias 112 (**Romanian lady missing**). Además, en la grabación de los servicios sociales hay más

número de elongaciones, speech markers y solapamientos en los intérpretes.

3.3.2. Interacciones de los intérpretes con los usuarios

En las interacciones de los intérpretes con los usuarios se observa:

a) En las grabaciones de citas médicas (**Spider in caller´s ear** y **Russian woman´s child vaccination**), los intérpretes hablan más tiempo con los usuarios, en comparación con el resto de las grabaciones. Sin embargo, en la grabación denominada **Sotogrande Golf** (urgencia sanitaria), el tiempo de habla es considerablemente menor que en las dos anteriores y la velocidad de habla es mayor (número de sílabas/minuto). En esta situación de emergencia el intérprete habla excesivamente rápido.

b) En la grabación denominada **Cita médica con enfermería: Spider in caller´s ear,** el intérprete emite mayor número de elongaciones, autocorrecciones, marcadores del discurso (markers), speech variations and overlappings.

c) En la grabación denominada **Caller´s sprained** a**nkle** (emergencia médica) el intérprete solo habla 19 segundos con una velocidad de habla de 185 sílabas/minuto y en la de **"Russian woman vaccine"** el intérprete habla 284 segundos con una velocidad de habla de 187 sílabas/minuto. Como vemos, en la situación de emergencia médica la velocidad de habla es muy excesiva.

10. Videoconference Interpreting: Data presentation

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1. Managing the opening

As explained (see section 3 in this report) in relation to the methodology, this category captures an important interactional stage of the encounter, which is key for the development of a rapport among participants, for the opening of the communication channel and to make sure everyone is aware of the interpreter's role and tasks and of how the interaction will unfold. The recurring pattern once the clients are connected to the interpreter shows some initial greetings, the interpreter stating their name and role (e.g. "I am X, your English-Italian interpreter. How can I help?"). In most cases, the clients also briefly state their name and the service provider would give the interpreter a brief idea of the purpose of the meeting. At this stage, the main parties are normally oriented towards the screen, as exemplified by the extracts below.

Extracts 1 is taken from an occupational health encounter, in particular it is an instance of nurse-patient consultation. This extract is used to exemplify the very first stage of the encounter, immediately after the videocall is established.
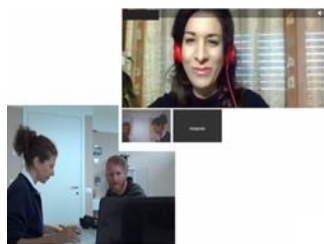
INT: buongiorno
good morning
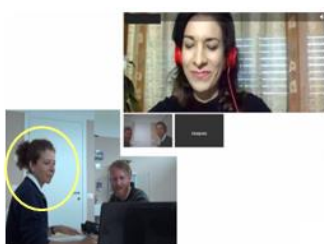
PAT: hello
>> NUR reorients towards screen
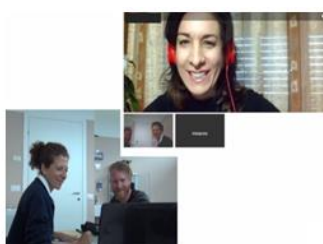
INT: sono XXX interprete di inglese italiano in cosa posso esservi utile
I am XXX   English Italian interpreter   how can I help you
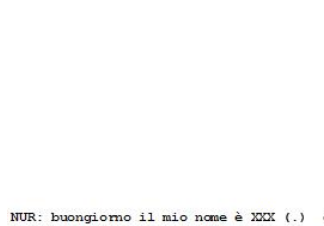
NUR: buongiorno il mio nome è XXX (.)   qui [ho
good morning my name is XXX   *here I have*
PAT: [hi* I'm XXX (waving hand)
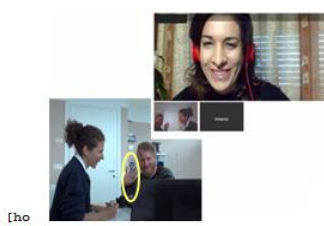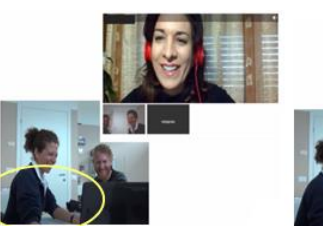
>> NUR repositions screen
INT: hi [nice to* meet you=
    PAT:[hello
          PAT:=nice to meet you too=
                INT:=my name is XXX (.) XXX is my name
                    NUR: piacere XXX
                         nice to meet you XXX
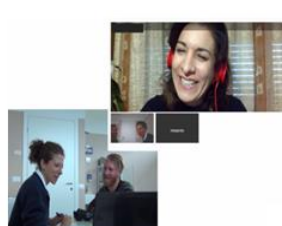
Extract 1 [ITA-EN_HEALTH02_00.15-00.35]

Extract 1 exemplifies the first stage of a typical opening in our dataset, involving greetings and presentation: while this is standard also in face-to-face communication, it has been argued that this phase presents some distinctive traits in video-mediated interaction (see section 3: 3.2.1 in this report). For instance, there seems to be a more pronounced effort from all parties to display openness towards one another through both verbal (e.g. reiterated instances of "*piacere*"/"nice to meet you"; repetition of name on the part of the interpreter)

and embodied features (e.g. smiles, gestures accompanying talk, such as patient waving at the interpreter while introducing himself). While the collaborative nature of the setting is certainly conducive to this behaviour, communicating through a video link seems to lead to an enhanced effort to establish rapport, possibly as a way to compensate for the lack of physical presence (see also Braun 2016a). Awareness of this element is important for students to avoid over-elaboration and make sure that this stage proceeds as smoothly as possible. The dataset does not show instances where the interpreter explicitly addresses his/her role as coordinator in the opening phases, for instance asking clients to speak in short chunks and negotiating a way to stop them to allow for the rendition (which might require different arrangements in video-mediated interaction than in face-to-face ones) or asking clients to reposition themselves in front of the camera to be able to see both. At times, these adjustments are initiated by the parties themselves (normally the service provider) or they are required by the interpreter at a later stage in the interaction, which is likely to cause some degree of disruption (see sections 3:3.2.2 and 3:3.2.6) for further details about different configurations encountered in the dataset). These observations suggest that students would benefit from guidance in this respect. For example, a brief check of whether the ecology of action is conducive to effective interaction (i.e. whether all participants are on screen and visible to the interpreter) in addition to stating one's name and function and explaining how turns will be handled would go some way to optimising not only the opening phase, but the video-mediated encounter as a whole. These aspects may represent additional facets of the interpreter's coordinating role, which are specific to video-mediated encounters and should be handled efficiently as of the start of the meeting. The AVIDICUS project partnership has developed various recommendations and guidelines (Braun 2012; www.videoconference-interpreting.net), which include reference to these points (e.g. checks of mutual visibility and audibility prior to commencing a videoconference session,

introductions), although with specific reference to legal settings. Such guidelines along with the above observations will need to be translated into educational material to enable students to develop appropriate strategies for handling the opening phase and the interaction in video-mediated encounters in a variety of settings.

2. Managing spatial organization

Participants' positioning in relation to the equipment is key to ensure that interpreters have enough contextual information in a situation where the flatness and two-dimensionality of the screen considerably reduces access to essential embodied cues (see also section 2:2.2 of this Report). This is particularly important in light of the finding described in Braun, Davitti and Dicerto (2017) that awareness of the importance of spatial organization is low among legal stakeholders as one professional group that is increasingly involved in the use of videoconferencing and video-mediated interpreting. The screenshots below show some extreme cases where spatial organisation is not addressed, therefore resulting in an unfavourable configuration that might have implications on the way the interaction unfolds and, more general, on the overall video-mediated interpreting experience.

