

Interaction in Dutch asylum interviews

A corpus study of interpreter-mediated
institutional discourse

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Interaction in Dutch asylum interviews

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institutional discourse

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Susanne van der Kleij
geboren op 7 augustus 1975
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Promotor: Prof. dr. R.W.N.M. van Hout

Manuscriptcommissie:

Prof. dr. W.P.M.S. Spooren

Prof. dr. M.P.G.M. Mous (Universiteit Leiden)

Prof. dr. J. Eyckmans (Universiteit Gent, België)

Voor mijn ouders

Contents

Acknowledgementsxiii

Abbreviations and transcription conventions xv

1. Introduction 1

1.1. *Background*.....1

1.2. *Interpreting at the IND*.....4

1.2.1. Quality improvement4

1.2.2. 'Working with an interpreter'6

1.2.3. Code of conduct for interpreters8

1.3. *Asylum interviews in The Netherlands*10

1.3.1. The asylum procedure10

1.3.2. The interviews in the asylum procedure11

1.3.3. The second interview in the asylum procedure12

1.3.4. (No) recording of the second interviews14

1.4. *Interpreting*15

1.4.1. Dialogue interpreting versus other types of interpreting15

1.4.2. The interpreter's role in dialogue interpreting16

1.4.3. The relation between source and translation17

1.5. *Institutional discourse: characteristics and participants*19

1.5.1. Participants in institutional discourse20

1.5.2. Participants in asylum interviews22

1.5.2.1. *The asylum seeker and the officer*22

1.5.2.2. *The interpreter and the officer*23

1.5.2.3. *The asylum seeker and the interpreter*24

1.6. *Research questions*25

1.7. *Outline of this study*26

2. Interpreter-mediated institutional discourse: a theoretical framework29

2.1. *Similarity in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse*31

2.1.1. Similarity in earlier studies31

2.1.1.1. *Berk-Seligson (2002)*31

2.1.1.2. *Bot (2005)*32

2.1.1.3. *Hale (2004)*33

2.1.1.4. *Maryns (2006)*34

2.1.1.5. *Wadensjö (1992)*34

2.1.2. Similarity: four levels of analysis35

2.1.2.1. *Information level*35

2.1.2.2. *Pragmatic level*36

2.1.2.3. *Form level*38

2.1.2.4. *Speaker level*38

2.2. *The interpreter as a communicator*39

2.2.1.	Participation framework	41
2.2.1.1.	<i>Production roles</i>	41
2.2.1.2.	<i>Footing</i>	44
2.2.2.	Coordination	47
2.2.2.1.	<i>Berk-Seligson (2002)</i>	48
2.2.2.2.	<i>Bot (2005)</i>	48
2.2.2.3.	<i>Hale (2004)</i>	48
2.2.2.4.	<i>Wadensjö (1992, 1998)</i>	49
2.2.3.	Summarising coordinating in interpreter-mediated discourse.....	50
2.2.3.1.	<i>Turn-taking and turn allocation</i>	50
2.2.3.2.	<i>Optimising communication</i>	51
2.3.	<i>Norms in translation theory</i>	53
2.3.1.	Production norms.....	53
2.3.1.1.	<i>Relation</i>	54
2.3.1.2.	<i>Communication</i>	55
2.3.1.3.	<i>Accountability</i>	55
2.3.2.	Shifts and strategies.....	56
2.3.2.1.	<i>Shifts</i>	57
2.3.2.2.	<i>Production strategies</i>	57
2.3.2.3.	<i>Recipient strategies</i>	60
2.4.	<i>Finding evidence for production norms</i>	61
2.4.1.	Turn-renditions pairs.....	61
2.4.2.	Clarification sequences.....	62
2.4.3.	Non-translated turns.....	63
3.	Corpus design and data selection.....	65
3.1.	<i>Gathering the data</i>	65
3.1.1.	Choice of client languages	65
3.1.2.	Selecting, attending and recording interviews.....	66
3.1.3.	Setting during the recordings and technical specifications.....	68
3.2.	<i>Background information on recorded interviews</i>	69
3.2.1.	Basic information	69
3.2.2.	Description of the recorded interviews	72
3.3.	<i>Discourse components and transcription</i>	80
3.3.1.	Utterances	80
3.3.2.	Turns	82
3.3.3.	Renditions	83
3.3.4.	Transcription	85
3.3.5.	Translation of client languages	86
3.4.	<i>Key components in discourse</i>	88
3.4.1.	Turn-rendition pairs.....	89
3.4.1.1.	<i>Selecting a sample of turn-rendition pairs</i>	90
3.4.1.2.	<i>A method for comparing turns and renditions</i>	93
3.4.1.3.	<i>Properties of the sample per interview part</i>	97
3.4.2.	Clarification sequences.....	99

3.4.2.1.	<i>Selection of clarification sequences</i>	99
3.4.2.2.	<i>Occurrences of clarification sequences in the interview parts</i>	102
3.4.3.	<i>Non-translated turns</i>	104
3.4.3.1.	<i>Selection of non-translated turns</i>	105
3.4.3.2.	<i>Properties of non-translated turns</i>	106
4.	Turn-rendition pairs	109
4.1.	<i>Mutations</i>	111
4.1.1.	<i>Shifts: omission of parts</i>	115
4.1.1.1.	<i>Parts replaced by added parts with related content</i>	116
4.1.1.2.	<i>Repeated information</i>	121
4.1.1.3.	<i>Selecting and summarising information from turns</i>	123
4.1.1.4.	<i>Remaining pairs with parts left out</i>	125
4.1.2.	<i>Shifts: addition of parts</i>	127
4.1.2.1.	<i>Adding old information</i>	128
4.1.2.2.	<i>Extending information</i>	129
4.1.2.3.	<i>Adding procedural information</i>	131
4.1.2.4.	<i>Added feedback</i>	133
4.1.2.5.	<i>Added part with reference to officer</i>	133
4.1.2.6.	<i>Self-initiated self-repairs</i>	134
4.2.	<i>Modifications</i>	135
4.2.1.	<i>Shifts: change in part order</i>	140
4.2.1.1.	<i>Split parts</i>	141
4.2.1.2.	<i>Switched parts</i>	143
4.2.1.3.	<i>Parts moved up</i>	143
4.2.1.4.	<i>Parts moved down</i>	145
4.2.2.	<i>Shifts: changes in form of address</i>	147
4.2.2.1.	<i>References to self and other</i>	148
4.2.2.2.	<i>Politeness</i>	150
4.2.3.	<i>Shifts: no change in part number and order</i>	151
4.2.3.1.	<i>One part pairs</i>	152
4.2.3.2.	<i>More part pairs</i>	156
4.3.	<i>Conclusions</i>	160
4.3.1.	<i>Levels of similarity affected</i>	160
4.3.1.1.	<i>Information level affected</i>	164
4.3.1.2.	<i>Pragmatic level affected</i>	165
4.3.1.3.	<i>Form level affected</i>	166
4.3.1.4.	<i>Speaker level affected</i>	166
4.3.2.	<i>Production strategies and production norms</i>	166
5.	Clarification sequences	169
5.1.	<i>Categories in clarification sequences</i>	170
5.1.1.	<i>Category (i): REPEAT/CONFIRM</i>	172
5.1.2.	<i>Category (ii): SPECIFY</i>	175
5.1.3.	<i>Category (iii): ADD</i>	177
5.2.	<i>Variation in using REPEAT/CONFIRM</i>	178

5.2.1.	Differences in frequency: initiating discourse participant	178
5.2.2.	Language comprehension issues.....	181
5.2.3.	The special case of interview 15.....	184
5.2.4.	Other interviews with language comprehension issues	188
5.3.	<i>Variation in using SPECIFY and ADD</i>	192
5.3.1.	SPECIFY and ADD used by the asylum seeker	194
5.3.2.	SPECIFY and ADD used by the interpreter.....	195
5.3.3.	SPECIFY and ADD used by the officer	196
5.4.	<i>Conclusion</i>	197
5.4.1.	Variation in appropriateness of the clarification sequences.....	198
5.4.2.	Limitations set by the discourse scenario	199
5.4.3.	Communicative factors in initiating clarification sequences	200
6.	Non-translated turns	203
6.1.	<i>Turn-taking</i>	206
6.1.1.	Continuing and keeping the turn.....	206
6.1.1.1.	<i>Continuers</i>	207
6.1.1.2.	<i>Fillers</i>	208
6.1.2.	Stoppers	209
6.1.2.1.	<i>Explicit stoppers</i>	209
6.1.2.2.	<i>Interruptions</i>	210
6.1.3.	Left out renditions	212
6.1.3.1.	<i>Overlapping turns</i>	212
6.1.3.2.	<i>Successive turns</i>	213
6.1.3.3.	<i>Remaining turns left without a rendition</i>	216
6.2.	<i>Optimising communication</i>	217
6.2.1.	Optimization of a prior turn or rendition	217
6.2.1.1.	<i>Repairing mistakes</i>	218
6.2.1.2.	<i>Repetition, reformulation and explanation of questions</i>	221
6.2.1.3.	<i>Discussing the meaning of a turn</i>	223
6.2.2.	Divergent participation frameworks.....	226
6.2.2.1.	<i>Understanding language neutral content</i>	226
6.2.2.2.	<i>Passive knowledge of the other language</i>	229
6.2.2.3.	<i>Use of the client language by the officer</i>	233
6.2.2.4.	<i>Officer giving instructions to the interpreter</i>	234
6.2.3.	Meta-comments	235
6.2.3.1.	<i>The course of the communication</i>	235
6.2.3.2.	<i>Practical and social comments</i>	238
6.3.	<i>Conclusion</i>	239
6.3.1.	Turn-taking.....	241
6.3.2.	Optimising communication	242
7.	Conclusion and discussion	245
7.1.	<i>Outcomes</i>	246
7.1.1.	The key components.....	246
7.1.1.1.	<i>Turn-rendition pairs</i>	246

7.1.1.2. Clarification sequences.....	247
7.1.1.3. Non-translated turns.....	249
7.1.2. The 14 interviews.....	250
7.1.3. Framework of norms.....	253
7.1.3.1. Relation.....	254
7.1.3.2. Communication.....	255
7.2. Theoretical implications.....	256
7.2.1. The working of the norms.....	257
7.2.2. The impact of the communication norm.....	257
7.2.3. Balancing translating and coordinating tasks.....	259
7.2.4. Suggestions for further research.....	260
7.3. Practical implications and recommendations.....	260
7.3.1. Consequences for the code of conduct.....	261
7.3.2. Evaluating the performance.....	261
References	265
Samenvatting	273
Curriculum Vitae	281

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Abbreviations and transcription conventions

Abbreviations

IND	Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst ('Immigration and Naturalisation Service')
NO	Nationale ombudsman ('National Ombudsman')
Vc 2000	Vreemdelingencirculaire 2000 ('Aliens Circular 2000'); instructions by the Ministry of Justice for the interpretation and application of the Aliens Act 2000.
VVN	Vereniging Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland (NGO supporting refugees)

Transcription conventions

AS	indicates asylum seeker as speaker
OF	indicates officer as speaker
IN	indicates interpreter as speaker, unspecified for language
IN/nl	indicates interpreter as speaker, in Dutch
IN/de	indicates interpreter as speaker, in German
IN/en	indicates interpreter as speaker, in English
IN/ja	indicates interpreter as speaker, in Japanese
IN/fr	indicates interpreter as speaker, in French
IN/ru	indicates interpreter as speaker, in Russian
IN/so	indicates interpreter as speaker, in Somali
IN/es	indicates interpreter as speaker, in Spanish
IN/sw	indicates interpreter as speaker, in Swahili
IN/sv	indicates interpreter as speaker, in Swedish
IN/zh	indicates interpreter as speaker, in Chinese
<u>underlined</u>	overlapping speech
[laughing]	meta-information; indicates way of speaking
CAPITALS	emphasized speech
<i>italics</i>	translation
xxx	unintelligible speech
+	indicates unfinished word
...	indicates unfinished sentence
()	indicates unclear speech
ts	trouble source
ini	initiation (of clarification sequence)
clar	clarification
fb	feedback
clqs	clarification question

1. Introduction

Interpreters are indispensable in asylum interviews, but, at the same time, they add to the already complex institutional communication with asylum seekers. Interpreters are guided by a code of conduct, drawn up by the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND). The code of conduct prescribes the interpreters' role and aims to guarantee an unequivocal way of performing interpreting tasks in asylum interviews. However, complaints have been expressed in the past and previous studies on interpreter-mediated institutional discourse suggest a discrepancy between the interpreters' supposed role as formulated in the code of conduct and their actual role in everyday practice at the IND. The aim of this study is to investigate in detail the actual interaction in asylum interviews at the IND, in which the investigation of the interpreters' performance takes a central position. Are there crucial and recurring problems in the complex interaction between the asylum seeker, the interpreter and the officer? What is the role of the interpreter?

The interpreter's role in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse is a core issue in interpreting studies: although there is agreement on the fact that an interpreter can never act as a 'translation machine', the question remains to what extent an interpreter should be involved in the discourse. This study contributes to this discussion.

The analysis of the data is carried out within a theoretical framework on norms, originating from the neighbouring field of translation studies and adapted to the context of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. The findings in this study on the strategies applied by interpreters are relevant to both the fields of translation and interpreting studies. The findings will also be relevant for (governmental) organisations and institutions working with interpreters in institutional domains in general. Hopefully, the outcomes of this study may contribute to an evaluation of the IND's legal framework and to improve the code of conduct for working with interpreters.

1.1. Background

People staying in The Netherlands with a limited command of the Dutch language have the right to an interpreter in specific contact situations with governmental institutions. For instance, a municipality clerk has the obligation to call in an interpreter in case a foreign national who does not speak Dutch wants to register for the *Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie* ('Personal Records Database'). Another example is the right to an interpreter during a police interrogation or in a criminal trial. Furthermore, the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND), who carries out the national migration and asylum policy, is responsible for involving an interpreter in interviews with asylum seekers, for whom communication in Dutch is generally not an option.

This dissertation focuses on asylum interviews in the Dutch asylum procedure. The interviews with asylum seekers are the main source of information in asylum procedures and crucial for the decisions to be taken in these procedures. In the asylum interviews an asylum seeker provides information concerning his identity and nationality and the reasons for asking asylum. Even without the language problem these interviews would be long and cumbersome events. The interpreter is indispensable but at the same time his¹ presence adds to the complexity of the interaction. His presence is no guarantee for a flawless communication. In 2014, the *Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid* ('Dutch Safety Board', an independent investigatory board) published the results of an investigation concerning the safety of asylum seekers. The investigation was carried out at the request of the Dutch minister of Security and Justice, following the suicide of the Russian asylum seeker Dolmatov in January 2013. The board pointed to the divergent qualities of the interpreters working for the IND as one of the problem areas in deciding on asylum applications (Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid 2014:34-35).