Figure 1 is taken from an encounter between a pharmacist and a foreign client who is feeling unwell and needs to be treated for potential flu-like symptoms.
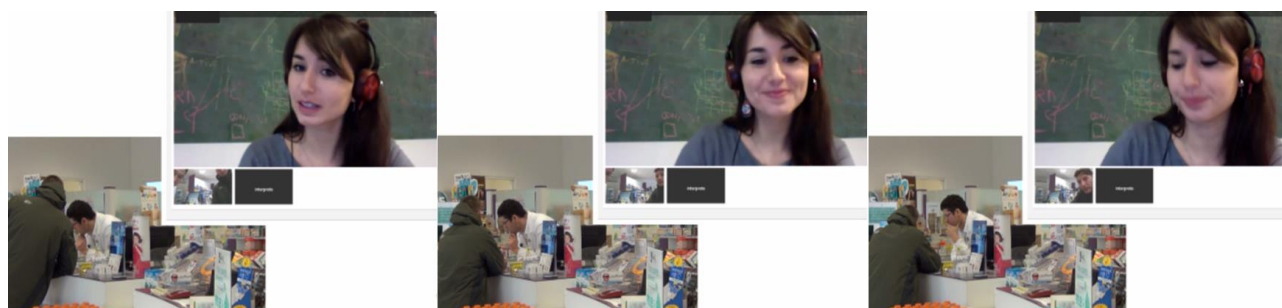
Figure 1 [ITA-EN_HEALTH01]

The meeting happens over the counter, with both the pharmacist standing and with the tablet screen being placed at a 90-degree angle with respect to them. Both parties need to lean over the counter to be able to see the screen; the picture-in-picture of what the interpreter actually sees shows that participants, throughout the encounter, are only partially on-screen, and in some cases completely off-screen (e.g. pharmacist on the left-hand side of the screen). As a result, the interpreter can only access the sound of some participants' contributions, thus potentially missing out on important embodied cues. On the other hand, this is an uncomfortable position for the parties, which would not be sustainable for a long time. Reference to such situations in training – in this case for the primary participants – would enable the interlocutors to identify problem
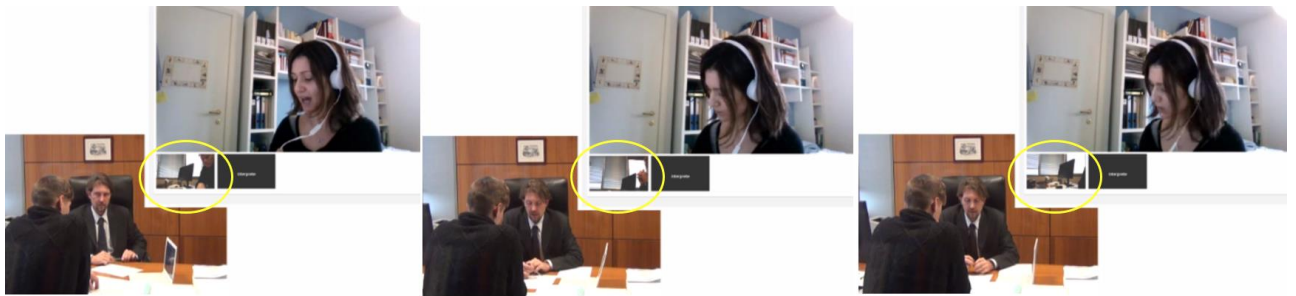
and develop adjustments such as, for instance, raising the tablet slightly so that the participants do not have to lean over the counter to be able to see the interpreter.

Figure 2 is taken from an encounter between a fiscal expert and a foreign client who is enquiring about the necessary steps to open a small business in Italy.

Figure 2 [ITA-EN_BUSINESS01]

The participants sit opposite each other at a table, and once again the screen is positioned at a 90-degree angle with respect to them. As we can see from the interpreter's picture-in-picture, only one of the participants is partially visible to her throughout the encounter (in the second screenshot from the left only the

hands appear there) and towards the end, none of them is actually on screen. This puts the interpreter is a position similar to telephone interpreting, as the only environmental cues that are made visible on screen are not supportive of the ongoing communication. In none of the cases shown above the interpreter actively requires some adjustments to improve the visual ecology.

Extract 2 is taken from an administrative encounter where a foreign student needs assistance with obtaining a prepaid card. During the long turn uttered by the administrative representative (01.02-01.30 - not reported here), the student is entirely off screen. The extract below shows how the interpreter signals this before uttering her rendition.


```
1   REP  [01.02-01.30]           (1.5)                 [h
          >>looks at student     >> gaze at screen     [>>INT gaze up at screen


2   INT           h              eh traduco già questa parte in realtà [non vedo:
                                 I translate already this part actually I cannot see
                                                                      [>> slightly leaning to the side


3   @il cliente [comunque spero che lui mi veda@ (.)    @ok@
     the client  anyway       I hope he can see me
    STU            [>>repositioning himself


4   STU  yeah
```

Extract 2 [ITA-EN_HEALTH02_00.15-00.35]

The interpreter keeps her eyes down throughout the duration of the turn uttered by the administrative representative while possibly taking note (although this can only be inferred as it is not shown on screen). Gaze up on the part of the interpreter is achieved only during the pause of approximately 1.5 sec made by the administrative representative, which is potentially perceived as a turn-yielding device. The in-breath produced by the administrative representative seems to project a continuation of the turn on the part of the speaker; however, this is produced in overlap with the interpreter's gaze up movement, which is seemingly perceived by the administrative representative. At this point, the interpreter self-selects for the floor through an in-breath combined with gazing at the screen (seemingly at the administrative representative). Before starting her rendition, however, the interpreter gets one of the participants to make adjustments to their positioning by producing an autonomous comment about the fact that she has no visual access to "the client" (i.e. the student). This triggers the student's repositioning in front of the screen that makes him slightly more visible for the interpreter. The brief exchange of acknowledgment tokens at lines 3 and 4 between the interpreter and the students ("ok" – "yeah") seems to recognise the success of the move, before swiftly proceeding to the rendition of the administrative representative's comment. Interestingly, it can be noted that not only the student, but also the interpreter slightly repositions herself in front of the camera, seemingly in the attempt to gain better visual access to the client (as would be the case in a face-to-face live scenario), which is nevertheless unattainable in video-mediated interaction given its bidimensional nature. The important point for training here is, as also briefly mentioned above, that trainee interpreters understand the potential disruptiveness of such visibility issues and the benefits of adjusting/improving visibility prior to commencing the videoconference session.

This extract also shows that the boundaries between the categories "managing spatial organisation", "managing embodied resources" and "managing turns"

overlap to some extent. This is an important aspect to consider in training: while some examples might focus on specific and self-contained phenomena, it is very important to consider sequences that show the complexity of this type of interaction, and can be discussed with a view to breaking down such complexity, highlighting the challenges resulting from it and developing coping and adaptive strategies and solutions.

3. Managing turns

For the purpose of exemplifying this category, the focus will be on handling multiunit turns, which represents a challenge for interpreters in face-to-face interaction and therefore opens up the issue of how it is handled remotely. In particular, the first couple of examples will focus on how interpreters deal with chunking, i.e. at what point and how to intervene to 'break' the participant's turn (provided they do not stop independently) and start their rendition. Chunking is a complex activity to carry out for interpreters, involving decisions related to when/how to intervene. Remoteness might heighten these challenges, which therefore need to be explored with the students in class.

Extract 3 is taken from a lawyer-client consultation, in particular the client is asking the lawyer for advice on divorce. One of the features of this encounter is the very long turns uttered by the lawyer.
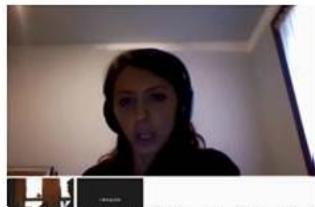
1 LAW bhe intanto chieda se ehm al fine di capire quale procedimento: eventualmente intraprendere eh vorrei sepere se
        in the meantime ask if   in order to understand what action we can possibly take   I would like to know if
        >>INT looks at screen   >>INT starts switching gaze between notes and screen >>INT soldly gazing down at notes

2 LAW eh diciamo hanno già trovato un accordo sulle eventuali condizioni di separazione oppure se sono in conflitto
        let's say if they have already reached an agreemen on the terms of the separation   or whether they are in conflict
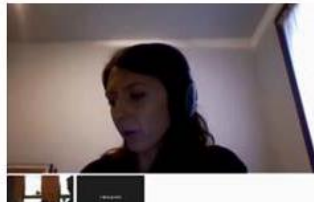
3   tra loro (.) e poi [la seconda doman]da se eh hanno figli perchè devo chiedere un po' varie varie cose insomma
        and then the second questions whether they have children because I need to ask a few different   different things so
        [>> INT nodding and seemingly uttering *ok* while looking down]
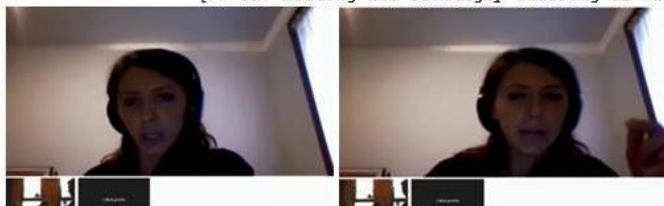
4 LAW [se hanno] figli   se han[no] del patri-
        if they have children   if they have capit-
5 INT [certo]
        sure
        >>INT gazing up at screen
6   [ok]
                              >>INT leaning on the side seemingly addressing the client
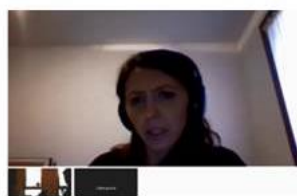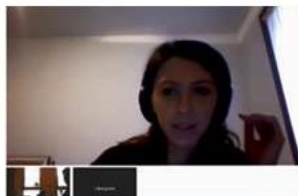
7 LAW eh   (.) comunque risiede in Italia risiede in I[ta]lia la signora?
                              anyway she currently resides in Italy resides in Italy the lady
        >>INT seemingly noticing something (possibly acoustic problem/delay – also suggested by facial expression)
8 INT   [ok]
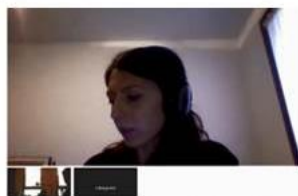
9 LAW ho capito bene? (.) risie[de] in Italia la: la mo[glie]?
        have I understood it right she resides in Italy   the   the wife
10 INT   [ok]

11 INT   [eh so] ha detto che che è in Italia[na]
                                                he said that that   she is in Italy/Italian
12 LAW   [che è in] Italia
                                                                                    that she is in Italy
13   [è italiana]?
        she is Italian
14 INT [adesso glielo chie]do (.) faccio questa domanda
        now I'll ask him   I'll ask him this question

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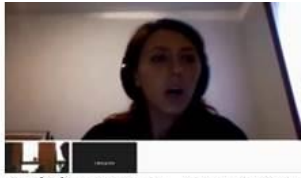
```
15    LAW   però è anche in [Italia risiede]?
            but  is also    in  Italy she resides
```
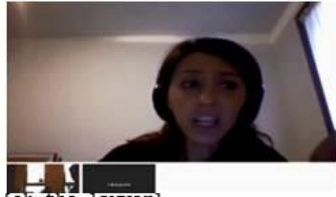


```
16    INT                 [ok the lawyer]
17    (1,5 sec)
```



```
18    INT   scusi?
            sorry
19    LAW   no no chiedevo se è anche qui in Italia ha la residenza qui in Italia cioè (.) oltre ad essere italiana in
            no no I was asking if is also here in Italy she has the residency here in Italy I mean      on top of being Italian in
20          questo momento è in Italia?=
            this moment is she in Italy
21    INT   ho capito
            I got it
22    LAW   ehm
23    INT   certo certo adesso glielo chiedo subito
            sure sure       now I'll ask him        immediately
```

Extract 3 [ITA-EN_BUSINESS02_00.36-02.32]

The long extract shows several attempts on the part of the interpreter to chunk the laywer's turn and take the floor to deliver the rendition (see lines 5/8/10 through acknowledgment tokens and more explicitly at line 14). The whole process is very cumbersome as evidenced by the amount of overlaps and repetitions, unnatural breaks and missed opportunities to take/relinquish floor. This is possibly due to network problems, causing delays and lack of acoustic clarity. Evidence emerges from the video, for instance the interpreter's delayed nodding at line 3, the overlap combined with facial expressions in line 7, the lawyer's repetitions in partial overlap with the interpreter between lines 9-19, until the actual explicit signal of lack of understanding due to acoustic problems in line 18. These technical problems make the whole coordinating action of the interpreter very complex, and lead to a clumsy turn which is eventually resolved

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with a clear request to take the floor on the part of the interpreter at line 23 (after a failed one at line 14). It is also interesting to notice the lawyer's tendency to over-elaborate, which might be partially explained as a personal speaking style, but could also be seen as an attempt to be collaborative and clarify the points made, thus partially compensating for the communication difficulties caused by the remoteness of the situation (see also section 2: Managing the opening, above). Despite the possible technical and acoustic problems, such difficult resolution can also be partially attributed to a 'latent uncertainty' about what the other party can see (Braun 2004 2015; see also section 2: 2.2 of this report); the interpreter only has access to the profile of the speaker, the image is quite dark and makes mutual access to embodied features quite difficult. It may therefore be argued that the use of embodied resources for regulating turn-taking in this scenario is less impactful (see also Braun and Taylor 2012b), as shown by the unsuccessful attempts made by the interpreter via nodding or gazing up from the notes (e.g. line 5) or turning her head seemingly to the other party to start her rendition (e.g. line 6 and line 16). Chunking is finally successful when the interpreter adopts an assertive stance and clearly signals her intention to take the floor while looking at the screen directly and then immediately turning her gaze as to address the client (line 23 – see details in Figure 3).


```
23   INT   certo certo adesso    glielo        chiedo  subito
            sure  sure  now       I'll ask him           immediately
```
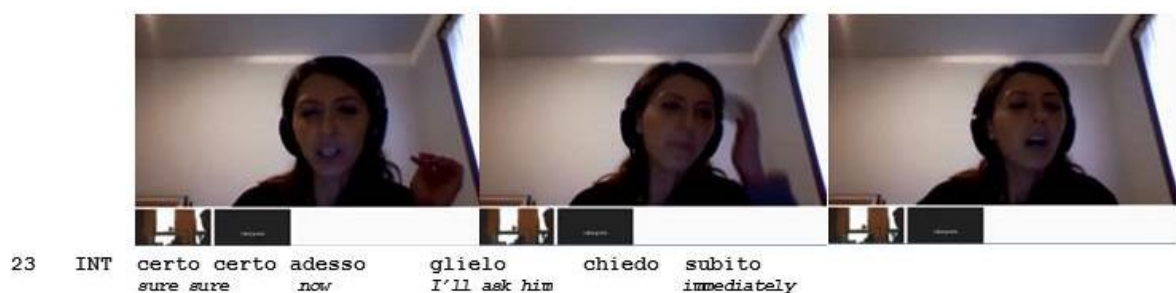
Figure 3 [ITA-EN_BUSINESS02 – detail from Extract 3]

Extract 4 is taken from a later moment of the same encounter. It has been selected to show what is seemingly an adaptive strategy introduced by the

interpreter to cope with the complexity of chunking the long lawyer's turns in this encounter.

1	LAW	allora eh se non c'è conflitto e quindi se eh lui continua a dialogare appunto come ho capito con la moglie
		so if there is no conflict and therefore if he continues to have a dialogue as I understood with his wife
		>>INT gazing down to take notes
2	INT	si esatto
		yes exactly
3	LAW	eh ovviamente si può trovare un accordo perché ehm però in Italia rispetto all'estero (.) eh: prima di
		obviously one can find an agreement because but in Italy compared to abroad before
4		arrivare al divorzio bisogna passare per la separazione h a- adesso hanno ridotto i termini per arrivare al
		the divorce one has to go through a separation now they have reduced the terms to obtain a
5		divorzio in ogni caso il primo step comunque è sempre la separazione (.) h nel suo caso eh: le
		divorce in any case the first step anyway is always a separation in his case the

		pro[cedure
		procedure
6	INT	[un attimo che traduco questa piccola porzione [e] dopo la faccio la faccio continuare [perchè] sennò (.)
		one moment let me translate this short portion and then I let you I let you carry on because otherwise
		è giusto che traduca precisamente tutto
		it is right that I translate everything accurately
9	LAW	[si
		yes
10	LAW	[si si
		yes yes
11	LAW	si
		yes

Extract 4 [ITA-EN_BUSINESS02_05.18-05.55]

In terms of embodied behaviour displayed by the interpreter, we notice a similar pattern with respect to Extract 3 analysed above, i.e. at the beginning of the lawyer's turn, the interpreter is gazing directly at the screen, then shifts her gaze down to the notepad (line 1). This gaze configuration is kept until line 6, where gaze up to the screen is combined with the interpreter clearly interrupting the lawyer and asking to translate the chunk produced until that moment. This is enhanced non-verbally by a gesture produced with her hand, which is however only partially visible on screen. While, on the one hand, this move seems to resolve the problem of taking the floor more efficiently, the extract is worth

discussing with students to address questions related to how such an assertive moves makes the interpreter come across, and think about alternative (perhaps less abrupt) strategies. Furthermore, the verbal over-elaboration produced by the interpreter to take the floor (lines 6-7) is not conducive towards smooth interaction, but is unnecessary and unjustified. This might also be linked to the remoteness of the encounter, and it is interesting to discuss with the students to remind them of adopting turn-taking devices, which contribute to the dynamism and flow of interaction, rather than hindering it.