The board's report is not the first one expressing criticism on the quality of the IND's interpreters. Since the nineties of the previous century – when the number of asylum applications strongly increased – the *Nationale ombudsman* ('National Ombudsman'; NO) regularly handled complaints about the quality of the interpreting services at the IND. The NO extensively studied the performance of interpreters at the IND, resulting in two reports in the years 1995 and 1996.

The quality of the interpreters at the IND is a recurrent topic in the media as well. To give an example: in 2002 an article appeared in *De Volkskrant* about the shortage of skilled interpreters at the IND, under the headline 'Yesterday harvesting tomatoes, today well-paid interpreters'.² The integrity of interpreters remains another point of concern and discussion. At the beginning of 2013 various media covered a story about two Uyghur interpreters used by the IND who were suspected of passing on personal information from asylum cases to the Chinese authorities. Half a year later the accusations turned out to be unfounded.³

Despite the fact that the IND and other governmental institutions have taken measures to improve and ensure the quality of interpreting services complaints are still being registered. A common complaint is that the interpreter failed to provide a proper

¹ Throughout this book I will use the masculine pronoun (he, him, or his) to refer to the interpreter in a general sense.

²

<http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2844/Archief/archief/article/detail/627379/2002/04/17/Gisten-tomatenplukkers-vandaag-goedbetaalde-tolken.dhtml>

³ NOS, 14 maart 2013: <http://nos.nl/artikel/484597-IND-zet-twee-/>; de Volkskrant, 14 March 2013:

<http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2686/Binnenland/article/detail/3409387/2013/03/14/Tolken-IND-lekten-naar-China.dhtml>; Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2012–2013, Aanhangsel, 2100:

<http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten-en-publicaties/kamerstukken/2013/04/27/antwoorden-kamervragen-over-chinese-tolken-die-door-de-IND-op-non-actief-zijn-gezet.html>; NRC, 10 September 2013:

<http://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2013/09/10/aivd-in-de-fout-met-bericht-over-spionerende-tolken/>.

rendition for specific parts of the asylum seeker's utterances.⁴ However, in most cases the report of the interview does not provide enough evidence to determine whether a complaint is justified.

So, although his indispensability in asylum interviews is without question, it is clear that an interpreter weakens the chain of communication. This dilemma has drawn the attention of the academic world. In a number of European countries scholars have immersed themselves in the subject of asylum interviews from different angles. For the Dutch situation Doornbos (2003, 2006) studied communication between asylum seekers, officers and interpreters in asylum interviews, mainly in the 48 hours procedure (see section 1.3.1.), from a legal sociological perspective. Through observing 138 asylum interviews and interviewing the participants she studied the practice of asylum interviews. An important outcome concerned the different ways in which officers approached the asylum seekers in the interviews: some asylum seekers were allowed more latitude than others, and some officers showed negatively biased behaviour towards asylum seekers. Furthermore, communication breakdowns occurred in almost all interviews, caused by, among other things, lack of experience or cultural or political knowledge on the part of the officers, by interpreters lacking fluency in either the institutional language or the client language, or by differences between the interpreter's variety of the client language and the asylum seeker's variety.

Wadensjö (1992) was one of the first scholars in the field of interpreting studies to contribute to the study of dialogue interpreting, the specific type of interpreting used in asylum interviews (Dam & Schjoldager 1994:168). Wadensjö's focus was on the dialogue interpreter's actual behaviour when interpreting, as opposed to his normative role as expressed in the official code of conduct (ibid:174). The study was based on Swedish data that included a number of asylum interviews. It provides a functional description of the dialogue interpreter's role from an interactive perspective: investigating of all the participants' contributions to interpreter-mediated conversations. The theoretical framework is primarily derived from a sociological point of view on discourse analysis (Dam & Schjoldager 1994:171).

With her dissertation about Austrian asylum interviews Pöllabauer (2003) followed in the footsteps of Wadensjö (1992). Her study also focused on the interaction between discourse participants and the interpreter's role in the interaction. The main conclusion is that the interpreter is not an invisible intermediary but a third discourse participant acting on his own accord. Pöllabauer (2003) states that the official code of conduct used for the asylum interviews does not provide sufficient guidance for this kind of complex interaction; the main guidance follows from the officer's expectations.

The point of departure in Maryns (2006) is again discourse and the interaction between the participants in asylum interviews, in this case in Belgium. Different from the studies mentioned above, Maryns' focus is on entextualization in asylum procedures: how discourse, more specifically an asylum seeker's narrative, is extracted from its original

⁴ I use the term *rendition* exclusively for the verbal translations of an interpreter. The term *translation* may refer in a narrow sense to a translated text or in a broad sense to the act of translating in general, either verbally or in writing.

context and re-inserted into the institutional context of an immigration service. Only a small part of Maryns' (predominantly African English) data concerns discourse intermediated by an interpreter, because officers in the Belgium asylum procedure are permitted to communicate in the client language in case the asylum seeker opted for direct interaction, i.e. without an interpreter's mediation. She found that the translation practices affected the entextualization process in a negative way. The Belgian institutions involved in the asylum procedure do not recognise the continuum of language varieties that can be distinguished under the umbrella of a single language, such as English. Therefore, the matching of interpreters and asylum seekers takes place on the basis of the 'general' language to which their language varieties belong. For this reason selected interpreters lack the necessary communicative resources to convey the detail of the asylum seeker's complex narrative. They do not have command over the mix of language varieties used by asylum seekers. This means that asylum seekers in the Belgian asylum procedure suffer from the interpreters' lack of command of the client language(s).

A returning issue in the literature is the discrepancy between the code of conduct according to which the interpreters have to work and their behaviour in concrete interviews (Wadensjö 1992:271-273; Pöllabauer 2003:327-335; Doornbos 2006:252-270). In The Netherlands the IND uses, apart from a code of conduct, work instructions to define the interpreter's role in asylum interviews. The outcomes of the studies mentioned above suggest that the interpreters at the IND will not act according to the instructions all the time. The actual interpreter's role in everyday practice at the IND as opposed to his supposed role as described in the legal framework is the point of departure of the current study. The remainder of this chapter will first provide a description of the legal context in which the interpreters work at the IND (sections 1.2. and 1.3). Furthermore, the specific type of interpreting in asylum interviews is explained in section 1.4. In section 1.5, the participants of asylum interviews are characterised according to their roles in the broader context of institutional discourse. I conclude this chapter with the research questions to be addressed in this study.

1.2. Interpreting at the IND

1.2.1. Quality improvement

At the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties of the previous century the number of interpreters working for the IND increased rapidly as a consequence of the high influx of asylum seekers. In those years the IND used underqualified interpreters – native speakers of the relevant languages who were not trained for interpreting – in order to be able to satisfy the need for interpreters in the asylum interviews (Doornbos 2006:246). It is not a coincidence that in this period the *Nationale ombudsman* ('National ombudsman'; NO) carried out two investigations concerning the performance of interpreters at the IND – earlier mentioned in this chapter – and came up with a number

of recommendations for improvement (NO 1995; 1996⁵). In the years following the investigations the IND took several measures to improve the quality of the interpreting services.

Partly as a response to the NO's investigations the IND published in 1996 official regulations for interpreters (Staatscourant 1996). Part of these regulations was the first code of conduct, which described what the IND expected from its interpreters. The IND's code of conduct is further discussed in section 1.2.3. Another recommendation by the NO was to introduce a committee for complaints about interpreters (NO 1995; 1996). In 1996 the IND brought the first complaint committee into operation, followed by a second committee – due to a change in legislation – in 1999 (Bot et al. 2008; KACT 2002). The IND's Complaint Advice Committee Interpreters operated for ten years, in which 71 complaints were presented to the committee (KACT 2009). In 2009 it was followed up by a new committee, the *Klachtencommissie Wbtv* ('Sworn Interpreters and Translators Complaints Committee'), which did not only advise on complaints about IND interpreters but also dealt with complaints about interpreters in other organisations belonging to the Ministry of Justice (Klachtencommissie Wbtv 2009). The new committee's performance has been subject to criticism: the Dutch Safety Board (*Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid*) noted in 2014 that the limited number of complaints dealt with by the committee may be indicative of a suboptimal performance of the committee (Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid 2014:42).

The new committee for complaints about interpreters was one of the outcomes of a long-term project that was initiated in the nineties, independent of the NO's investigations. A governmental working group advised the Ministry of Justice to start a 'quality trajectory' for interpreting services within the working field of the ministry, to which the IND also belongs (Werkgroep Tolk- en vertaaldiensten 1998; Pemberton 2001).⁶ The aim of the trajectory was to create a situation in which requests for interpreting services in the field of Justice would only include the services of interpreters of high quality and integrity (Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2001-2002, 28000 VI, nr. 36; Van der Reijen 2004:40-41).

The trajectory started in 2000. In 2002 a 'quality register' for interpreters and translators in the working field of Justice⁷ became operational, an important step in the

⁵ The 1996 investigation dealt with both the performance of IND officers and interpreters in the second interview.

⁶ Initiatives to professionalise the occupational group of (dialogue) interpreters and translators can be found in other countries as well. Sweden has been a pioneer country, starting a trajectory already at the end of the seventies to introduce a system of accreditation and training for dialogue interpreters (Pöchhacker 1999:132). At the end of the nineties an extensive EU-project started: the Grotius Project, inspired by the fundamental principle of equal access to justice across languages and cultures (Hertog 2001).

⁷ The original name in Dutch is *Kwaliteitsregister Tolken en Vertalers* (KTV). This name was used until the register was formalised by law at the end of 2007. Then the name became *Register Beëdigde Tolken en Vertalers* ('Register Certified Interpreters and Translators').

trajectory.⁸ To be able to qualify for registration interpreters had to meet criteria concerning training and experience (Commissie Kwaliteitseisen Tolken en Vertalers 2005). In the period in which the interviews for the current research were recorded, interpreters at the IND who had registered themselves in the quality register received a preferential treatment: registration had become an additional selection criterion for assigning interpreter services (WI 2004/24; WI 2009/13; WI 2013/1; WI 2014/5).

The quality register and other quality measures have been put down in the Act Certified Interpreters and Translators,⁹ that became operational on 11 October 2007 (Staatsblad 2007, 375). Since then, the organisations in the working field of Justice are obliged to use interpreters from the register (ibid.), allowing only one exception. The exception concerns interpreters in 'exotic' languages, for which training and/or tests are not available.¹⁰ These interpreters cannot be registered, since they cannot meet the training criterion. A fair amount of interpreters working for the IND belong to this category (NO 95/54; Van der Reijen 2004:19; Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid 2014:42). To avoid a situation in which the highly needed 'exotic' interpreters are not allowed by law to facilitate the IND, the Act allows for setting up an alternative list of interpreters in languages for which no training or test is available, as long as they can provide proof of their experience (Staatscourant no. 102, 8 juni 2009).

1.2.2. 'Working with an interpreter'

In 2004 details about working with interpreters at the IND were published in a so-called work instruction.¹¹ The instruction, titled 'Working with an interpreter' (*Werken met een tolk*), is meant for all employees who come across interpreters during their work – for instance, employees who are responsible for selecting interpreters for assignments and, obviously, the interviewing officers. The instruction has been updated in 2009, in 2013 – after the Act Certified Interpreters and Translators became operational and was implemented in the IND work processes – and in 2014. In this section I will discuss the content of the work instructions relevant for the current research. If information originates from only one of the versions, the version is indicated.

The interpreters in the asylum interviews work freelance for the IND. They do not represent the IND, contrary to the officers. This strengthens their neutral position in the interview.¹² The IND makes use of an internal list of interpreters (Felsö et al.

⁸ Letter Ministry of Justice/Legal Aid Board:

http://www.bureaubtv.nl/bibliotheek/wet%20beëdigde%20tolken%20en%20vertalers/BRgezamenl_overdr_KTV.cfm?section=afnemer

⁹ In Dutch: *Wet beëdigde tolken en vertalers*.

¹⁰ This is a problem that does not only occur in The Netherlands. Also in Sweden, pioneer in the professionalization of interpreters, training in 'exotic' languages is limited (Englund Dimitrova 1997:147).

¹¹ First version: WI 2004/24, dated 15 December 2004, published in Staatscourant no. 111, 12 June 2006; last revised version: WI 2014/5, dated 23 May 2014.

¹² In the introduction to the asylum interviews an interpreter is introduced to the asylum seeker as being independent (Goos 2008:80), which is a reference to his freelance status. Nevertheless, there

2007:121).¹³ From this list an interpreter is selected for a certain assignment, in the first place on the basis of the language(s) in which he interprets. During the period in which the interviews for the current research project were recorded three additional factors played a role in selecting an interpreter. One was mentioned in the previous section: the fact whether an interpreter was listed in the quality register.¹⁴ Furthermore, the interpreter's residential area was relevant: for efficiency reasons an interpreter living close to the interview location was preferred to an interpreter living at the opposite side of the country (WI 2004/24). A third factor was the number of assignments the interpreter had been given already: the IND aimed at dividing the assignments in a certain language evenly over the interpreters working in that language (ibid.).

In the work instruction the role of the interpreter in an interview is explained for the IND employees. He strictly is an intermediary between the officer and the asylum seeker and should not be considered an interlocutor. His behaviour and performance should be according to the IND's Code of Conduct Interpreters and Translators (see the next section). The interpreter's task is limited to translating the officer's and asylum seeker's utterances. Consequently, he may, for instance, not be asked about his opinion concerning the asylum seeker's origin on the basis of his language performance.¹⁵ During the interview the interpreter should be asked, though, whether he and the asylum seeker are speaking the language that was stated in the interpreter's assignment. The interpreter speaks as if being the original speaker. So if he translates an utterance from the officer in which the pronoun 'I' occurs, he will use the same pronoun to refer to the officer. When the interpreter himself is mentioned by the officer in the third person, he will refer to himself in the same way in the rendition.¹⁶ The officer is supposed to address the asylum seeker directly, i.e. he has to use the second person and look at the asylum seeker while talking to him.¹⁷

is a financial dependency relation between the IND and the interpreter. This may lead to an ethical dilemma for the interpreter, see section 1.6.2.

¹³ Since the Act Certified Interpreters and Translators became operational in 2007 the interpreters on the IND list have to be registered in the quality register or to the alternative list (see section 1.7.2).

¹⁴ Before the Act Certified Interpreters and Translators became operational the IND was not obliged to make use of registered interpreters. However, the policy was to select registered interpreters before non-registered interpreters (WI 2004/24).

¹⁵ Determination of the asylum seeker's origin on the basis of the language(s) he speaks – so-called language analysis – is performed by the IND's Office for Country Information and Language Analysis. The office's method for this type of origin determination is explained elaborately in Cambier (2010).

¹⁶ It is common practice for interpreters to speak as if they are the source speaker (Ng 2013:250; Harris 1990:115-116).

¹⁷ This is not only typical for asylum interviews, primary speakers in general are recommended to look at each other when talking through an interpreter (Englund Dimitrova 1997:157). However, the asylum seekers in the asylum procedures at the IND are not instructed to do so and they are not likely to be familiar with interpreter-mediated speech. As a consequence, the asylum seekers in general look at the interpreter while talking.