Another element highlighted by the analysis of the data is the difficulty to carry out chunking through latching or short overlap. In face-to-face conversation, proximity enables the interpreter to use this strategy coupled with modulation of the tone of voice to render very small chunks of turns, thus making the interaction unfold smoothly. However, the remoteness of the encounters hinders recourse to such strategic device, which may actually be disruptive when implemented. This is the case in Extract 5, which is taken from the same occupational health encounter as Extract 1 and shows an attempt on the part of the interpreter to chunk the nurse's turn via latching and short overlap.

```
1   NUR   passiamo subito adesso as eseguire la spirometria @@
          let's immediately move on to carry out a spirometry test
2   INT   ok spirometry now
```



```
3   NUR   quindi=
          so
4   INT   =you must (.) know
```



```
5   NUR   è un esame che va a valutare          (.)                la:::=
          it is a test that evaluates                               the
                        >>INT opening her mouth seemingly     >>INT producing a sound seemingly
                        producing an in-breath to take floor   to take the floor
6   INT                                                             =(that's)
7   NUR   il volume di aria dei polmoni (.)  detto in paro[le molto semplici
          air volume of the lungs                      in very simple words
8   INT                                                  [ok so a spi-]rometry is an exam that is going to evaluate
9         your (.) capacity of volume of your (.) lungs
```

Extract 5 [ITA-EN_HEALTH02_08.18-08.44]

Slightly after, as the nurse starts explaining what the test is about, the interpreter starts rendering what the nurse is saying (lines 3-4); these is a very short chunk produced in latching, but it is noticed by the participants (nurse and patient), who turn their head and gaze to the screen. The same happens at line 5, where the nurse continues to explain the procedure, and the interpreter seemingly tries to adopt the same chunking device by producing an in-breath first (which is not noticed by the participants) and then by producing a sound (what seems to be that's at line 6), which once again leads to the nurse stopping her turn and turning her gaze to the screen, followed by the patient. This move seems therefore disruptive, and is replaced with a more traditional way of delivering dialogue interpreting, with the nurse producing a more substantial chunk (line 8) and the interpreter rendering it consecutively (line 9). This is another interesting case to discuss with students; all in all, the extracts presented here can raise awareness among the students of what is (not) possible in such a video-mediated environment, and encourage them to think about alternative coping mechanisms

to implement their coordinating role in this type of interaction.

4. Managing reference to primary participants

Across the dataset, a tendency to shift from the use of first person to the use of third person has been noticed, while this is a common phenomenon in face-to-face interaction, the question arising here is whether and, if so, how such phenomenon is affected by the video-mediated nature of the encounters analysed and/or whether it can potentially lead to more confusion in such environment.

Extract 6 is taken from the same encounter between a fiscal expert and a foreign client described in relation to Figure 2. In particular, the short sequence features at the start of the encounter, after the client has expressed why he needs the fiscal expert's advice.


```
1   INT   buongiorno
            good morning
2   SP    buongiorno
            good morning
```



```
3   INT   @ eh sono XXX l'interprete italiano inglese allora  innanzitutto: eh
            I am XXX the Italian English interpreter      so      first of all
```



```
4         il cliente che ha di fronte vorrebbe aprire un'attività
            the client in front of you would like to start his own business
```

It is interesting to notice how reference to the client is expressed as "il cliente che ha di fronte" (line 4) by the interpreter, and accompanied by a deictic gesture (only partially detectable on screen) (as shown by the hand circled in the third screenshot – line 4). Such specification would be completely redundant if the interpreter were face-to-face with the participants. However, a closer look at the visual ecology of this video-mediated encounter shows that the interpreter has no access to the fiscal expert on screen, and that all she can see in the picture-in-picture is the profile of the foreign client. Furthermore, while delivering her rendition, she mostly looks down at the notepad that she used to take notes. The remoteness of the situation and the lack of visual engagement with the screen, therefore with the interactional space shared by the main participants, seem to make such interpreter-produced addition relevant, as an attempt to compensate for the "distance" while attempting to achieve maximum clarity about "who is saying what to whom".

Extract 7 shows an interesting adaptive strategy adopted by the same interpreter after some technical problems that caused disruption during the encounter. The whole interaction is characterised by long turn uttered by the fiscal expert to explain all the stages of this process. After the line breaks down, the interpreter starts coordinating the beginning of her rendition to the foreign client by prefacing it with "I am back to you" as per transcript below.

[11.25-11.39]

1   **INT**   ok ritraduco questo poi magari andiamo avanti con quel pezzo che non
ok I retranslate this then maybe we go on with that bit that I did not

```
2        avevo sentito causa problemi tecnici le [spiace]
         hear because of technical problems do you mind
3   SP   [si] certo
          yes    sure
4   INT  ok **so I'm back to you** of course you are right in saying that you
         will
5        need a licence

[15.19-15.30]
    INT  ok poi la lascerò andare avanti su quel punto [magari lo dico al
         ok then I'll let you carry on on that point maybe    I may say that to the
         cliente]
         client
4   SP                                          [certo          nessun
         problema]
                                                sure no problems
5   INT  eh ok **I am back to you again** ehm as (.) I mentioned before normally
         is
         the Chamber of Commerce

[20.57-21.03]
7   INT  ok traduco (.) ok **I'm back to you** first of all the fiscal expert
         said
             I translate
```

Extract 7 [ITA-EN_BUSINESS01]

The same does not happen when the interpreter renders the client's turns into Italian. It is nevertheless an interesting device, which might also be influenced by the fact that the foreign client is the only one visually accessible on screen: the reference to you is indeed not ambiguous given the language switch and the fact that the interpreter can visually address the recipient of the message. An interesting point to explore is whether lack of visual access, combined with the shorter nature of the client's turns, might have influenced the lack of use of the same device when interpreting into Italian.

5. Managing embodied resources

This category captures different displays and uses of embodied resources on the part of the interpreters involved in the encounters. It is difficult to establish

to what extent their behaviour is influenced by the video-mediated nature of the encounters and/or by other factors. It is however interesting to show students the various ways in which interpreters use embodied resources, gaze in particular, and position themselves in front of the camera. Their behaviour can provide interesting indicators of the level of self-awareness and self-monitoring which are essential scenarios where environmental cues are strongly constrained like in video-mediated interpreting.