During an interview the officer should give the interpreter enough time and opportunity to translate the utterances in the interview. He has to make sure that both he himself and the asylum seeker do not speak too long at once.¹⁸

An interviewing officer has to supervise the interpreter's behaviour and performance and to call him to account when necessary. This may, for instance, be the case if the officer suspects the interpreter of translating in a summarizing way (WI 2004/24). Officers conducting interviews are expected to contribute to the evaluation of interpreters. They can express their opinion about the behaviour or performance of an interpreter by means of an evaluation form.

The IND's interpreting coordinators¹⁹ gather and process the evaluation forms and take measures if necessary. Excluding an interpreter from further assignments is one measure. In 2013, for instance, three interpreters were permanently excluded, whereas another interpreter was temporarily excluded – until finishing additional vocational training (Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid 2014:42). The interpreter coordinators are responsible for carrying out the IND's interpreting policy. In this role the coordinators have to guarantee 'as much as possible' the availability of sufficient high-quality and trustworthy interpreters.

1.2.3. Code of conduct for interpreters

The role of the interpreter in asylum interviews is put down in the IND's 'Code of conduct for interpreters' (*Gedragscode tolken*).²⁰ As explained earlier, the difference between the work instruction discussed in the previous section and the code of conduct is that the work instruction is drawn up specifically for the IND employees whereas the code of conduct is meant for the interpreters.

In this section I will discuss a number of articles from the code of conduct that play a role in this research. In March 2014 the latest version of the code of conduct was published. During the time the interviews were recorded the version dated September 2002 was valid. Where relevant I will point out the differences between the versions. If not indicated otherwise, the information given in this section refers to both versions of the code of conduct.

The code of conduct consists on the one hand of practical rules and on the other of demands concerning the interpreter's attitude, behaviour and performance. To start with the former, the code states that an interpreter has to arrive on time and should not leave before the end of an interview. The code also mentions that an interpreter may leave his cell phone switched on in vibrate mode. Concerning the interpreter's notes

¹⁸ WI 2004/24 mentioned that the officer and asylum seeker should not speak longer than one minute.

¹⁹ WI 2004/24 mentioned five interpreting coordinators, for different regions in The Netherlands.

²⁰ This is the title of the Code of conduct for interpreters since May 2009. Before, the title also mentioned translators, although the text of the code of conduct did not contain any reference to translators, only to interpreters.

taken during an interview the code states that those should be handed over to the interviewing officer.

An interpreter has to be of irreproachable conduct. He has to be honourable and impartial, and to maintain confidentiality concerning all matters and information to which he has access through his interpreting assignments. His role is strictly that of an intermediary, meaning that his task is limited to translating the utterances of the interlocutors (Code of conduct, 2002). The code states explicitly that all utterances of the asylum seeker have to be translated, even if it is not a response to a question by the officer or if it is an utterance directly addressed to the interpreter.²¹ Since the 2011 version of the code the following is added to this instruction: the interpreter should not provide summarising translations. Furthermore, all versions of the code refer in an additional article to the situation in which a literal or exact translation is not possible:

(1.1) *If anything said by an alien cannot be literally translated into Dutch – such as an expression or proverb – it shall be described in more detail. In that case, the interpreter shall tell the IND employee conducting the interview that the translation given is a description rather than a literal translation.*
(Code of conduct, 2002)^{22,23}

What we can infer from this part of the code of conduct is that the IND prescribes the interpreter to provide literal translations. According to the code of conduct non-literal translations are the exception and have to be marked as such by the interpreter.

The interpreter is not allowed to provide any additional information, even if he is asked to do so, but the 2014 version of the code mentions that an interpreter is allowed to actively intervene to solve an apparent misunderstanding. Furthermore, an interpreter may provide information concerning the language in which he communicates with the asylum seeker, in order for the officer to determine whether the client language is indeed the language for which the interpreter was assigned.

All in all, the code of conduct provides guidance for the interpreter, but does not give usable details of an adequate rendition in concrete exchanges or interactions. For the IND the code seems to be sufficient nevertheless. Over the years the code has been

²¹ Whether all the utterances by the officer should be translated as well is left aside in the code of conduct.

²² This is a non-authorized translation. The official text is: "Indien een uitspraak van een vreemdeling niet letterlijk in het Nederlands vertaald kan worden, zoals een uitdrukking of gezegde, dient deze nader omschreven te worden. De tolk meldt dan aan de IND medewerker die het gesprek leidt, dat er geen sprake is van een letterlijke vertaling, maar van een omschrijving."

²³ Since the 2009 version of the code of conduct a few adjustments were made to this article. First, the word 'literal' (*letterlijk*) does not reappear (see also section 1.4.2). In the first line it has been replaced by 'exact' (*exact*). In the last line the clause containing 'literal' has been left out all together ([...] that the translation given is a description."). Second, both IND employee and asylum seeker ('alien') – instead of the employee alone – are mentioned as the ones that have to be informed by the interpreter about the status of the translation. Note that the article in both versions only refers to utterances expressed by the asylum seeker. The code leaves aside how the interpreter should act in case of similar utterances expressed by the officer.

modified a few times, but the definition of the required relation between the original utterances and their renditions was subject to some minor adjustments only, as mentioned above. This suggests that the institution does not feel any urge to explicate in more detail the relation assumed or required between the original utterances and their renditions.

1.3. *Asylum interviews in The Netherlands*

Below I will explain in short which asylum procedures can be distinguished. Furthermore, I will describe the different interviews that can take place in the asylum procedures.

1.3.1. The asylum procedure

During the time I collected the data for the current research project, in the years 2003 and 2005/2006, an asylum seeker in The Netherlands could encounter the first or both of the two following procedures: the first one being the 48-hours or accelerated procedure, the second one the continued procedure (Goos 2008). In the 48-hours procedure the asylum seeker was told within 48 hours – divided in five working days – that either his application was rejected or more research was needed to come to a decision. In the latter case, the asylum seeker proceeds to the continued procedure (Doornbos 2003:47-48; Doornbos 2006:65-68).

The 48-hours-procedure has been criticised for being too short and too strongly focused on rejection (see for instance Human Rights Watch 2003; Doornbos 2006:92-96; Goos 2008:187). The extended procedure on the other hand, was criticised for taking too much time (Goos 2008:188; ACVZ 2007). Therefore, the Advisory Committee for Migration Affairs advised the Minister of Justice – seven years after the introduction of the 48-hours procedure – to develop a new asylum procedure (ACVZ 2007). The new asylum procedure became operational on 1 July 2010 (press release Ministry of Justice, 30 June 2010)²⁴. The 48-hours procedure no longer exists but is replaced by a *general asylum procedure* of eight days, giving room to more procedural steps than its predecessor. The asylum seeker can still be referred to the continued procedure, if eight days are not enough to come to a decision. However, because of the fact that the procedural steps are divided in a more efficient way between the general and the continued procedure the latter is expected to last eight weeks less than the old continued procedure (Tweede Kamer 2008-2009, 31 994, nr. 3).

²⁴ For the implementation of the new asylum procedure the Aliens Act 2000, that became operational on 1 April 2001 (Doornbos 2003:45), has been amended (Tweede Kamer 2008-2009, 31 994, nr. 3)

1.3.2. The interviews in the asylum procedure

During his asylum procedure(s) an asylum seeker is two or three times in contact with an IND officer (Doornbos 2003:3). The first contact in the asylum procedure is simply called the first interview (*eerste gehoor* 'first hearing').²⁵ The main purpose of this interview, which took place in the 48-hours-procedure and nowadays in the general asylum procedure (Tweede Kamer 2008-2009, 31 994, nr. 3), is to get information from the asylum seeker concerning his identity and nationality and the way he came to The Netherlands (C12/1.1 Vc 2000; Doornbos 2006:72-73; Goos 2008:47).

In general, the first interview is followed by the second interview (*nader gehoor* 'further hearing'). In this interview the asylum seeker is invited to tell in detail about the reasons for asking asylum (C13/3.1.2 Vc 2000; Doornbos 2006:73-76). In the old situation, before the start of the new asylum procedure, the second interview could either take place in the 48-hours procedure or in the extended procedure. If a second interview had been part of the 48-hours procedure and an asylum seeker would proceed to the extended procedure, the IND had the possibility to invite the asylum seeker for an additional second interview (Goos 2008:175-176). In the new asylum procedure the second interview always takes place in the eight days of the general procedure (Tweede Kamer 2008-2009, 31 994, nr. 3).

There are also two special types of the second interview. The first one is the Dublin interview (Goos 2008:138-142). This interview takes place when another member state of the European Union is to be held responsible for the asylum seeker's application, on the basis of the so-called Dublin Convention. This might be the case, for example, when the asylum seeker has entered the European Union illegally via another country before entering The Netherlands (Goos 2008:136).

The other special type of the second interview concerns a repeated asylum application. If an asylum seeker has been rejected for asylum he has the possibility to apply again (Goos 2008:149). In case the asylum seeker brings in new facts or circumstances he will get an interview concerning these new facts or circumstances (Goos 2008:151). If the IND judges that the facts and circumstances are indeed new, then a second interview will be scheduled in which the asylum seeker is asked in detail about the new issues only (ibid:173).

Then there is the language analysis interview (Goos 2008:177-178; Doornbos 2006:81; see footnote 15). This interview takes place when the IND has doubts about the country

²⁵ The Dutch word used for 'interview' in the asylum procedure is *gehoor* ('hearing'). There is a resemblance between this word and the – more common – Dutch word for 'interrogation', *verhoor*, which has a more negative connotation (as in *politieverhoor* 'police interrogation' or *kruisverhoor* 'cross examination'). It seems to me that the Ministry of Justice has only chosen the word *gehoor* in an attempt to avoid the negatively connotated word *verhoor* in the asylum context, i.e. to avoid the (unjust) idea that an asylum seeker is being treated like a suspect. However, I have noticed that, because of the resemblance between the two words, *gehoor* is frequently replaced by *verhoor*, sometimes on purpose by critics of the asylum procedure. If the Ministry of Justice would have chosen the word *asielverhoor* 'asylum interview' in the first place, the word *verhoor* could not be used, intended or unintended, to create a negative atmosphere around the asylum procedure.

or region an asylum seeker claims to originate from (ibid.). The language analysis interview is recorded and the recording is analysed by the IND's Office for Country Information and Language Analysis to verify the asylum seeker's claimed origin (ibid.).

1.3.3. The second interview in the asylum procedure

The interviews in the current corpus study are all second interviews. Therefore, I will provide some more details about this type of interview.

As I mentioned above, the main purpose of the second interview is for the asylum seeker to tell about his motives for asking asylum (see section 1.3.2). Furthermore, the second interview may be used to confront the asylum seeker with the results of research that has taken place before the second interview, for instance in order to verify his identity, origin and nationality (C13/2 Vc 2000; Doornbos 2006:73).

It is very important for asylum seekers to explain their situation as good and as clear as possible in the second interview. Since written evidence for their asylum motives is in around 80 per cent of the cases absent, the decision in their procedures will be taken mainly on the basis of the information as provided in this interview (Doornbos 2006:69-70; C13/3.1.2 Vc 2000; see Kälin (1986:231) and Pöllabauer & Schumacher (2003) for a similar Swiss and Austrian situation). It is the asylum seeker's responsibility to provide the IND with verifiable information, like dates, addresses and so on, in order to make sure his statements are consistent and credible (Doornbos 2006:69-70). As part of the introduction the officer points this out to the asylum seeker, and also tells him that it is important to tell the truth and not to withhold information (Goos 2008:87). This is not the first time the asylum seeker will hear about what is expected from him in the second interview: preceding the interview he has been prepared by a legal aid representative (Goos 2008:77-78; Doornbos 2006:199)

The languages used in the second interview (and the other interviews) are the institutional language, Dutch, and the client language. The latter is a language of which may be reasonably assumed that the asylum seeker has an understanding of it (ch. 3 par. 3 art. 38 Vw 2000; C13/1.1, C13/3.1.2 Vc 2000), covering the following non-exhaustive list of languages:

- The official language or one of the official languages of the claimed country of origin, or
- One of the local lingua francas which is used as instruction language in the claimed country of origin, or
- A language which is spoken by a majority of the population in the claimed region of origin, or
- A lingua franca which is regionally or nationally used between speakers of different languages in the claimed country of origin (C13/1.1 Vc 2000).²⁶

²⁶ This is a non-authorised translation.

When the asylum seeker masters several languages he may give notice of the preferred language. Depending on the availability of an interpreter in the specific language, the IND will try to meet the asylum seeker's wish, in which it succeeds in the majority of the interviews (Kromhout et al. 2006: 89-95).

The use of an interpreter is not obligatory, the IND provides one if necessary (C13/3.1.2 Vc 2000; Goos 2008:57). However, the officer is not supposed to speak in the client language (WI 2004/24, WI 2009/13; see also section 1.2.2), so only when the asylum seeker understands and speaks Dutch, the interview can take place without an interpreter. Since this is rarely the case, in almost all interviews an interpreter is present (Kromhout et al. 2006:90-95).

The asylum seeker's right to have an interpreter is also laid down in the Handbook on Procedures and Criteria for Determining Refugee Status (UNHCR 1979, art. 192iv). This handbook is incorporated in the national instructions as part of the Aliens Act (Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2000-2001, 22112, nr.200).

An important characteristic of the second interview is that it is less structured than the first interview (Doornbos 2006:153): the officer gives the asylum seeker room to speak freely about his reasons for asking asylum and does not interrupt the asylum seeker to ask questions (Goos 2008:88). After the free narrative the officer has the opportunity to ask questions (ibid; C13/3.1.2 Vc 2000).

Despite the fact that the second interview is less structured than the first interview, the officers use an elaborate template that describes the course of the interview from the introduction to the closing (Goos 2008:79-87). The following sections can be distinguished in the second interview:

- Introduction; corrections and additions to the report of the first interview; results from earlier research;
- Asylum narrative;
- Standard questions concerning the asylum motives; specific questions concerning the asylum narrative;
- Standard questions about different topics, among which specific activities carried out in the country of origin; the possibilities and problems of staying/returning to the country of origin, or staying in a third country;
- Summary of the motives for asking asylum; closing of the interview. (Goos 2008:80-85)

The template of the interview forms the basis of the report of the interview, which the officers write during the interview (Doornbos 2006:44).

I consider the second interview in the asylum procedure to be the most interesting for the purpose of the present study for two reasons. In the first place because of its importance for the outcome of the asylum procedure: as stated above in the majority of the procedures a decision will be taken mainly on the basis of the information as provided in this interview. Clearly, a precise transfer of information is therefore crucial. Furthermore, the interview is interesting because of the different sections of the interview, related to different discourse structures: during the introduction the main

speakers are the officer and the interpreter, whereas during the narrative the asylum seeker and the interpreter are the main speakers. The parts with questions contain question and answer sequences to which all three participants contribute.