While the positioning of primary parties with respect to the camera has been discussed in section 2: 2.2, it is worth briefly outlining some features of the way in which interpreters appear on screen in the videos analysed.
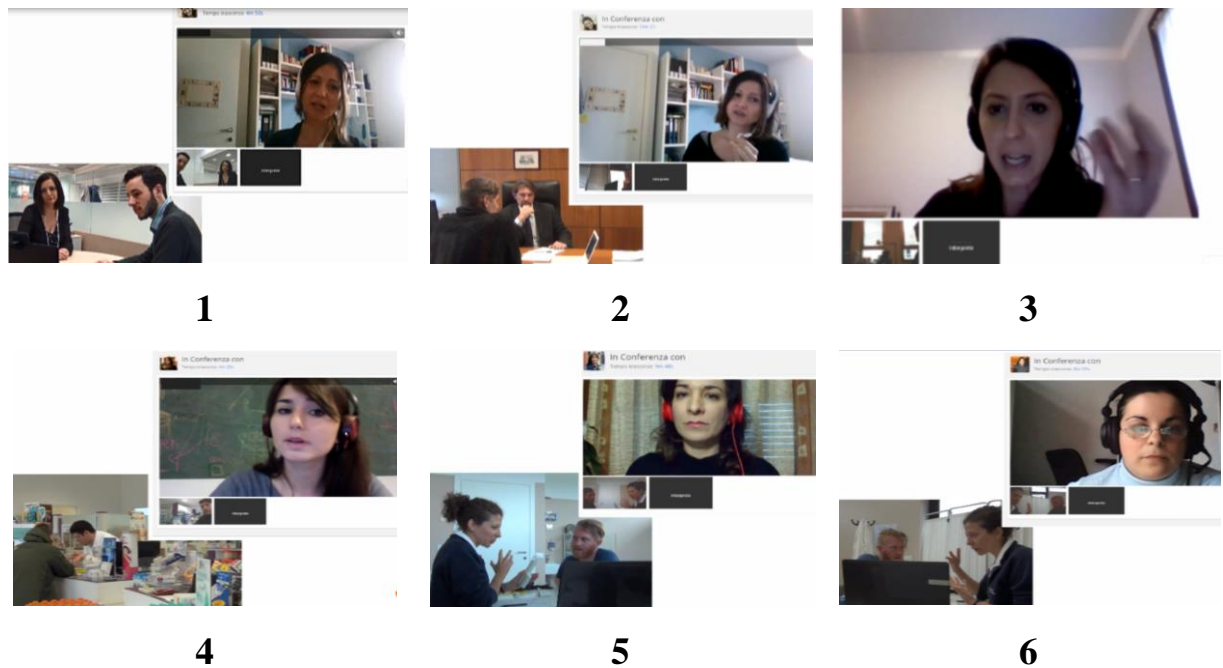
Figure 4 [overview of all encounters]

Figure 4 presents an overview of all Italian-English encounters. The interpreters appear on the right-hand side of each interaction (six in total) and we can see how the different camera angle and camera-face distance can have an impact on the way they are displayed and, consequently, perceived in interaction. Only the face and shoulders of all interpreters are visible, while most of the rest of their

upper bodies is hidden from the camera. In some cases, the faces are partly cut (e.g. no. 5) or the camera is angled from the bottom up (e.g. no. 3), thus increasing the visual salience of the interpreter. Showing and discussing these aspects with students is relevant to make them aware of the importance not only of what they themselves see, but also of how they come across, which may have implications on the way they are perceived by the main parties.

Taking notes is one recurring activity carried out by interpreters in these scenarios, particularly when one of the primary parties produces a substantial turn. The way interpreters position themselves in front of the screen also has repercussions on how they come across when taking notes, as shown in Figure 5.

| 1 | 2 |
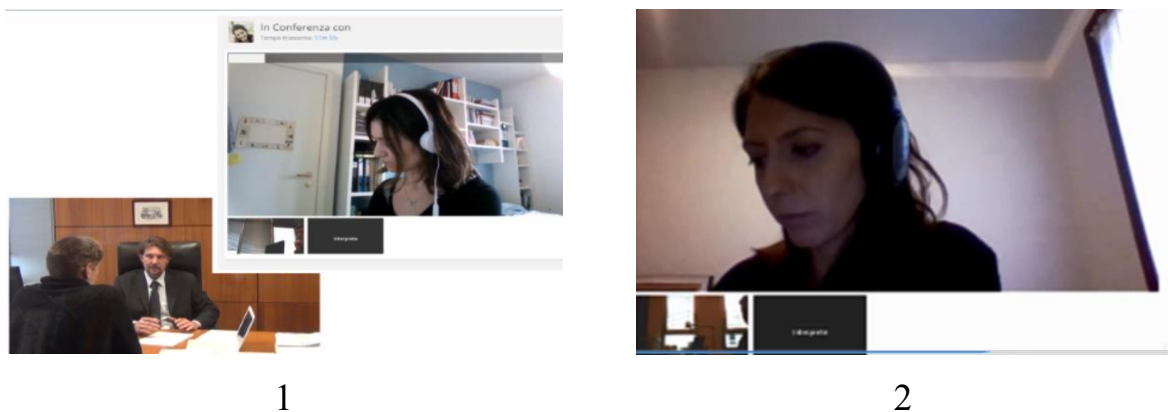
Figure 5 [overview of interpreters during note-taking]

In both cases shown in Figure 5, above, the fact that the interpreter is taking notes can only be inferred, but is not visually clear on screen. An important point to rise with students would be the reduced force of gaze up as a turn-regulating device in these scenarios. In other words, in face-to-face interaction interpreters can use their head and gaze movement to signal that they are ready to take the floor and start their rendition. In these scenarios such move would not have the same impact considering the flatness of the screen and its position

at a 90-degree angle with respect to the participants, thus within their direct visual access range.

6. Managing comprehension problems

One of the challenges related to this category is that it is difficult to isolate instances where we can safely argue that remoteness was (one of the) main causes for lack of comprehension. While this may not be transparent at all times, there are some interesting cases that can be discussed with the students to sensitise them to the repercussions that remoteness may have on understanding. For instance, the dataset has shown quite a few instances of mishearing, often coupled with lack of self-monitoring, leading to (at times significant) distortions. This is in line with the analysis of video-mediated interpreting in AVIDICUS, which found significantly higher levels of inaccuracy in video interpreting compared to onsite interpreting (Braun and Taylor 2012b; Braun 2013). An example of this from the SHIFT dataset is shown in Extract 8, taken form the same lawyer-client consultation as Extract 3: at this point, the interpreter has just relayed a long question uttered by the lawyer about a refund that the client is requesting. The sequence below starts from the answer that he provides.

```
1   CLI   I think she she understands I think she is more than happy to: to:
          to
2         pay this but I've just come here today just to set the set the
          wheels
3         in motion if you like just to get started to find out what I must
          do
4         like you said first I'm asking a separation [issued* so now I
          noticed
5   INT                                                            [ok
6   CLI   (.) [just to just to get started]
7   INT      [ok (.) ha detto che* si la moglie capisce perfettamente la
               ok      he said that    yes his wife understands perfectly the
```

```
8          situazione ed è disposta anche a pagare l'importo ha detto che è
           situation and that she is willing also to pay the amount he said that he has
9          venuto qui semplicemente perchè voleva: anche (.) staccarsi a
           livello
           come here simply because he wanted also to                    detach at an
10         emotivo da questa situazione e capire quali sono i passi da
           emotional level from this situation and understands which are the steps to
11         intraprendere per effettuare: il divorzio e ha capito che il
           primo
           follow to obtain the divorce                      and he realized that the
           first
12         passo è quello della separazione
           step is separation
13   LAW   ho capito
           I understand
```

<div align="center">Extract 8 [ITA-EN_BUSINESS02_19.11-19.50]</div>

At lines 3-4, the client uses an idiomatic expression (set the wheels in motion) to express the idea that he went to see the lawyer to get the whole process started. This is produced with some hesitations (repetition of "to set"), and in a well-articulated and clear manner. During the whole sequence, the interpreter is gazing up at the screen (she can see the client's profile), and she nods and produces also acknowledgment tokens (e.g. line 5), which do seem to signal perfect understanding of what is going on. However, the rendition produced between lines 7-12 contains a distortion of the speaker's ideas, in that the idiomatic expression is substituted with the idea that he went to see the lawyer to emotionally detach from the situation, which was not expressed in the source utterance. The interpreter shows no signal of potential misunderstanding, which is why this instance has been coded as a comprehension problem, which is not self-monitored by the interpreter or detected by the participants. It is interesting to discuss with the students how instances of mishearing are potentially magnified in video-mediated interpreting, where remoteness may have an impact on cognitive resources, particularly towards the end of long and dense encounters (as is the case here where we are almost at minute 20 of a 25'minute long encounter), and therefore techniques such as self-monitoring need to be

enhanced. Evidence for this is also discussed by Braun (2013), who furthermore argues that the many challenges of video-mediated interpreting may leave the interpreter at times "without sufficient mental capacities to grasp the full meaning of what was said, gain a sufficient sense of coherence and continuity, and monitor the plausibility of their renditions" (Braun 2013: 223).

Extract 9 shows an example where a potential comprehension problem is instead noticed and signaled by the interpreter. The sequence is taken from the same encounter about occupational health as Extracts 1 and 5; at this point of the interaction, the nurse is asking the patient a series of routine questions.

1	NUR	allergie (.) alimentari?
2	INT	any allerg- (.) any allergies?
3	PAT	eh: penicillin
4	NUR	ok (.) eh scusi
5	INT	Ok
6	INT	wha- wh- what is your allergy sorry?
7	PAT	eh: it's penicillin
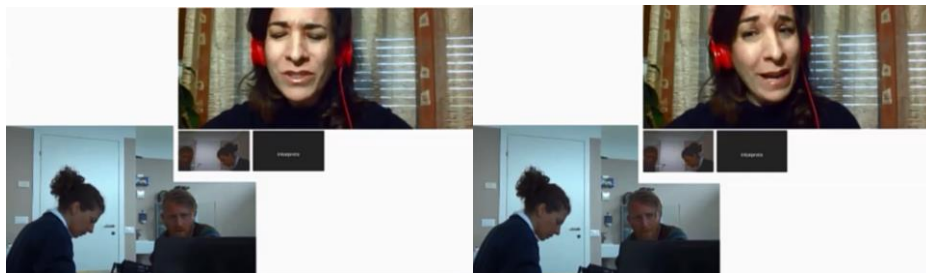
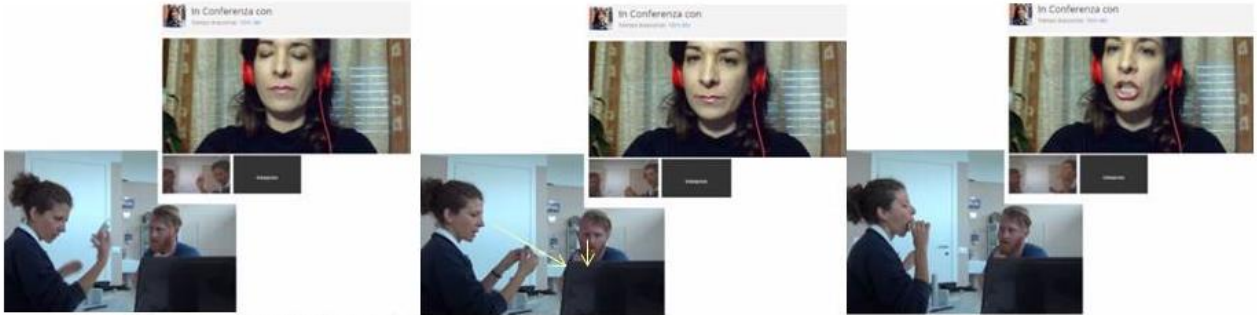|		
8	INT	sorry (pessil)?
9	PAT	pen-i-cillin
10	INT	ah penicil- ok penicillina (.) penicillin so the antibiotic right?
11	PAT	Yes
12	INT	penicillin [ok l'antibiotico penicillina
13	NUR	[quindi il farmaco] (.) d'accordo questo è molto importante

Here the nature of the problem seems to be the name of a medicine, penicillin. However, it is unlikely that the interpreter does not know what it is, as it is fairly well known and not a very technical term. At line 8, the interpreter signals her lack of understanding through both verbal and embodied means, especially through facial expressions that reveal that something is preventing her from fully understanding the patient (possibly a sound problem). This opens up a repair sequence, which is handled similarly to how it would be done in face-to-face interaction, and leads to the resolution of the problem and to the continuation of the sequence.

7. Handling objects, artefacts and unexpected events

This category captures instances of sudden behaviour or artefact manipulation which might prove challenging in a video-mediated environment due to the constrained access to immediate contextual cues.

Extract 10 features a series of screenshots taken from the occupational health encounter between a nurse and a foreign patient. In particular, a relevant part of this encounter, as already seen in Extract 5, has to do with performing a specific test called spirometry, i.e. a pulmonary function test that requires the patient to blow out as fast as possible into a special piece of equipment. This sequence, which is not reported here in its entirety for reasons of space, lasts approximately 8 minutes (08.20-15.53) and it starts with the nurse explaining what the test is about, followed by how the test is performed and by three attempts made by the patient. This sequence would be interesting to watch with the students in class to discuss to what extent the remoteness of video-mediated encounters. Extract 10 illustrates part of this sequence, in particular the one where the nurse shows the mouthpiece necessary for the test and explains how

to use it. The way the interaction is handled leads to at least one primary participant (i.e. the nurse) focusing on the screen more than engaging with her actual interlocutor (i.e. the patient). An extreme situation is the one exemplified in the second screenshot from the left, where both participants look at the screen while the nurse is explaining
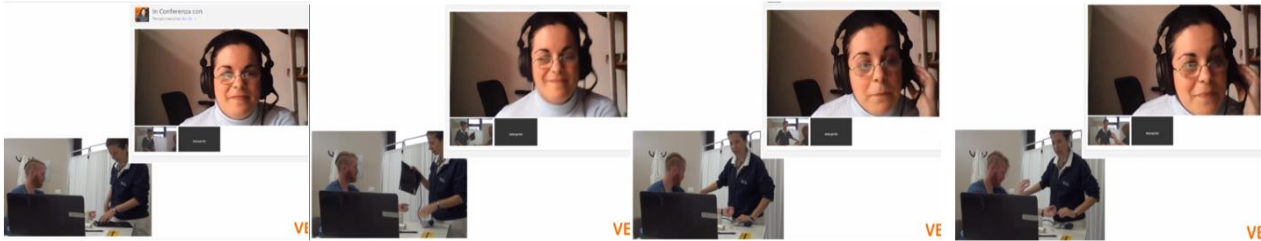


```
1    NUR  un'altra cosa importante quando butta fuori
          another important thing        when he breathes out
          l'aria glielo mostro con un boccaglio (.) mio
          I'll show him             with a mouthpiece     of mine

                        INT: ok now she is going to show you
                        NUR: si
                             yes
                        INT: is very important=
                                       NUR:= si
                                            yes
                                  INT: [when you breath out]
                                  NUR: [le labbra] saranno attorno al boccaglio
                                       the lips will be around the mouthpiece
                                       in questo modo
                                         like this
                                       INT: your lips must be
                                            that way like that around
```

Extract 10 [ITA-EN_HEALTH01_10.50-11.03]

Extract 11 shows an instance of nurse-patient interaction where the former has just announced that she is going to take the patient's blood pressure.


```
PAT: right or left?
>> PAT moving arms slightly off screen

                        INT: pardon
                        >> INT and DOC looking at screen

                                  PAT: never mind
                                  >> INT and DOC looking at screen
```

Extract 11 [ITA-EN_HEALTH03_04.23-04.30]

Taking a patient's blood pressure is a routine action for a nurse, and possibly a well-known one for a patient, too, so it comes with no extra explanation on the part of the institutional representative. While the nurse is preparing the equipment, the patient is looking at what the nurse is doing, thus gazing away from the screen (which is placed at a 90-degree angle with respect to the main parties). The interpreter is seemingly looking at the screen, although she only has access to a partial view of the patient, namely his profile up to the shoulder. The patient's arms are entirely off screen when resting on the table. Suddenly, after a long silence, the patient quickly utters "right or left" in relation to which arm should be used for the test. This turn is accompanied by a quick movement of the arms, which is however probably difficult to perceive for the interpreter due to the patient's positioning in front of the camera. At this point, the nurse momentarily pauses what she was doing and looks up at the screen, seemingly waiting for the interpreter's rendition. The sudden appearance of the turn, combined with the lack of a fully-formed structure and of restricted access to multimodal cues results in the interpreter's lack of understanding and indirect request for repetition, which is signalled via "pardon". In this specific case, no clarification is provided as the nurse grabs the patient's arm and continues to perform her preparation. The nurse also had full access to the patient's arms movement, which was self-explanatory even without words. The remote positioning of the interpreter and the partial view of the ecology of action puts the interpreter at a disadvantage when having to deal with such abrupt and minimal contributions. This extract is can also be used to discuss challenges related to the management of spatial organisation and of embodied resources, which could have been better handled as of the start of the encounter to support the interpreter throughout, including when dealing with unexpected events like the one illustrated above.