1.3.4. (No) recording of the second interviews

The language analysis interviews are the only interviews that are recorded in the procedures of adult asylum seekers.²⁷ There have been several pleas to record all interviews, and specifically the second interview. In 1996 the *Nationale ombudsman* (NO) carried out a large investigation in response to a complaint about the performance of IND officers in the second interviews. One of the outcomes was an advice to the IND to start recording the second interviews as a way to guard the quality of the interviews (NO 1996).

The advice was followed up in the form of an experiment, carried out by the Research and Documentation Centre of the Ministry of Justice (WODC): in the first five months of 1999 audio recordings were made of 183 second interviews. These interviews were compared to 165 second interviews lacking a recording (Aron & Heide 1999:18). The main conclusion of the experiment was the following: the fact that a second interview was recorded did in itself not lead to a quality increase of the interview (no decrease in the number of complaints, or in the number of corrections of and additions to the reports of interviews; *ibid*:45). WODC also concluded that the recording could serve as a way to control the quality of the interview, but only if the legal representatives of the asylum seekers would indeed ask for the recordings and listen to them. The experiment showed that this took too much time for the legal representatives and consequently the recordings were hardly used (*ibid*:44).

Furthermore, the WODC encountered two practical problems of importance during the experiment. First of all, the activity of recording next to conducting the interview turned out to be difficult for the IND officers, leading to recordings of bad quality. Second, a considerable percentage of the interpreters refused to perform their services in case of a recording (*ibid*:45).

The findings of the experiment and the outcomes of an additional expert meeting did not convince the minister of Justice to implement the recording of the second interview as a standard procedure, although the general view was that recording the second interview would help to control the quality of the second interview. The expected costs of the implementation seemed to be the decisive factor in the decision not to implement recording (Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2000–2001, 26 732, nr. 95). Since this decision was taken, in 2001, the IND has been frequently reminded of the relevance of recording, for instance by its own Complaint Advisory Committee Interpreters (see also section 1.2.1), by the ACVZ in its advice for a new asylum procedure (ACVZ 2007:34),²⁸ by the Sworn Interpreters and Translators Complaints Committee (Klachtencommissie Wbtv

²⁷ The second interviews of children below the age of twelve are video-recorded (ACVZ 2003:60).

²⁸ The ACVZ-advice also mentioned that the IND would carry out a follow-up project of the WODC-experiment, starting in 2007. However, such a follow-up did not take place.

2009, 2010, 2012) and by the NO in reports on individual complaints, for instance, NO 2012/142. The minister's response to the latter complaint in 2012 made clear that his opinion remained unchanged over the years. He states that the quality of interpreting is guaranteed²⁹ and that recording of asylum interviews is therefore unnecessary (NO 2012/142).

1.4. Interpreting

1.4.1. Dialogue interpreting versus other types of interpreting

The type of interpreting performed in asylum interviews is called dialogue interpreting. It is mainly found in the context of institutional discourse (Englund Dimitrova 1997:153) and can be distinguished from other types of interpreting, the two most important being simultaneous interpreting – predominantly practised at conferences and therefore also called conference interpreting – and (long) consecutive interpreting – where the source speaker and the interpreter alternate the speaker role, for instance during small conferences or informal meetings (Hale 2007:10).

Typical for dialogue interpreting, as opposed to the other two types mentioned, is the dialogic setting instead of a monologic one, and consequently, the bidirectionality of the interpreting act, absent in both consecutive and simultaneous interpreting (Hale 2007:10/32). In other words, the interpreter is part of a discourse situation with two (or more) other participants who speak different languages, for which he provides renditions in both language directions. As opposed to consecutive interpreting, the communication in dialogue interpreting tends to be more spontaneous and more improvised (Alexieva 2002:223).

Dialogue interpreting and consecutive interpreting together can be distinguished from simultaneous interpreting on the basis of the temporal distance between the source speech and the rendition. In simultaneous interpreting the rendition follows the source speech almost immediately. The rendition is continuous, the original speaker and the interpreter are talking at the same time. In dialogue interpreting and consecutive interpreting, on the other hand, both the source speech and rendition come in chunks, and the original speaker and the interpreter alternate the speaker role. This means that the speaker has to pause once in a while to let the interpreter provide the rendition in between two chunks of source speech. As a consequence of the chunking quite some time may pass between the start of the source chunk and the start of the rendition. To

²⁹ The following measures should guarantee the quality of interpreting (NO 2012/142):

- the asylum seeker has the opportunity to file a formal complaint;
- during the interview an officer has to ask the asylum seeker whether he can understand the interpreter;
- the asylum seeker has the opportunity to make additions and corrections to the report of the interview;
- officers are asked to evaluate an interpreter's performance by means of an evaluation form.

support their memory the dialogue interpreter and the consecutive interpreter will make notes during the source speech.³⁰

Whereas simultaneous interpreting is associated with conference interpreting, dialogue interpreting is mostly associated with community interpreting, a blanket term covering for instance interpreting in doctor-patient encounters and police interrogations. Hale (2007) defined community interpreting as interpreting that takes place within one country's own community, between residents of that country, as opposed to conference interpreting, which has in general a more international character (Hale 2007:30). This definition would strictly speaking not be applicable to interpreting in the asylum procedure: asylum seekers do not belong (yet) to the community of the country where they apply for asylum.³¹ Furthermore, the use of the term 'community interpreting' is not unequivocal: it is also used in a more narrow sense than in the definition mentioned above. In the narrow sense it does not cover interpreting in legal settings but is only linked to healthcare and social service settings (Pöchhacker 1999:127). Community interpreting in the narrow sense would thus exclude interpreting in the asylum context. For these reasons I will not use the term 'community interpreting' and refer to interpreting in the asylum context as dialogue interpreting.

1.4.2. The interpreter's role in dialogue interpreting

An interpreter performing dialogue interpreting is much more visible than one performing simultaneous interpreting. In a situation where simultaneous interpreting is offered, the audience will in general get access to the renditions by means of a headset, and the interpreter will be located in a booth, talking through a microphone, separated from the hearers. The audience will only hear the interpreter speak when there is a need for rendition. Furthermore, the source speaker is unlikely to address the interpreter and the interpreter's utterances will only be renditions. Communication involves two-way exchanges, which is not the case in the situation of simultaneous interpreting, neither between primary speaker and interpreter nor between interpreter and audience.

In a situation with dialogue interpreting, the interpreter is not hidden in a booth in the back of the room, but sitting at the table, directly in contact with the primary speakers – the discourse participants for which he facilitates the communication. His presence alone is responsible for a change in the discourse dynamics (Bot & Klerk 1998:3). Communication will take place between the interpreter and the primary speakers. This may concern a very basic level of interaction: when the interpreter enters the room, he will greet the people present and his greeting will be returned, or, when one of the primary speakers is offering to get something to drink, he will ask the interpreter what

³⁰ Note-taking is in itself also an interesting research topic, which may give information about the process of translating. See for instance a study by one of the pioneers in interpreting studies, Seleskovitch (1975, 2002). The present study, however, does not include note-taking as one of the research topics.

³¹ Although other, less specific, definitions of 'community interpreting' are used as well (see for instance Niska (2002:135)), the word 'community' in relation to the asylum context remains ill-chosen in my view.

he would like to have, and the interpreter will answer this question. But such exchanges do not have to be limited to 'outside events' as getting coffee. The direct contact also offers the interpreter the opportunity to ask the primary speakers for clarification if he has not heard or understood an utterance properly (Hale 2007:11). In several respects the interpreter behaves like a 'normal' discourse participant, and he is treated as such too (Wadensjö 1992:3-4). This presupposes, for instance, the applicability of common communicative principles to the interpreter's contributions to the discourse, such as Grice's co-operative principle (Grice 1975; Jiang 2008).

Because the dialogue interpreter can act like a discourse participant, his role is less defined than the role of the simultaneous interpreter. The question is which of the interpreter's actions should be considered part of his task, apart from strictly interpreting. The outcome of a survey among European interpreter service agencies showed that the following tasks – to a more or lesser extent – are taken to be part of the interpreter's package as well: the interpreter may act as a cultural broker, as an advisor to the client, as a shelter against discrimination and as an advocate of the immigrant (Niska 2002:138). These additional tasks are not undisputed. As a consequence, the specific role of the interpreter has been one of the main topics in the literature on dialogue interpreting (Schäffner et al. 2013; Pöchhacker & Shlesinger 2002; Jacobsen 2009; some key studies on this issue are Roy (1996, 2000) and Wadensjö (1992, 1998)).

The interpreter's role in institutional discourse is usually set out in a protocol or a code of conduct. Comparisons of a number of such codes used in different countries have shown that the three most important aspects of the interpreter's work are taken to be accuracy, confidentiality and impartiality (Wadensjö 1998:58-59; Hale 2007:109; Van Elzakker & Van der Kleij 2009:135). Especially accuracy has been the centre of attention in the fields of both translation and interpreting.

1.4.3. The relation between source and translation

In describing the relation between source speech and rendition often general terms are used such as accuracy, equivalence, faithfulness and fidelity (Pöchhacker 2002:96), suggesting a strong relation, and terms suggesting a somewhat weaker relation such as matching and similarity (Chesterman 1997:9). The notions 'literal translation' or 'exact translation' may also show up, for instance, in the code of conduct for interpreters drawn up by the IND (Code of conduct IND, September 2002, 2009). In discussions about these terms or notions the main question is whether a rendition or translation can be an exact copy of its original or whether it always involve translation shifts (Cyrus 2009:88).

The 'equivalence' debate

In translation studies the term equivalence has been a central concept for decades (Pöchhacker & Sheslinger 2002:4). Although there are divergent ways to define equivalence, there seems to be consensus on the fact that total equivalence between original and translation/rendition is non-existent (Kenny 1998:77-80). In the sixties of the previous century Nida (1964:159) argued that there were two basic orientations, formal and dynamic equivalence. With the former, the focus is on the message, both on

content and form, with the latter the focus is on an equivalent effect; also called pragmatic equivalence (Kenny 1998:77). Generally, both poles of equivalence are applied at the same time, with varying focuses on either formal or dynamic equivalence (Nida 1964:160). An example of an approach in interpreting studies in which the orientations are combined is Wadensjö (1998). She defines a 'close rendition' as a 'rendition [which] is in all important respects *informationally* and *interactionally equivalent* with the original, and has approximately the same style [...]' (Wadensjö 1998:70; italics by SK).

One of the problems pointed out in the literature on the use of equivalence in defining the relation between a source and a target text is circularity: equivalence has to define translation while translation defines equivalence (Pym 1992:37). To avoid this circularity, the exact nature of the equivalence should be explicated. In other words, specify what type and degree of equivalence we are dealing with in a certain translation situation.

The term equivalence is sometimes avoided, since it is surrounded by so much debate about its exact meaning. Snell-Hornby (1988:21), for instance, argues that the meaning has become too vague and therefore useless. However, a certain relation of equivalence between a translation/rendition and its original cannot be denied and naming this relation is inevitable. As a consequence other terms can be found in the literature, such as the ones mentioned above: a translation/rendition has to be accurate, should be faithful to its original, etc. In chapter 2 the nature of the relation between source and target is discussed in more detail (section 2.1).

The illusion of literal translations

The notion literal translation seems to be different from the others in the sense that it refers to something else than its actual meaning. The meaning of *literal*, according to the dictionaries, can be stated as follows:

(1.2) The meaning of literal

- a. reproduced word for word: exact, verbatim <a literal translation>
(Merriam-Webster's online dictionary:
<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/literal>)
- b. (of a translation) representing the exact words of the original text.
(Oxford online dictionary:
<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/literal?q=literal>)

Taking this meaning of literal as a starting point would suggest that translators/interpreters have to provide word for word translations. However, anyone who masters more than one language knows from experience that in most cases a word for word translation will end up as gibberish. It might even be impossible since the concept of a word in one language may differ drastically from the concept in another language. Take for instance Turkish, which is highly agglutinative. In the example in (1.3) we see that one Turkish word can never be expressed by one word in English, because of its grammatical complexity, which English words lack.

- (1.3) a. koşuşturulamadıysalar
 b. If (they) haven't been made available for our service.
 (Aksu-Koç 1988)

But even for languages that belong typologically speaking to the same branch word for word translations cause problems. The example in (1.4), concerning a rendition from English to German, shows that even in a simple sentence we immediately encounter source language properties, concerning word order and negation, that cannot be transferred in exact the same way to the target language.

- (1.4) AS [...] I don't understand your English, [...].
 IN/de Ich verstehe Ihr Englisch nicht, [...].
I understand your English not (Pöllabauer 2003:322)

The last sentence of example (1.4) is a literal translation. The negation at the end of the sentence and the absence of *do*-support show us that most of the times even in fairly similar languages as German and English a word for word translation does not produce a well-formed result.

1.5. Institutional discourse: characteristics and participants

Discourse is a polysemic word, with a narrow and a broad use. In the narrow sense discourse refers to conversations or texts in use, whereas in the broad sense it refers to "socially shared habits of thought, perception, and behavior reflected in numerous texts belonging to different genres" (Scollon & Scollon 2003:538). In this thesis I will use the word discourse in the former sense. Following this line, institutional discourse will be used to refer to conversations between a professional representing a certain organisation and a client of this organisation.

For the professional in institutional discourse *diagnosing* clients is daily practice – to use a medical metaphor following Agar (1985). The organisation allows for a limited number of scenarios as the outcome of the interaction. The diagnosis serves the purpose of finding out which scenario fits the client's situation best (Agar 1985:149). For the client, on the other hand, the interaction is a once-only or at best an occasional event. For him, his situation is unique and not bound by certain scenarios (ibid.).

The discourse is characterised by an imbalance of power and knowledge between the organisation's representative and the client, and there is often a scenario describing the course of the discourse and the way how discourse participants alternate the speaker role, contrary to informal discourse (Doornbos 2006:7). In legal instantiations of institutional discourse the professional's language is often formal and specialistic and therefore difficult to understand for the non-professional (Gibbons 2003:162-199).

Despite the imbalance there will be a mutual need to bring the interaction to a favourable conclusion: the client will need something from the organisation and has to make an effort to get what he wants, and the organisation's representative will do his best to get the information he needs from the client and/or to provide certain information in order to be able to finalise another case for his organisation (Doornbos 2006:7).

To bring a case to an end two other elements of institutional discourse are necessary: the report of the interaction and the directive following the diagnosis (Agar 1985:154-156). In the Dutch asylum context the latter does not make part of the discourse between the client and the organisation's representative. A report of the discourse, on the other hand, is written during the interaction by the professional. The content of the report is not discussed in the same interaction and does therefore not influence the interaction.³² The act of writing, however, has an influence on the interaction, since the writing takes a fair amount of the professional's attention (Doornbos 2006:44; cf. Van Charldorp (2011:173:185) for a similar observation in police interrogations).

1.5.1. Participants in institutional discourse

The roles described in a discourse scenario serve as participants' default roles during the whole discourse event. We typically find three participants in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse: the officer, the client and the interpreter. The participants do not only know their own role but also have knowledge of the other participants' roles.