Finally, Extract 12 shows another sequence where the main participants share an artefact to which the interpreter has no physical or visual access, entailing that

she has to find ways to compensate for this. The sequence is taken from the business encounter where a foreign client asks a fiscal expert what the first steps towards opening a café in Italy are (already seen in Extracts 2, 6, 7). In particular, the fiscal expert is talking about taxation and tax brackets; as his speech is dense with figures and percentages, he points to a piece of paper in front of him to show the relevant number in relation to the specific type of tax when delivering his turn in Italian. The interpreter cannot see the artefact from her remote location, as shown by Figure 6:
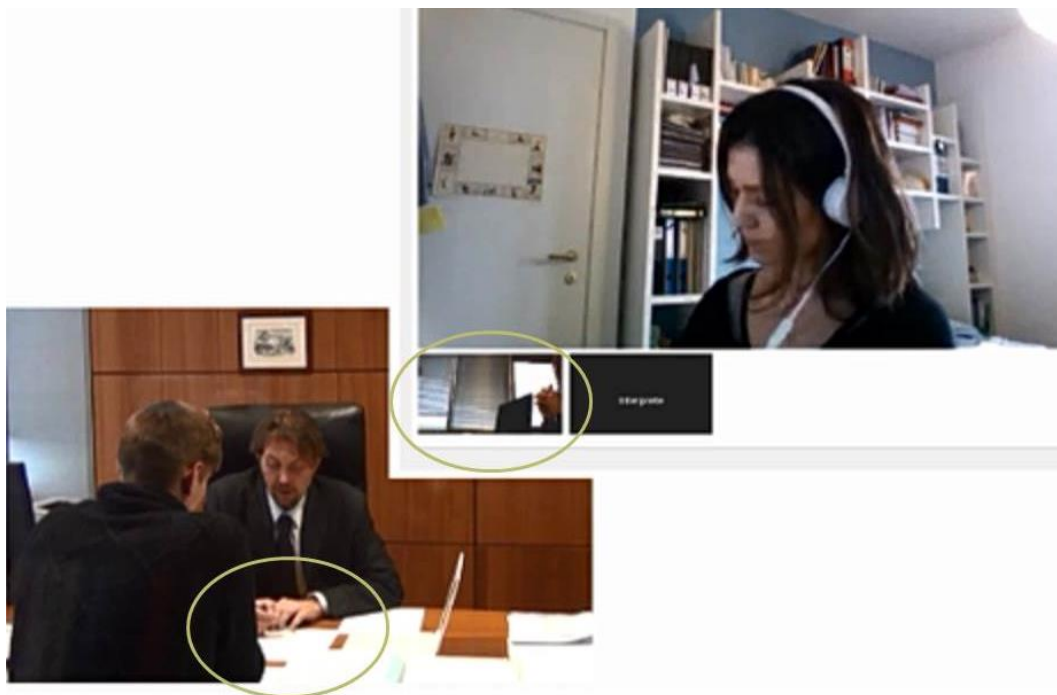

Figure 6 [ITA-EN_BUSINESS01-artefact manipulation and interpreter view]

The sequence is very long (just over 6 minutes, 31.21-37.33), so only those stretches relevant to exemplify the points in relation to artefact manipulation and the strategies adopted by the interpreter will be reported here.

[31.21-34.27] During the long turn produced by the fiscal expert, the interpreter asks for a couple of clarification. One is related to percentages and numbers, and the interpreters asks whether it is relevant that she related them entirely given

that the client has the document in front of him. The sequence now starts from the minute the interpreter initiates her rendition.

1	INT	ok I'm back to you given that the fiscal expert received a phone call
2		and shall be leaving in in a few minutes he'd like to to sum up what
3		you should do as first steps to start your activity and then maybe you
4		can (.) see each other meet each other again in the future h **you will**
5		**be receiving maybe he has already given you I don't know that eh the**
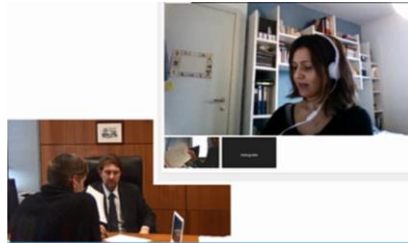
6		**slides** and basically in the slides eh you will foun- you will find
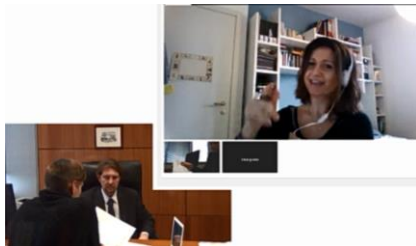
7		(.) ok that's the slides (.) in the slides you find some information
8		about the IRPEF

[34.59-35.19] The interpreter keeps delivering the rendition
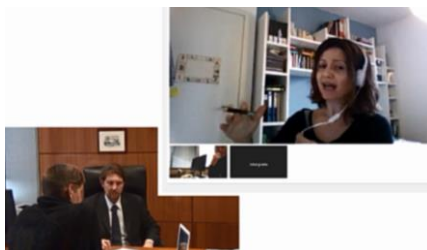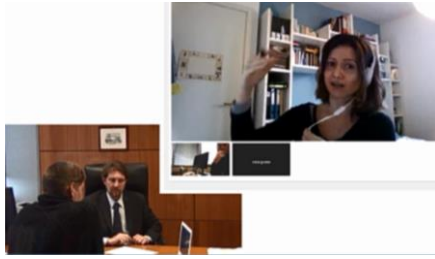
```
9    INT    in that slide you see that there are different income brackets so

10          dependin- depending on the profit you will be making over a year
            you
11          will be paying a certain percentage for example if you are between

12          zero and fifteen thousand euros you have a percentage of twenty-
            three
13          percent can you see that?
```

[35.37-35.19] the interpreter keeps delivering the rendition

Extract 12 [ITA-EN_BUSINESS01_31.21-37.33]

In the first part of her rendition, the interpreter integrates an autonomous remark on the artefact, pointing out that the client may have already or will receive them, but she is not aware of it. This triggers the client's embodied reaction of showing the actual slide to the camera, which is acknowledged by the interpreter (line 7). During the remaining part of the rendition (lines 9-13) the interpreter keeps making reference to the slide (when relevant) and double-checking the validity of the information she is giving with the client, who has visual access to the document itself. This strategy enables the interaction to unfold smoothly, but adds an additional level of monitoring due to the remoteness of the situation that students need to be aware of and acquire over time.

8. Managing cognitive resources

Remoteness and its consequences, especially a reduced sense of presence (see also section 2: 2.2 of this report), may have repercussions on the interpreter's performance (Braun 2013; Moser-Mercer 2003). These

repercussions may manifest themselves in different ways, for instance over-elaboration or lack of monitoring in their renditions. The two extracts presented below are instances of over-elaboration that we could argue having been at least partially induced by the video-mediated nature of the encounter.

Extract 13 is taken from the same encounter as Figure 2, between a fiscal expert and a foreign client who is enquiring about the necessary steps to open a small business in Italy. The extract is taken from the very early stages of the meeting.

1	CL	well ehm basically obviously I don't speak Italian so I need your help Ehm
2	INT	ok [fair enough]
3	CL	[I've been here] I've been here for a little while (.) and I am thinking of ope[ning] a bar
4	INT	[yeah]
5		(2)
6	INT	Ok
7	CL	but I (.) have not got a clue where to start (.) eh: I don't know if I need a permit to work here (.)eh how I go about paying my taxes (.) eh
8		paying em[ployees]
9	INT	[ok]
10	CL	so eh (.) I am hoping you could speak to this man here
11	SP	Buongiorno *good morning*
12	INT	Ok
13	CL	and tell him these things
14	INT	ok (.) buongiorno *good morning*
15	SP	buongiorno *good morning*

16	INT	eh sono XXX l'interprete italiano inglese (.) allora innanzitutto il
		I am XXX the Italian English interpreter so first of all the
17		cliente che ha di fronte vorrebbe eh aprire un'attività in particolare
		client in front of you would like to start his own business in particular
18		modo un bar e si chiede tutta una serie di interrogativi tutta una
		a café and he is askim himself a series of quesrions a series of
19		serie di interrogativi anzitutto se ha bisogno di un particolare
		questions first of all whether he needs a specific
20		permesso o nullaosta per aprire l'attività poi come dovrà potrà pagare
		permission or authorisation to open his business then how he will have to he will
21		tasse e imposte e anche come potrà retribuire i propri dipendenti nel
		be able to pay taxes and charges whether he will be able to pay his own employees in
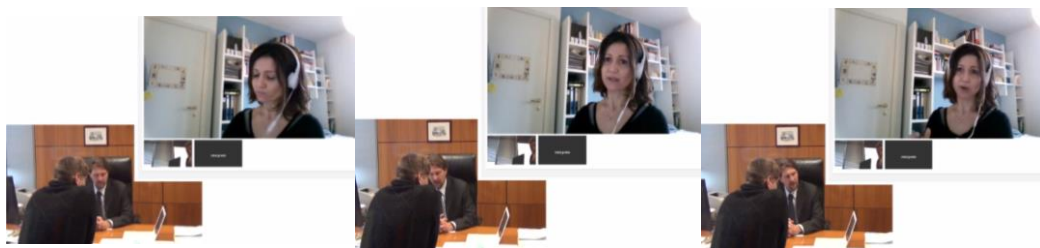
22		caso ne abbia **(1.5)** **in sostanza proprio l'abc**
		case he has any in a nutshell the very abc
		>>SP: h
		>>INT: gazing up at screen
23		**i primi passi per aprire il bar**
		the first steps to open the café
24	SP	certo allora […]
		sure so

Extract 13 [ITA-EN_BUSINESS01_00.17-00.XX]

The interpreter's rendition of the turn can be considered complete in terms of content at line 22 ("…*in caso ne abbia*"): this is followed by a 1.5s pause during which we can see the service provider looking down at some documents in front of him and producing an in-breath, suggesting his intention to take the floor to start answering the request for information. During the same gap in

conversation, the interpreter looks up at the screen: it is important to notice what visual cues are accessible from her position, i.e. she can only see the foreign client partially and part of the meeting room. The service provider is completely off-screen. It can be argued that in a video-mediated encounter, access to subtle turn-taking signals like in-breath are more difficult to capture. It is therefore plausible that the long gap in conversation with no access to multimodal cues led the interpreter to over-elaborate her rendition by adding a coda to it. Such addition is redundant with respect to the original content: it summarised it, thus potentially enhancing its clarity, and is being uttered by the interpreter while looking at the screen (thus at the receiver of the turn, although not visible), while the previous part of the rendition had mostly been produced by looking down at the notepad. Such addition seems to have been triggered by the video-mediated nature of the encounter and are less likely to be produced in a scenario where access to each other is guaranteed, such as face-to-face interaction. Braun (2004, 2016) also noticed over-elaboration in two different datasets of video-mediated interpreting and points to the possible dual nature of some of these elaborations, as both improving the clarity of the original utterance and being a reflection of interpreting difficulties.

Extract 14 is taken from the same occupational health encounter discussed earlier. At this point, the patient has already taken the spirometry test twice, and is required by the nurse to do it a third time.

```
1  INT  ok as for ehm no try to do it again please excuse me (.) as for
2       procedure we do it thr- three times
3  PAT  Ok
4  INT  so you need to do it once again th- the result was quite good but
5       please do it again so: in (.) three times you will eh find eh the
6       average level
```

```
7   PAT   ok no prob[lem]
```
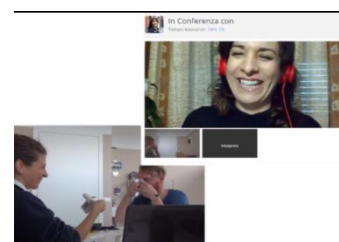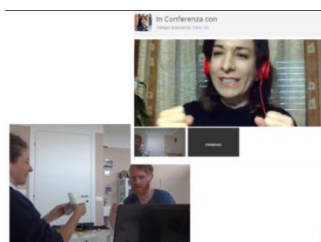


```
8         [ok] so try to do it (.) breathe out as much as possible

9         @ok@

10  PAT   @ok@

11  INT   and as strong as possible strong

12  PAT   Ok
```
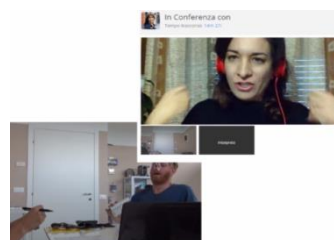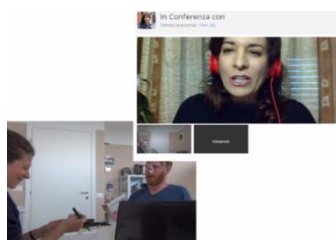


```
13  INT   breathe (.) all in and the strong and a very violent out
```

Extract 14 [ITA-EN_HEALTH02_14.12-14.47]

Even though the nurse's turns are not reported here, the interpreter's rendition can be considered complete at line 6. This is followed by another autonomous expansion initiated by the interpreter, during which she reiterates for the patient how he is supposed to breathe into the equipment. This is done despite the patients repeated acknowledgment tokens (lines 7, 10, 12), through which he signals understanding of the procedure to follow. The interpreter has also visual access to the patient's nodding on screen (cfr Extract 12 where the interpreters could not see the service provider on screen). Although it is difficult to establish from the data only what led to this over-elaboration, it may be tentatively argued

that the remoteness of the encounter could have enhanced this repetition with a view to minimising ambiguity (see also above and Braun 2016).

9. Managing the closing

Closing the interaction is also a key phase to make sure it is done smoothly and effectively, without however jeopardising the rapport presumably built with the clients over the interaction. In the videos analysed, it tends to be handled quite smoothly, with one of the main clients clearly signalling that the encounter is coming to an end and general greetings and mutual smiles. What seems to at times cause some awkwardness is the moment where the client has to actually hang up the phone: this action can take a few seconds, at times, the client makes a mistake, and this may lead to expansions on the part of the interpreter that drag the encounter unnecessarily.

Extract 15, taken from the meeting between the fiscal expert and the foreign client interested in opening a bar; the sequence exemplifies the need on the part of the interpreter to 'fill an awkward silence' while the client is attempting to terminate the calls, which results in the turn being slightly cut off, while the interpreter is acknowledging what has been said by the other party (line 10).

1	CLI	thanks for your help and I'm sure ehm we'll speak again next time
2	SP	Perfetto
3	INT	Ok
4	SP	grazie mille [buon lavoro
5	INT	[thank you very much*
6	CLI	thank you
7	INT	arrivederci grazie chiudiamo la chiamata diceva il cliente
	CLI	Bye
	INT	Arrivederci

```
         [39.55-40.07 – silence gap]
```

8   INT   `maybe you should cut off (.) do you want me to stop (.) the call?`

9   CLI   `it's finished now we are closing off now thank you`

10 INT   `°-`

10. Further observations

Data analysis has shown that for some categories (which were developed mostly top-down, as explained in section 3: 3.2 in this report) it was difficult to find relevant examples, which may be explained mostly in relation to the video-mediated nature of the encounter. In particular, these categories are (1) Managing prosodic resources/ intonation; (2) Signalling interpreting problems; (3) Noticing primary participants' problems/relevant behaviours. Regarding Managing prosodic resources, there are instances where prosody (e.g. an increase in tone) is used to take the floor, but it is difficult to gauge to what extent that was influenced by the remoteness of the encounter and whether the main parties at the other end had actually access to the same sound as the video. For example, the dataset includes a video with low sound from the interpreter (HEALTH02 about occupational health) but this is never signalled by the main parties during the interaction, which suggests that they could hear the interpreter loud and clear. The category will be maintained in the taxonomy, as it is very relevant, but discussion of prosodic features and how they can be influenced by the remoteness of the encounter will have to be integrated in the classroom through different means. Regarding Signalling interpreting problems, no instances were found where such problems would not be picked up by the parties. Finally, with respect to Noticing primary participants' problems or relevant behaviours, the simulated and mostly collaborative nature of the encounters did not leave much scope for 'marked' sequences featuring tension

or disagreement. These instances need to be integrated in training, as very challenging and complex for an interpreter to handle, particularly in video-mediated interaction, but complementary ways of doing so need to be developed.

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