An officer will primarily make statements – to explain the procedures of his institution and to manage the discourse – and ask questions – to get the information he needs in order to be able to finalise the client's case. In addition to this the officer may also take notes or write a report of the interview he is conducting, which may be of influence in the discourse, for instance because of the pauses the writing causes. His role is illustrated by the examples in (1.5).

(1.5) a. Situation: police interrogation; participants: police officer (PO), suspect (S)

PO OK Charles you going to be charged with an assault

S mm hm

PO you're not obliged to say or do anything unless you wish to do so
but whatever you say or do may be given in evidence
do you understand this?

S mm hm (Heydon 2005:54)

b. Situation: courtroom; participants: lawyer (BD; English-speaking), witness (W; Chinese-speaking), interpreter (IN; both Chinese and English-speaking)

BD obviously you at that time were putting up (.) a fierce struggle

IN/zh [in Chinese] did you at that time struggle fiercely /aa/ (UP – usually
used as a question particle)

W [untranslated]

IN/en no

BD you did not elbow (.) or kick him (.) while you were lying (.) in that bed

IN/zh [in Chinese] when you were lying on the bed +did you try+ to elbow or
kick him /aa/ (UP) (Leung & Gibbons 2008:182-183)

³² Since the present study focuses on the interview itself these elements fall outside its scope. The issue of reporting asylum interviews is for instance addressed by Maryns (2006) and Pöchhacker (2009).

- c. Situation: asylum interview (in Swedish); participant: officer (OF)
 OF ((types for another 6 s)) mm. har du- har du funderat på detta me- med bostad? [...]
 ((types for another 6 s)) mm. have you- have you thought about th- about somewhere to live? [...]
 (Wadensjö 1992:189)

The client will primarily answer the officer's questions, since in his role he has to provide the officer with information about his case. Occasionally, he may also ask questions, for instance to request additional information about the institution's procedures or to get something clarified. The client's role is illustrated by the examples in (1.6).

- (1.6) a. Situation: police interrogation; participants: police officer (PO), suspect (S)
 PO what did she say to you this lady?
 S she said what are you doing here and we said we come up to see a mate Hamish Campbell. and that we're just waiting around for him cause I haven't seen him since I've been in Queensland. it's the first opportunity I've had. really. (Heydon 2005:102)
- b. Situation: asylum interview; participants: asylum seeker (AS), officer (OF), interpreter (IN)
 AS ah, excuse me! listen! show... look can you explain the south for me? this is south. I don't understand this. ((points on map))
 OF please/
 IN/en east is where the sun rises.
 AS ha?
 IN/en east is where the sun rises. [...] (Pöllabauer 2003:280)

The interpreter is primarily present to provide renditions for the other discourse participants. But the role of the interpreter is not limited to providing renditions. He may need, for instance, to ask a clarification question. Furthermore, because he is physically present, his behaviour will show more characteristics of a 'normal' discourse participant, opposed to the behaviour of, for instance, a simultaneous interpreter operating from a booth. He may contribute to exchanging courtesies or say things to put the client at ease. He may also interfere in the allocation of the speaker role, by interrupting another discourse participant. His role is illustrated by the examples in (1.7).

- (1.7) a. Situation: courtroom; participants: prosecuting attorney (PA; English-speaking), witness (W; Spanish-speaking), interpreter (IN)
 PA and how old are you?
 IN/es ¿qué edad tiene usted?
 how old are you?
 W veinte años.
 twenty years old.
 IN/en I am twenty years old. (Berk-Seligson 2002:172)

- b. Situation: asylum interview (appeal); participants: interpreter (IN), lawyer (L), judge (J)
 IN/en uhuhm ah is it has also been pointed out that you say that the Southern
 IN/nl wat was het ook alweer?
what was it again?
 L Southern Cameroun Youth League.
 J urm...
 IN/en yes.
 [...] (Maryns 2006:248)
- c. Situation: medical appointment; participants: patient (CL; Russian-speaking); interpreter (IN)
 CL нет иногда вот что-то ((blowing sound)) (.) ((swallows))
no sometimes something like ((blowing sound)) (.) ((swallows))
 IN/ru *не стесняйся*
don't be embarrassed (Wadensjö 1992:140)
- d. Situation: asylum interview; participants: interpreter (IN), asylum seeker (AS)
 IN/en [...] give me the place where you used to live before you run.
 AS run? . okay I was ah I was brought up in Zzz.
 IN aha.
 AS so when I first leave school so my mother is ahm/
 IN/en just the place! sorry
 AS ah.
 IN/en [laughs] just give me the place where you used to stay before you run.
 [...] (Pöllabauer 2003: 182)

1.5.2. Participants in asylum interviews

In asylum interviews – a specific type of institutional discourse – we find the above-mentioned participants, the client being the asylum seeker. Below I will describe the relation between the participants in asylum interviews in more detail (sections 1.5.2.1. to 1.5.2.3). In addition to these three participants an asylum seeker may be accompanied by an aid worker, most likely a volunteer from the NGO Vluchtelingenwerk (VVN)(Goos 2008:58). Then there may be another IND officer present: a supervisor of the officer doing the interview or an officer in training. In rare cases the interview may be attended by an independent party, for instance by a researcher such as myself.

1.5.2.1. The asylum seeker and the officer

The second interview is the only opportunity for the asylum seeker to explain in detail about his asylum motives. He is dependent on the officer and the interpreter for reporting his story correctly. If his story remains vague or contains inconsistencies this might lead to a negative outcome of the asylum procedure. His future may be at stake. For the officer such an interest does not play a role, leading to an imbalanced situation. This imbalance is strengthened by the fact that the officer has power over the outcome

the asylum seeker's procedure. His report drawn up on the basis of the asylum seeker's statements is crucial for the decision in the procedure (NO 1995).³³

Another difference between the asylum seeker on the one hand and the officer and interpreter on the other is their experience with asylum interviews. The second interview in the asylum procedure is likely to be a one-time event for the asylum seeker, whereas the officer and interpreter are repeat-players: for them asylum interviews may be a daily routine. This inequality is compensated by the fact that the asylum seeker is prepared for the interview by his own repeat-player: his lawyer or another legal aid worker (Doornbos 2006:22). Nevertheless, a certain level of imbalance will remain to exist with respect to this point, since one preparatory consult cannot be compared to the experience following from daily routine.

The organisation of the asylum interviews is predetermined. The officer leads the asylum seeker through the different parts, expecting certain contributions from the asylum seeker at certain points in the interview. Most of the time the officer appoints the speaker role to the asylum seeker. Only during the narrative the asylum seeker is not directly led by the officer. In this part of the interview an interruption by the officer should be an exception; the officer has to give the asylum seeker the opportunity to speak freely. But also in this part the officer will intervene when the asylum seeker, for instance, elaborates too much on a certain subject. So, in general it can be said that the asylum seeker has the opportunity to explain about his asylum motives as he wishes, within the boundaries set by the officer. Also in the organisation of alternation of the speaker role the relation between officer and asylum seeker is imbalanced.

1.5.2.2. *The interpreter and the officer*

In the beginning of every interview the officer states that the interpreter is independent and that his task is limited to the rendition of everything said during the interview (Goos 2008:80). The independency of the interpreter suggests that no imbalance in terms of power should exist in the relation between officer and interpreter. However, the officer – as the representative of the IND – is the client for which the interpreter provides services. For most interpreters the IND is an important client. This leads to a situation of financial dependency, which may be of influence in certain circumstances. The IND's committee for complaints about interpreters³⁴ once dealt with a case in which this dependency played a role. In this case the female asylum seeker insisted that she did not want to continue the interview in the presence of the male interpreter. Despite her objection the officer decided to continue the interview. The interpreter did not object to this. The committee judged that the interpreter acted against the IND's code of conduct for interpreters. By continuing the assignment instead of withdrawing, the interpreter did not express to be conscientious concerning the responsibility he carries by being an

³³ In general, the officer who has conducted the second interview of a certain asylum seeker does not make the decision in this asylum seeker's procedure. The decision is made by a colleague (NO 96/600; NO 2010/176). This is a way to avoid subjectivity in decisions.

³⁴ Klachtenadviescommissie Tolken, external advice committee installed by the IND for complaints from asylum seekers against interpreters; active from 1999 until 2009; see also section 1.2.1.

interpreter. However, the IND disagreed with the committee, saying that the decision to continue the interview was a responsibility of the IND and that the interpreter was not to blame for complying with the decision of the IND, who is after all the interpreter's client (KACT 2009:8).

In terms of experience with asylum interviews the interpreter's situation is similar to the officer's: both are repeat-players, asylum interviews are a regular part of their work. In the organisation of the interview, the interpreter should get the speaker role every time either the asylum seeker or the officer has spoken. This follows from the fact that the interpreter has to provide a rendition of the utterances of both the asylum seeker and the officer (WI 2004/24; WI 2009/13). Because of this duty the interpreter has a certain power to interrupt the other participants when he has not been given the chance to provide his rendition. In his role of interpreter he can also take the speaker role to ask one of the participants to clarify himself. Although the officer leads the interview, in general he does not appoint the interpreter the speaker role. In this respect the officer and the interpreter are in a more equal position than the officer and the asylum seeker.

1.5.2.3. *The asylum seeker and the interpreter*

There should not be any other relation between asylum seeker and interpreter than the interpreted-interpreter relation. The IND's code of conduct states that if the interpreter finds out the asylum seeker is a relative or an acquaintance he should report this to the officer (IND code of conduct, art.9). But although there is no formal or informal relation between interpreter and asylum seeker, the latter may experience this differently. This might go in two directions. On the one hand, the asylum seeker may see the interpreter as an ally, because of their shared language and often a shared background as well (Kälin 1986: 233). The opposite is also possible: instead of an ally the asylum seeker may consider the interpreter to be an enemy. This may happen when the interpreter and the asylum seeker share their country of origin but do not belong to the same social, political or ethnic group (Kälin 1986:233; Vaags 1993:46).

Research carried out by the Nationale ombudsman (NO) in the nineties showed that asylum seekers often had the impression that there existed an alliance between officer and interpreter (NO 1995, 1996). This had to do with both participants being repeat-players: not only were they familiar with the interview situation, they were also familiar with each other. The familiarity between the interpreter and the officer caused the feeling that the asylum seeker was dealing with two officers during the interview instead of one officer and a mediator. As a response to these investigations the IND has taken certain measures that should lead to an improvement of the professional attitude of both officer and interpreter, as recommended by the NO.³⁵ One of these measures was the formation of an external committee for complaints about interpreters (see section

³⁵ The website of the National ombudsman provides an overview of the recommendations of the 1996 research followed up by the IND:

http://www.ombudsman.nl/rapporten/grote_onderzoeken/ind/aanbevelingen.asp

1.2.1).³⁶ Since 1996 no other large investigation has been carried out by the National ombudsman concerning the quality of the IND interpreters or the second interview in general. This may be seen as an indication that the quality of the second interview and the attitude of the interpreter (and the officer) have been improved since the nineties. The number of complaints filed to the committee for complaints about interpreters varied in the years 2000 until 2009 from two to eleven complaints a year (KACT 2002, 2004, 2006, 2009),³⁷ while several thousands second interviews are conducted each year, given the number of asylum applications processed every year.³⁸

The IND code of conduct for interpreters states that an interpreter has to translate everything said by the asylum seeker (see section 1.2.3). As a consequence he has the right to take the speaker's role every time the asylum seeker has spoken, and to interrupt the asylum seeker if this is necessary for a proper rendition, for instance, if the length of the asylum seeker's utterance goes beyond the interpreter's memory capacity. The interpreter could also take the speaker role to ask the asylum seeker for clarification, for the benefit of the rendition. The role of interpreter offers more opportunity to influence the alternation of speaker role than the role of asylum seeker.

1.6. Research questions

As stated above, the point of departure of the current study is the interpreter's role in everyday practice at the IND as opposed to his supposed role as described in the IND's legal framework. The aim of the study is to provide a description and analysis of the actual interaction in asylum interviews at the IND, in which the description of the interpreters' performance takes a central position. The description and analysis is based on a corpus of asylum interviews, compiled for the purpose of this study. Apart from the legal framework mentioned above, academic studies addressing institutional discourse, dialogue interpreting and translation are used to compare and contrast the theory and practice of asylum interviews as an instance of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. The research questions as formulated below address the discrepancy between the legal framework and the daily practice of asylum interviews in general, and, specifically, the issue of defining the relation between source and translation, the quality of the renditions at the IND, and the interpreter's role in the institutional context with its predefined scenario. The following research questions will be addressed:

Discrepancy between legal framework and common practice

In what respect does the actual situation of asylum interviews differ from the situation as prescribed by the IND's work instructions and code of conduct? Does the code of

³⁶ Another measure was the experiment carried out by the IND, discussed in section 1.3.4, concerning the recording of second interviews.

³⁷ These complaints do not only concern second interviews.

³⁸ Results are published bi-annually by the Ministry of Security and Justice in the *Rapportage Vreemdelingenketen* (<http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/zoeken?keyword=rapportage+vreemdelingenketen&search-submit=Zoek>).

conduct take sufficiently into account that an interpreter is an active discourse participant rather than a translation machine, meaning that communicative principles applicable to 'normal' discourse will be applicable to the interpreter's performance as well, and will consequently influence the outcome of the translation process?

The relation between source and translation

Since a translation cannot be defined as a literal representation of its source, the relation between source and translation has to be defined otherwise. If we define this relation as a relation of similarity, which levels of similarity should be distinguished in the context of asylum interviews as an instance of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse?

Given the relevance of the correct transfer of information in asylum interviews, similarity of information seems a obvious candidate. How should this and other levels of similarity be defined?

The quality of the renditions

Given the definition of the relation between source and translation, what is the quality of the renditions provided by interpreters at the IND? Should the quality of a rendition only be judged on the basis of the similarity relation between source and translation or is the quality of a rendition partly determined by other factors, such as the communicative value of a rendition? Does the quality vary from interview to interview? If so, what causes the varying quality?

The interpreter's role

The interpreter's role in dialogue interpreting is less defined than in simultaneous interpreting because of his participation in the discourse. Which tasks, apart from strictly interpreting, does an interpreter carry out in the context of asylum interviews? Are these additional tasks a necessary and acceptable contribution to the discourse in the light of the interpreter's role in the predefined scenario for asylum interviews as an instance of institutional discourse, and are they in balance with the interpreter's translation task?

1.7. Outline of this study

The remainder of this book comprises six chapters. In chapter 2 a theoretical framework is put forward that lays the basis for the analysis of the corpus of asylum interviews. The framework's point of departure is the existence of some form of similarity between source and target text, defined at different levels. Furthermore, general communicative principles are applicable to an interpreter's performance. The role of similarity and communicative principles in producing renditions is formalised in a framework of norms.

Chapter 3 describes how the corpus was compiled and provides the main characteristics of the 14 asylum interviews in the corpus. Furthermore, the chapter provides information about the main discourse elements and the way the discourse has been transcribed. The last part of the chapter explains how the instances of three key components in the discourse were selected, which form the basis of the analyses in chapters 4 to 6.

Chapter 4 focuses on the comparison of source and translation by analysing a sample of turn-rendition pairs from the corpus. The analysis will show that interpreters apply production strategies, with the general aim to create an improved version of a turn, at the cost of similarity between turn and rendition, at one or more of the levels of similarity that were distinguished in chapter 2.

Chapters 5 and 6 concern discourse activities other than translating. In chapter 5 clarification sequences are discussed, i.e. sequences initiated to clarify an information problem in a prior turn. The chapter examines the circumstances under which clarification sequences are initiated and the recipient strategies applied by the discourse participants related to the initiation of a clarification sequence. Furthermore, the analysis will show which variation is found in the different interviews with respect to the clarification sequences.

Chapter 6 is dedicated to non-translated turns, i.e. utterances from primary speakers that remained without a rendition and utterances by the interpreter that cannot be characterised as renditions. Non-translated turns often concern coordinating actions. The analysis will show to what extent non-translated turns contribute to coordination and whether there is a balance between the interpreter's coordinating contributions and translating task.

Chapter 7 provides a summary and an overall conclusion of this study, as well as theoretical and practical implications of the findings.

2. Interpreter-mediated institutional discourse: a theoretical framework

In chapter 1 I concluded that literal translations do not exist and that full equivalence is an infeasible claim for renditions (or translations). This study aims to arrive at a definition or circumscription of the relation between source and target text that does justice to the constraints of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. In this chapter I put forward a theoretical framework that lays the basis for the analysis of the corpus of asylum interviews.

The framework's point of departure is the existence of some basic form of similarity between source and target text (cf. Chesterman 1996; 1997)³⁹, although the exact nature is unclear. Similarity in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse is discussed in section 2.1. Previous studies on this type of discourse showed that similarity can be defined at different levels, which can be reduced to the following four:

- information level: how similar is the propositional content of the source and target text?
- pragmatic level: how similar is the intended effect on the recipient?
- form level: how similar is the linguistic or formal structure in terms of words, grammar, and discourse?
- speaker level: how similar is the rendition in mimicking speaker characteristics, including emotions?

An interpreter is not a 'translation machine' driven by fixed schemas or spelled-out procedures, but a reconstructor of meaning and intention and an active participant in constructing discourse. From this perspective, principles that govern general communication and social practices are a relevant part of the rendition process. That means that Grice's co-operative principle and Goffman's participation framework – the division of participant roles during an utterance event – play a central role in defining similarity between source and target text. Section 2.2. discusses the interpreter as a communicator.

To formalise the role of similarity and communicative principles in producing renditions I will make use of the notion of norm,⁴⁰ an often used notion in translation studies since

³⁹ Similarity expresses a degree of sameness between a source text and one of its possible target texts, without pinning down the exact nature of the relation (Chesterman 1996; Chesterman 1997:9). Unlike the term equivalence, similarity has not been surrounded by an extensive debate about the exact meaning (see also section 1.4.3.1), and can therefore still be used as a term that describes the relation between source and target in a neutral way.

⁴⁰ The words 'norm' and 'normative' are ambiguous. In one sense they can be used in a prescriptive way, for instance when talking about 'a normative grammar of English'. In the other sense a norm is a description of particular practices within a given community. In translation studies both senses

the seventies of the previous century, that nevertheless made little headway in the field of interpreting studies (Diriker 1999; Dufrou 2007).⁴¹ Norms are socio-cultural constraints that help discourse participants through the decision-making process of formulating utterances (Toury 1980:51-54; 1995:54-58).^{42, 43} In a more general sense, norms provide people with 'expectations about the behaviour and intentions of others, and of expectations about others' expectations about one's own behaviour and intentions' (Bartsch 1987:173). Norms are validated by virtue of their existence: if a norm is acknowledged to exist in a given community, it is automatically valid (Chesterman 1997:56).⁴⁴ In terms of potency, norms are midway between rules and idiosyncrasies.⁴⁵

Following Chesterman (1993, 1997) I distinguish three production norms that guide an interpreter through the rendition process:

- the relation norm;
- the communication norm;
- the accountability norm.

The relation norm describes the relation between source and target text in terms of similarity, whereas the communication norm covers general communication and social practices. The accountability norm is an ethical norm, concerning professional standards of integrity and thoroughness. The production norms cannot be directly observed from interpreting data. To be able to reveal the working of the norms, the concept of production strategies is introduced. These strategies are ways in which interpreters seek to conform to norms and are observable in their behaviour. Furthermore, in the

are used. Following Chesterman (1997) and Bartsch (1987), I use the notion of norm in a descriptive way.

⁴¹ The topic of norms in interpreting has been explored by a limited number of scholars, mainly in the context of simultaneous (conference) interpreting (cf. Shlesinger 1989; Harris 1990; Schjoldager 1995/2002; Diriker 1999; Gile 1998; Marzocchi 2005 and Dufrou 2007). Norms did not find their way into research on consecutive and dialogue interpreting, despite the fact that these subfields of interpreting studies focus more on social behaviour (Diriker 1999:73-76).

⁴² Within the framework of this book norms are connected to translation and interpreting. However, norms can be applied to any kind of socio-cultural behaviour. Chesterman (1997:54) discusses the example of keeping to the right on the escalators in certain cultures.

⁴³ In the field of translation studies the notion 'norm' for a behavioural regularity was introduced in the late seventies by Toury (Toury 1980:51-62; Baker 2009:189). The introduction followed a turning point in translation studies. In the seventies the focus shifted to the relationships between target texts, whereas prior it had been on the relationship between source and target text (Baker 2009:189).

⁴⁴ Norms in the prescriptive sense are validated in another way, i.e. by a norm authority (Chesterman 1997:56).

⁴⁵ The potency of norms varies: some are stronger – more rule-like – than others (Toury 1995:54; Chesterman 1997:58-59). The variation in potency depends among other things on the type of translation activity and the time period during which the activity takes place (Toury 1995:54). The violation of norms has consequences for the acceptability of a translation. In this way norms are unlike conventions: the latter only express preferences and are not binding (Chesterman 1997:55; Baker 2009:191).

context of dialogue interpreting, recipient strategies can be distinguished. The norms and strategies are discussed in section 2.3.

Analysis of interpreting data is necessary for tracing production strategies to reveal the working of the production norms in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. For this purpose I have selected three key components in discourse, discussed in section 2.4: turn-rendition pairs, clarification sequences and non-translated turns. The analysis of these key components in chapters 4 to 6 will establish the presence or absence of evidence for the theoretical framework proposed in this chapter.

2.1. Similarity in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse

As stated in the introduction of this chapter, the relation between a source text and a target text can be defined as one of similarity. As explained above, similarity can be defined in various ways, at different levels. Not every kind of similarity will be effectuated in a rendition or translation. Depending on the situation an interpreter or translator will hold on to a number of aspects of the source text by applying certain kinds of similarity and at the same time deviating from the source text with regard to other aspects. For the purpose of finding how types of similarity apply in the situation of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse, either effectuated or discarded by the interpreter, I first discuss the main studies in this field: Berk-Seligson (2002), Bot (2005), Hale (2004), Maryns (2006) and Wadensjö (1992).⁴⁶ Section 2.1.1. presents the views on similarity in these studies. The next step was to define the types of similarity central in these studies. This led to distinguishing the four types of similarity discussed in section 2.1.2.

2.1.1. Similarity in earlier studies

2.1.1.1. Berk-Seligson (2002)

Berk-Seligson's study on Spanish-English court interpreting in the United States focuses on situations in which the pragmatic similarity is affected. Other types of similarity are not discussed.⁴⁷ She argues that court interpreters change the rendition of questions and answers by altering the pragmatic content of an utterance (Berk-Seligson 2002:96). They frequently make use of grammatical devices, such as changing passive sentences into an active construction, as in (2.1), where an interpreter renders an attorney's question to a witness, who is an undocumented alien (ibid:107-111):

⁴⁶ The number of corpus studies in the field of interpreting studies is limited due to the fact that getting access to interpreting data is difficult (Shlesinger 1989:112-113; Schjoldager 1995/2002:303; Garzone 2002:111; Angermeyer et al. 2012:276).

⁴⁷ Berk-Seligson states, though, that court interpreters are expected to provide renditions that are as faithful to the source language original as possible (Berk-Seligson 2002:172).

- (2.1) AT Sir, do you remember when *you were apprehended* by the border patrol?
 IN ¿Se acuerda usted, señor, cuando *lo aprehendieron a usted* los patrulleros de la frontera?
Do you remember, sir, when the border patrol apprehended you?
 WI Sí.
Yes. (Berk-Seligson 2002:107)

According to Berk-Seligson, the interpreter's rendition pragmatically differs from the attorney's turn⁴⁸ in the sense that the focus in the rendition is more on the border patrol than on the viewpoint of the witness, shifting the blame away from the witness (ibid:111). Berk-Seligson concludes that this type of alteration is one of the many pragmatic changes applied by interpreters (ibid:117). Interpreters add and remove emphasis on certain actors in an activity, having the consequence of highlighting or diminishing the responsibility of the discourse participants (ibid:97).

Another phenomenon emerging from her data on court interpreters was the lengthening or shortening of witness testimonies. To lengthen a testimony the interpreter makes use of hedges, hesitation forms (pause fillers and meaningless particles) and forms of politeness. The use of these features may turn a fragmented speech style into a more narrative testimony style (ibid:119/142). Berk-Seligson argues that adding these features affects the witness' impression on the jurors in a negative way, since they are characteristics of a powerless speech testimony style (ibid:142-145).

The same features play a role in shortening witness testimonies. In the case of shortening these features are omitted in the rendition. This led Berk-Seligson to the conclusion that hedges, hesitation phenomena and polite forms are not salient enough for court interpreters to include them in the renditions (ibid:142). If interpreters indeed see these features as non-salient, this raises the question whether adding them to a rendition – in the case of lengthening – is a conscious strategy to influence a witness' impression in terms of power.

2.1.1.2. Bot (2005)

The data discussed in Bot (2005) concern interpreter-mediated psychotherapeutic sessions with asylum seekers in The Netherlands with mental health issues. Bot analysed equivalence between original turns and rendition as one of the factors that influence the effectiveness of interpreter-mediated therapeutic sessions. She defined the notion 'equivalence' as follows:

- (2.2) A rendition is considered 'equivalent' when
 - all the information contained in the original turn is included;
 - all the parts of a rendition are scored in the same Hill category as those of the original turn;
 - the rendition is a 'direct translation' of the original turn, i.e. the perspective of person is adhered to. (Bot 2005:150)

⁴⁸ In this chapter I will use the notions *utterance* and *turn* to indicate a speech event of one speaker. The exact definitions of these notions can be found in sections 3.3.1. and 3.3.2.

With respect to 'direct translation' Bot focusses on the interpreters' use of reporting verbs to distinguish the interpreter from the original speaker, an often occurring phenomenon in her data collection (ibid:170):

(2.3) IN hij zegt eh gedurende die 7 jaren dat ik hier ben [...]
he says eh during those 7 years that I am here [...]

(Bot 2005:161)

She concluded that such changes in perspective do not affect the information of a turn but have a communicative effect: it is a means for the interpreter to distance himself from the original speaker (Bot 1995:187).

The Hill category system mentioned in the second part of (2.2) is used to measure the similarity of psychotherapeutic interventions (therapists' turns) and the patients' reactions (ibid:147). The system comprises 14 therapist categories and nine patient categories. The categories describe the intention of the therapists' interventions and the patients' reactions. The therapist categories include the purpose of a therapist's turn, for instance providing information, giving advice or ask an open exploratory question. The therapists' interventions have the intention of eliciting a specific reaction from the patient. The patient categories are different (and described in less detail): they are designed to distinguish between facts, feelings and relational remarks concerning the therapist. They concern for instance a simple response (such as 'that's right'), a request or a description of events (ibid:147-149/273-284).

In the six sessions that Bot analysed, renditions often diverged from the original turns: the percentage of equivalence between turn and rendition turned out to vary from approximately half of the turns to almost all of them (ibid:163). In the majority of the divergent renditions the informational equivalence was affected. The therapeutic equivalence, determined on the basis of the Hill categories, was affected in approximately one third of the turns. A change in perspective of person was the least occurring divergence. Bot concluded that the frequent occurrence of diverging renditions negatively influenced the communication between therapist and patient (ibid:233-234).

2.1.1.3. Hale (2004)

Hale (2004) is based on a sample of English-Spanish interpreter-mediated local court hearings in Australia. She examined characteristics of style – hesitations, hedges, discourse markers and grammatical errors – both in original utterances, mostly from witnesses, and in their renditions, to prove that interpreters are mostly concerned with maintaining accuracy of the content (Hale 2004:238). She argues that 'style of speech makes a marked difference in the evaluation of people's characters' (Hale 2004:154). If interpreters present a 'polished' version of the original utterances in their renditions, the receivers of the rendition could have a better impression of the primary speaker with respect to competence, credibility and intelligence. However, renditions do show the interpreter's own stylistic or speaker characteristics. In a number of cases this led to renditions, so she concludes, that could not be considered to be an improvement of the

original utterance with respect to coherence, conciseness, hesitations, hedges, fillers, pauses, and/or repetitions.

On the basis of her sample Hale concluded that the original characteristics of style are often not preserved in the rendition and that interpreters indeed only focus on maintaining propositional content. Hale's description of changes in stylistic characteristics places her analysis at the level of pragmatics, in a way comparable to Berk-Seligson's analysis of the features used to lengthening testimonies or omitted to shorten them.

2.1.1.4. *Maryns (2006)*

In Maryns (2006), in which asylum seekers' narratives are the central focus, only a small part concerned translation practices in asylum procedures, as mentioned in the introduction to chapter 1. One example she extensively discusses concerned a translation from a spoken narrative in Somali to a written statement in English, in an interview in which the interpreter asked the questions instead of the officer. Maryns noted that the interpreter delivered a coherent, detailed and chronologically ordered written statement to the officer,⁴⁹ which showed that the interpreter 'oriented his text towards a particular generic model'⁵⁰ (Maryns 2006:233-237).

In general, Maryns concluded that translation, due to its fragmentary and/or written rendering, can easily lead to a great loss of information with respect to emphasis on particular words (objects) and phrases (events), hesitations, word choice and emotional and pragmatic details. The asylum seekers' narratives are in itself already complex material to convey to an institutional environment, and Maryns questions whether the translation process can guarantee a reliable account of these narratives. (ibid:250-251).

2.1.1.5. *Wadensjö (1992)*

Wadensjö (1992) presented a taxonomy of renditions, which she used to explore 20 recorded encounters of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. She distinguished six different types of renditions (of which the first type, close renditions, was already mentioned in section 1.4.3):

- (2.4)
1. Close rendition: a close rendition is in all important respects informationally and interactionally equivalent with the original, and has approximately the same style.
 2. Expanded rendition: a rendition includes more information than is explicitly expressed in the original.
 3. Reduced rendition: a rendition includes less information than is explicitly expressed in the original utterance.

⁴⁹ This kind of data – a written translation on the basis of verbal input – differs from the other interpreting data discussed in this study, in which both source and target are verbal.

⁵⁰ Although Maryns did not look at the original Somali narrative, she probably could make this assumption on the basis of her experience with other asylum seekers' narratives (mainly in West-African English), which are also included in her book.

4. Substituting renditions (substitutions): a rendition constitutes a combination of expansion and reduction.
 5. Summarizing rendition: a rendition contains constituents assembled from a sequence of two or more prior primary speaker contributions.
 6. Lack of rendition: a primary speaker contribution does not have a rendition.
- (Wadensjö 1992:70-71)

With regard to close renditions Wadensjö states that even in this type of rendition subtle differences may occur between original turn and rendition, being a result of the nature of renditions (Wadensjö 1992:71). In Wadensjö's remaining discussion of the different types of renditions, she focusses on expanded renditions, reduced renditions and substituting renditions (ibid:99-102). Close renditions are left aside.

Expanded renditions often involve specifications of information, for instance about people, times and places. Furthermore, expanded renditions may be the consequence of a change in speech style: from an elliptic style and/or fragmented speech to an explicit written language standard (ibid:99-100).

In reduced renditions features of spoken languages are often omitted, such as interrupted onsets and repetitions – again a stylistic change leading to a (more) written language standard. Lengthy and inconsistent turns can be reduced to short and consistent renditions. The omissions occurring in reduced renditions may lead to a change in illocutionary force (ibid:100-101).

In substituting renditions change of jargon or code can be found. Substituting renditions in general concern a specification and/or concentration of the information from the original turn, showing furthermore a greater coherence than the original (ibid:100-101).

Wadensjö did not draw any conclusions with regard to the impact of the occurrence of non-close renditions on the course of the communication; her analysis is purely descriptive (Dam & Schjoldager 1994:174-175).

2.1.2. Similarity: four levels of analysis

In the following sections it is argued that the studies discussed above give rise to defining similarity at four levels: analysis takes place at the information level, the pragmatic level, the form level and the speaker level. Note that the levels of analysis are often interdependent: if the information level is affected, for instance, the form level is likely to be affected as well, as a consequence.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the levels of analysis can be affected independently of the other levels. So, form may change without affecting the level of information, pragmatics or speaker, and the same goes for the other levels.

2.1.2.1. Information level

An apparent distinction made in the literature is the distinction between that what a speaker says and that what he implicates (Grice 1975:43-45, Searle 1969:42-50;

⁵¹ It might not be clear in all cases which is the primary level to be affected: is it the form change that caused the information change or the other way around?

1975:56-57). What a speaker says, or the propositional content of an utterance, is closely related to the conventional meaning of the words (Grice 1975:43-45). I will take this to be one of the levels of analysis, to which I will refer as the information level. The information level is a clearly distinguished level of similarity in the studies discussed above. Bot (2005) mentioned information as one of the three elements on the basis of which similarity can be determined, and Wadensjö (1992) included similarity of information in her definition of a close rendition.

If similarity is affected on the information level, other levels of similarity are usually affected as well, the form level in the first place.⁵² Wadensjö mentioned for instance expanded renditions which may involve a specification of information concerning people, times or places. In such cases the information level is affected, as well as the form level.

2.1.2.2. *Pragmatic level*

For the pragmatic level it is essential to distinguish that what the speaker says from that what he implicates (cf. Grice 1975:43-45). As stated in the previous section, the propositional content – what the speaker says – is part of the information level, whereas the pragmatic level deals with the implied meaning.

We can relate implied meaning to the notions illocution and perlocution. Illocution refers to the force of an utterance, speech acts such as promising, reporting, asking and stating (Hatim 2009:204-205; Berk-Seligson 2002:293). Perlocution concerns the effect of an utterance as experienced by the recipient (Hatim 2009:204-205).

Illocutionary acts are either direct or indirect (Searle 1975:59-60). In an indirect illocutionary act the meaning is implied (cf. Grice's (1975) implicature): the recipient has to infer the speaker's intended meaning. For this the speaker relies on the speaker's and recipient's mutual knowledge, linguistic and non-linguistic (Searle 1975:60-61). The notion coherence fits in with the notion of indirect illocutionary act, in the sense that both notions involve implied meaning. An utterance's coherence is not an intrinsic property: it is the recipient's ability to make sense of the utterance that makes it coherent. In this sense coherence is the result of the interaction between knowledge presented in an utterance and the recipient's own knowledge, similar to an utterance's indirect illocutionary force (Baker 1992:219).

The studies in section 2.1.1. discuss changes that involve illocutionary acts.⁵³ The therapeutic interventions mentioned by Bot (2005) are one example: the different

⁵² Information changes that do not affect the form level are rather rare. They do occur, though, as illustrated by the following example. An East African could refer to the Lake Victoria as "the sea" because in his native language the distinction between "lake" and "sea" does not exist (Barbag-Stoll 1983). An interpreter who is not aware of the absence of this distinction could make the mistake of translating "the sea" as "the sea" instead of "the lake", leading to an affected information level.

⁵³ Similarity may be affected only at the pragmatic level. For example, in French a question can be formed by changing the intonation of a declarative sentence. If this change occurs in a rendition then the pragmatics (illocution) have changed but the form, information and speaker level remain unaffected.

categories in the Hill system represent the illocutionary acts that therapists have at their disposal, to retrieve a certain response from a patient. The categorisation of the patients' responses provide a way to check whether the perlocution of the therapeutic interventions does or does not correspond with the therapist's intention.

Change in perspective of person, discussed in Bot (2005), can also concern illocution: the interpreter's addition of a reporting verb emphasises the fact that he is *reporting* a speech act, i.e. the ownership of the illocutionary act lies with the original speaker and not with the interpreter (Coulmas 1986:11-12). The change in perspective creates a distance between the utterance and the interpreter, emphasising his neutrality.

Examples in which an interpreter changed the illocutionary force from one speech act to another also occur. This is illustrated by the following example (from an additional study):

- (2.5) Situation: courtroom; participants: lawyer (BD; English-speaking), witness (W; Chinese-speaking), interpreter (IN; both Chinese and English-speaking)
- BD obviously you at that time were putting up (.) a fierce struggle
 IN/zh [in Chinese] did you at that time struggle fiercely /aa/ (UP – usually used as a question particle)
 W [untranslated]
 IN/en no
 BD you did not elbow (.) or kick him (.) while you were lying (.) in that bed
 IN/zh [in Chinese] when you were lying on the bed +did you try+ to elbow or kick him /aa/ (UP) (Leung & Gibbons 2008:182-183)

We see a difference between the illocutionary force of the first turn and the following rendition: the turn is an assumption whereas the rendition is a question. Furthermore, the context suggests that the lawyer already knows that the witness did not put up a fierce struggle and that his assumption will thus be incorrect. Therefore, the illocutionary point of the turn is not to get an agreement from the witness. Instead, the illocutionary point seems to be as follows: the lawyer wants to intimidate the witness by forcing her to deny his assumption in order to achieve his ultimate purpose which is to reduce the witness' trustworthiness as a witness (cf. Searle and Vanderveken 1985:18-19). The interpreter, however, did not play along and changed the turn's illocution.

In the studies discussed above we see that certain changes in perlocution are the consequence of a change at the speaker level and/or the information level. Berk-Seligson mentioned for instance the recipients experiencing a more narrative testimony in court as a consequence of the interpreter's adding of features such as hedges and hesitation forms. Furthermore, Maryns spoke about a text fitting a generic model in the asylum procedure following changes at – at least – the information level. The coherence of utterances is involved in this type of changes.

Berk-Seligson also discussed grammatical shifts leading to a change in perlocution: she argued that the interpreter relocated the recipient's focus from one actor in a utterance event to another, by changing the active or passive status of a sentence in the rendition. A legitimate question is whether changing the active or passive status is indeed related to an intended change in perlocution, or rather to a difference between languages,

passive constructions being more common in one language than in the other. In case of the latter situation, the change in perlocution might not even be experienced as such.

2.1.2.3. *Form level*

The form level concerns changes of words and changes in grammatical structure and discourse structure. In the literature discussed above, the form level is not explicitly addressed, but nevertheless present. For instance, the pragmatic alterations discussed by Berk-Seligson (2002) involve changes in syntactic structure (passive/active sentences). Furthermore, the terminology in Wadensjö's (1992) types of renditions – expansion, reduction, substitution – shows that formal characteristics are the starting point in the comparison of turns and renditions.

The implicit presence of the form level in discussing similarity is probably related to the fact that form has become less interesting since the focus in translation studies has moved away from formal equivalence to an approach with more attention for similarity of effect (see section 1.4.3). Consequently, changes at the form level that do not affect the other levels of analysis are left aside. Furthermore, in cases where form changes co-occur with changes at the other levels of analysis, the form changes remain unmentioned in favour of the other changes. The fact that form changes are difficult to interpret may be a factor in not mentioning these changes. The difficulty lies in determining that a difference in form is indeed a change based on a choice made by an interpreter for a specific reason, and not a logical consequence of two languages being grammatically or culturally different. To make such an assessment for every form change, a thorough linguistic comparison of the source and target language is necessary, which often goes beyond the scope of research, at least in the studies discussed above.

Nevertheless, the overall presence of changes at form level makes this a level worth to distinguish when discussing similarity. Furthermore, the focus on form is still present in the IND's code of conduct (see section 1.2.3).

2.1.2.4. *Speaker level*

With regard to the speaker level, the studies discussed above focus on stylistic characteristics, like specific register, hedges, hesitation forms and features of spoken language (Wadensjö (1992) mentioned interrupted onsets and repetitions). Such stylistic characteristics are often either omitted or added, leading to a changed speech style (less fragmented, more coherent, more narrative-like) in the renditions. As a consequence of these omissions the pragmatic level can be affected as well (see section 2.1.2.2).

Although other characteristics are not discussed, the speaker level is not limited to stylistic characteristics; it also includes speaker characteristics such as the volume of the voice and intelligibility and emotional characteristics like anger and cheerfulness. The absence of speaker characteristics in the studies suggests that they are considered insignificant. It is thinkable that including certain speaker characteristics in a rendition could even undermine the rendition's credibility. For instance, if the original speaker is a woman with a high-pitched voice, there is no need for a male interpreter to change his

voice in order to resemble the original's voice.^{54, 55} Another example would be a speech disability such as a stammer.

When a speaker is (less) intelligible – because of a speech disability or a poor command of the language he is speaking – then the reception of a turn is compromised. A more useful approach for an interpreter would be to notify the other discourse participant by making a remark separate from the rendition, instead of imitating the speaker characteristics in the rendition. This is illustrated in the following example by Maryns (2006), in which the interpreter could not understand the client, an asylum seeker from Sierra Leone, because of the client's level of proficiency in the Krio language. The interpreter makes a remark about this to the officer:

- (2.6) IN xxx il ne parle pas bien. je ne comprends pas [...]

xxx he doesn't speak well. I don't understand [...]

 (Maryns 2006:221)

A speaker's emotions may be useful information for a recipient of a turn. However, emotional characteristics are certainly not always included in a rendition. In sign language interpreting it is quite common to render emotion, but in other interpreting situations this is not so common.⁵⁶ This may have to do with the fact that in many interpreting situations, with direct contact between the speaker and the recipient, the discourse participants will be able to recognize emotions like anger and sadness directly by observing the original speaker. It might be superfluous for the interpreter to point out these characteristics.

2.2. The interpreter as a communicator

Research in the field of dialogue interpreting 'placed a significant emphasis on the interpreter as an active agent of communication' (Baker & Saldanha 2009:56). This follows from the fact that dialogue interpreting takes place in a discourse situation, which implies that the participants' interaction – including the interpreter – is governed by general communicative and social principles (see also section 1.4.1). The discourse

⁵⁴ There are certainly interpreting situations – in a broader sense – where a man's voice could not be replaced by a woman's voice. Think of dubbed movies, in which the voice of the representing a certain character should fit the character.

⁵⁵ A different gender can in itself be a reason to object to an interpreter. This, however, is related to the sensitivity of the topics in certain types of discourse, and does not have anything to do with the interpreter's speech characteristics, nor with his ability to interpret correctly.

⁵⁶ See for instance the following article in the code of ethics for interpreters of the Wisconsin Court System (<https://www.wicourts.gov/services/interpreter/ethics.htm>):

Spoken language interpreters should convey the emotional emphasis of the speaker without reenacting or mimicking the speaker's emotions, or dramatic gestures. Sign language interpreters, however, must employ all of the visual cues that the language they are interpreting for requires— including facial expressions, body language, and hand gestures.

participants' acceptance of Grice's co-operative principle is essential for successful discourse (Jiang 2009:14; Grice 1975). This means that Grice's maxims will also influence the outcome of the production process of renditions. For example, the following question from an attorney (AT) to a witness shows an explication of the specific period of time to which the attorney refers, conforming to the maxims of quantity (*make your contribution as informative as is required*) and manner (*be perspicuous*).

- (2.7) AT at any time did you get scared?
 IN/es ¿en algún momento durante el transcurso del vuelo se asustó usted, señora?
at any time during the flight did you get scared, madam?
 [...] (Berk-Seligson 2002:139)

Discourse participants are also expected to conform to participant roles fitting the situation of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. As argued in section 1.5, the discourse participants have a certain role in discourse prescribed by a discourse scenario. At the level of an utterance-event (as opposed to the discourse as a whole (cf. Levinson 1988:167)) the participants' roles can be divided in different production roles and recipient roles (Goffman's (1979) participation framework). In his default production role, an interpreter is, for example, expected to produce a rendition of the preceding utterance by either the client or the officer. As such he is only transmitting the utterance and not responsible for the content. Furthermore, a speaker may relate to his listeners in different ways. For instance, an interpreter is in general not the one for whom the message is meant, although he is one of the intended listeners. The division of production and recipient roles (co-)determines the course of the communication. I will elaborate on participation frameworks in section 2.2.1. I will discuss the different production roles, mainly based on Goffman (1979) in section 2.2.1.1. Furthermore, in section 2.2.1.2. footing is discussed: the way listeners relate to a speaker, also based on Goffman (1979).

In interpreter-mediated discourse an interpreter plays an essential role in the coordination of participation in the discourse (Wadensjö 1992:102-113, 1998:105; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012:1-2). This concerns implicit coordination – managing the organisation of discourse simply by providing renditions – as well as explicit coordination. Explicit coordination involves utterances by the interpreter that cannot be analysed as renditions of a prior turn by a primary speaker, which are considered to be essential for constructing interpreter-mediated discourse. (Wadensjö 1998:108-110; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012:3-5). The studies discussed in section 2.1.1. in relation to similarity provide a number of examples illustrating coordinating participation. Together, they provide an overview of the devices at the interpreter's disposal to organise discourse and optimise communication. Section 2.2.2. discusses the findings of Berk-Seligson 2002, Bot (2005), Hale (2004) and Wadensjö (1992). The overview following from these studies is the topic of section 2.2.3.

2.2.1. Participation framework

2.2.1.1. Production roles

Traditionally discourse is seen as a dyadic event in which the speaker has a one-dimensional role: he expresses his thoughts and feelings (Goffman 1979:5-6). However, example (2.8), in which the interpreter provides a rendition, shows us that a speaker does not necessarily say something that originates from his own mind.

- (2.8) Situation: witness (W; in Spanish) testifies in court; question asked by the prosecuting attorney (PA; in English)
- PA and how old are you?
 IN/es ¿qué edad tiene usted?
how old are you?
- W veinte años.
twenty years old.
- IN/en I am twenty years old. (Berk-Seligson 2002:172)

Similarly, the officer in example (2.9) did not make up the statement himself, but rather produced the statement his institution prescribes.

- (2.9) Situation: police interrogation; participants: police officer (OF) and suspect (S)
- OF OK Charles you going to be charged with an assault
 S mm hm
 OF you're not obliged to say or do anything unless you wish to do so
 but whatever you say or do may be given in evidence
 do you understand this?
 S mm hm (Heydon 2005:54)

So, the speaker's role is more complex and should be subdivided. Goffman distinguished three different production roles. In the first place a speaker functions as an *animator*, the one who transmits the utterance. Second, the speaker can also be the *author* of the utterance: he has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded. The third role that Goffman distinguished is the role of *principal*: someone whose beliefs have been told by means of an utterance, someone who has committed himself to what the words say (Goffman 1979:16-17; Nakane 2009:3).

By default, the term speaker includes all three of the roles mentioned: animator, author and principal. But there are many situations in which the roles are dissociated (cf. McCawley 1999:596). Going back to example (2.9), in Goffman's terminology the police officer would be the animator through which the information is brought to the suspect. He is not the author, because he was not the one who originally formulated the message. Neither is he the principal, since the words attest to his institution's position rather than his own. Both the author's and the principal's role belong to the institution.

An interpreter is, ideally speaking, solely a candidate for the role of animator: repeating the information from another speaker with the only difference being the language (Wadensjö 1992:125). It is often the default role expected from interpreters in

institutional settings, as imposed by a code of conduct (cf. Nakane 2009:5). Example (2.8) illustrates this situation. In terms of similarity, a rendition produced by an interpreter in the role of animator is similar to the original turn at all four levels of similarity distinguished in section 2.1.2.⁵⁷

In practice the interpreter can take other production roles as well, in addition to the animator role (Wadensjö 1992:125-126). This is reflected in the similarity between turn and rendition: if the interpreter's role is not limited to the animator role, then the similarity will be affected at the form level and/or the pragmatic level and/or the information level as well.

In case of a reformulation of an original turn, the interpreter will often have taken the roles of animator and author. In the literature I came across only a few cases in which the interpreter could be said to have taken the principal's role. Leung & Gibbons (2008) argue that this is the case in the example, already discussed in section 2.1.2.2, and repeated below as (2.10):

- (2.10) Situation: courtroom; participants: lawyer (BD; English-speaking), witness (W; Chinese-speaking), interpreter (IN; both Chinese and English-speaking)
- BD obviously you at that time were putting up (.) a fierce struggle
 IN/zh [in Chinese] did you at that time struggle fiercely /aa/ (UP – usually used as a question particle)
- W [untranslated]
 IN/en no
- BD you did not elbow (.) or kick him (.) while you were lying (.) in that bed
 IN/zh [in Chinese] when you were lying on the bed +did you try+ to elbow or kick him /aa/ (UP) (Leung & Gibbons 2008:182-183)

The excerpt originates from a rape case in which the lawyer for the defense tries to pressure the witness. In the first line the attorney implicates that someone who is being raped will always struggle fiercely. The interpreter's rendition lacks this implicature. According to Leung and Gibbons (2008) the interpreter has taken on the role of principal and changed the ideological assumption underlying the utterance, while not changing its basic propositional content.⁵⁸

As mentioned above, similarity at all levels corresponds with the animator role. The correspondence between similarity and the author and principal roles is less clear. The example in (2.10) shows for instance that the interpreter taking over the role of principal may co-occur with a change in illocutionary force (see also section 2.1.2.2). That is, however, not necessarily the case; the principal role is not systematically correlated to the pragmatic level or the other levels, and neither is the author role.

⁵⁷ Similarity at the speaker level may form an exception.

⁵⁸ Although not explicitly stated, this suggests that the proposition is part of the author role. This is not immediately clear from the definitions of author and principal as formulated by Goffman, but resembles the view of Clark (1996), quoted in McCawley (1999:596): in the example of a marriage ceremony in which the bride utters the words "I Margaret take thee Kenneth to my wedded husband", the bride is taken to be both animator and principal but not author.

In the circumstances that an interpreter's utterance is not a rendition or a reformulation of a turn by a primary speaker, the interpreter's role goes beyond the role of animator. An interpreter takes, for instance, the role of author when he requests for clarification, in case (a part of) the turn to be translated is unclear to the interpreter, as in (2.11)(Nakane 2009: 6-7).

- (2.11) Situation: police interrogation; participants: police officer (PO), interpreter (IN), suspect (S); languages: English/Japanese
- PO who have you travelled - who did you travel with. () who were the other people.
- IN/ja e, sono juushichinichi no suiyōbi no hi desukeredomo, dare to isshoni ryokō shiteimashita ka?
regarding that Wednesday the 17th, who were you traveling with?
- ts S ēto, watashi no kyōdai, sannin to, soreto,
uh: my brothers, three of them, and,
- IN/en my brothe- my brothers, three of them
- S hai sore to
yes and
- ini IN/ja jibun mo irete desu ne?=
including yourself, right?
- IN/en =including me,
- clar S hai sō watashi mo irete.
that's right including myself. (Nakane 2009:6)

Nakane argued that the interpreter in (2.11) took the role of author in order to get clarification about the number of brothers. For an interpreter the initiation of a clarification sequence – and consequently a shift in production role – is necessary at times in order to avoid loss of information and misunderstanding (Nakane 2009:6-7).

In the context of dialogue interpreting it has been argued that in problem solving sequences such as clarification sequences an interpreter's role can also shift to the role of principal, either as the initiator of the sequence or in response to another participant's request (Nakane 2009:13-14; Wadensjö 1998:168-169). The sequence in (2.12) shows an example of the interpreter taking the principal role. In this example he provides the clarification (clar1 and clar2) asked for by the police officer, instead of conveying the clarification questions (ini1 and ini2) to the suspect.

- (2.12) Situation: police interrogation; participants: police officer (PO), interpreter (IN), suspect (S), languages: English/Japanese
- PO which city is that airport a part of.
- IN/ja a kono narita kuukō wa dono toshi ni arimasu ka.
uh Narita airport which city is this part of?
- S etto (1.0) Chiba desu
er... (it's part of) Chiba.
- ts IN/en I think it is in Chiba prefecture.
- S Chiba ken desu, (0.2) tto.
it's Chiba prefecture, mm.

- ini1 PO is that a city?
 clar1 IN/en that's the name of prefecture.
 ini2 PO sorry. can you explain what what's the name (0.5) prefecture.
 clar2 IN/en uh more () of states uh Japan, we have Japan here, (0.2) and uh we
 have may prefectures like uh equivalent to states.
 (Nakane 2009:12)

2.2.1.2. Footing

A speaker does not stand on his own, there is always a receiving party as well.⁵⁹ The speaker relates to his listener(s) in a certain way. This is what Goffman (1979:5) calls footing. Goffman argues that discourse can be rather complex and that a hearer is not always simply the one addressed by the speaker, listening to what is being said (ibid:5-6). The complexity of some discourse situations is illustrated by the following example taken from Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974:717), discussed in Levinson (1988:166-168):

- (2.13) *Sharon* You didn' come tuh talk tuh Karen?
Mark No, Karen- Karen' I're having a fight, (0.4) after she went out with
 Keith an' not with (me)
Ruthie Hah hah hah hah
Karen Wul, Mark, you never asked me out

In this example we find four people, who are all what Goffman calls ratified participants (Goffman 1979:8). The excerpt starts with Sharon asking a question to Mark, followed by Mark's answer. Karen is the one who responds to Mark's remark. The fourth participant is Ruthie, whose presence is noticed by her laughing in response to Mark's answer. Mark, in the second line, shows us that the roles are not simply divided as speaker versus listeners. Mark relates to the three listeners in a different way. He addresses Sharon, but it seems that it is Mark's intention to trigger Karen's attention. The third listener Ruthie is not actively involved in the interaction (Levinson 1988:166-167).

From the description of example (2.13) we can infer the characteristics of recipient roles as distinguished by Goffman (1979:8-9). A hearer may be ratified or not ratified (an example of the latter is an eavesdropper) and addressed or not addressed. However, as noted by Levinson (1988:169), the subtle difference between Karen's role and Ruthie's cannot be caught in Goffman's terms, since both are ratified, non-addressed recipients. To account for the difference in the roles, Levinson introduces the notion of target: Karen is a target, Ruthie is not (Levinson 1988:169-170). For the situation of interpreter-mediated discourse, a fourth characteristic is relevant: channel-linkage or the ability to receive a message (ibid:174). In case a recipient does not master the speaker's language, no channel-linkage is established.

⁵⁹ For an utterance event to occur both a speaker and a recipient are required. In some cases it may seem that a recipient is lacking, for instance when a person speaks to himself. In that case the person can be considered to have the role of both the speaker and recipient (Levinson 1988:180-181).

The way production roles and recipient roles are divided during an utterance event is called the participation framework. Often the roles within a participation framework are allocated or negotiated on the spot, like example (2.13) discussed above. However, if there is a scenario present that describes the course of the discourse, different participation frameworks are already part of the scenario. If we apply the four characteristics of a recipient role – ratified (+/-), addressed (+/-), target (+/-) and channel-linkage (+/-) to the situation of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse we will be able to describe the reception roles of the officer, the client and the interpreter on the basis of what we already know of this specific situation. To start with ratification: all three are ratified participants. Even if a participant cannot understand what is being said, because the speaker does not speak his language, he is still ratified (Goffman 1979:8). Since being ratified is not a distinguishing characteristic in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse I will not name this characteristic explicitly in the remainder of this section.

The characteristics being addressed, being targeted and the presence of channel-linkage do make a distinction between the recipients. In the situation of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse with three participants present, there are in general two recipients. Between the speaker and the recipient being the target – in general the primary speakers – often no channel-linkage is established, since they do not speak the same language.

The content provides the participants with a cue about the addressed and the targeted recipient. This is illustrated by the following examples:

- (2.14) a. OF *vad jag förstår så känner ni er frisk. det var bara det här med sköldkörteln som bekymrade er.*
as far as I understand you feel healthy. It was just this thing about the thyroid gland that worried you. (Wadensjö 1992:74)
- b. OF *[...] Fünf Minuten zum Übersetzen?*
[...] Five minutes for translating? (Pöllabauer 2003:186)

Language is an important cue indicating the addressed recipient. In (2.14a) the officer spoke in Swedish, the institutional language that cannot be understood by the client. Consequently, no channel-linkage exists between officer and client. The interpreter is therefore the addressed recipient. A second cue is context/content. From the context – absent in (2.14a) – is clear that the second person pronoun *ni* refers to the client and not to the interpreter. This indicates that the client is the target. In (2.14b) the officer asked a question that concerns translating. The content indicates the interpreter as addressed and targeted recipient. Channel-linkage is no obstacle, since the officer and the interpreter share the institutional language. Furthermore, gaze is a cue indicating the targeted recipient (Mason 2012). Although we cannot tell from the transcription, the officer is likely to look at the client while uttering (2.14a), and at the interpreter in (2.14b).⁶⁰ An interpreter will be able to pick up both cues, but obviously, an asylum seeker who does not speak the officer's language, can only observe the gaze. Apart from

⁶⁰ In a dialogue interpreting situation primary speakers are recommended to look at each other when talking through the interpreter (Englund Dimitrova 1997:157).

this cue, the client will find out indirectly whether he has been targeted by the officer or not, by means of the interpreter's response to the officer.

Using the characteristics of the recipient roles, table 2.1. describes the possible participation frameworks in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. One participation framework cannot be seen separately from its preceding and following participation frameworks. A specific participation framework lays the foundation for the next framework.

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Recipient</i>		
	officer	client	interpreter
officer		+TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
		-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
client	+TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK		-TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
	-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK		+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
interpreter	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET -ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	
	-TARGET -ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	

Table 2.1: Recipient roles in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse

Related to a combination of participation frameworks is the turn-taking pattern, i.e. the alternation of speaker roles (cf. Sacks et al. 1974). Generally in discourse, participants systematically organise turn-taking by making use of so-called transition-relevance places. At such a place, the current speaker may choose to continue as speaker or he may choose to appoint another speaker. The third option is that another discourse participant allocates himself as the next speaker (Sacks et al. 1974:703-704).⁶¹

The organisation of turn-taking in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse shows a number of dominant turn-taking patterns. One of the dominant patterns concerns question and answer sequences. The officer's question in (2.14a), targeted at the client, is typically followed by the interpreter's rendition for the client. Then, the client will answer the question, followed by a rendition for the officer. Schematically presented, the turn-taking pattern is OF-IN_{CL}-CL-IN_{IL} (subscript indicating the language spoken by the interpreter: client language or institutional language). The officer's question in (2.14b),

⁶¹ This is a very global description of the turn-taking systematics as proposed by Sacks et. al (1974), lacking all details. For the full systematics I refer to the original paper.

targeted at the interpreter, is typically followed by the interpreter's response: OF-IN_{IL}. Similarly, it is possible that the asylum seeker introduces a sequence, either addressed at the officer (CL-IN_{IL}-OF-IN_{CL}) or at the interpreter (CL-IN_{CL}). A primary speaker may dominate the discourse for more than one turn, for instance in case of a narrative. The turn-taking pattern will then be a repetition of CL-IN_{IL} OR OF-IN_{CL}.

The turn-taking patterns described above are applicable to the main part of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. The choice for one of the patterns is interactively determined. Furthermore, a turn-taking pattern may be discarded, for instance, when a participant decides to interrupt the current speaker.

2.2.2. Coordination

As mentioned at the end of the previous section, turn-taking is interactively determined. The (self-)allocation of turns is one of the coordinating actions occurring in discourse. Such actions focus on the organisation of talk and include requests for clarifications, invitations to start or continue talking, actions aimed at preventing another discourse participant from continuing to speak and comments on translation (Baraldi & Gavioli 2012:3-4). Coordination is a fundamental characteristic in interaction in general and in interpreter-mediated discourse in particular (Wadensjö 1992:72-74,1998:105; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012:1-2).

Interpreters actively coordinating the participation in discourse often act in a different production role than when providing renditions (Nakane 2009). As mentioned in section 1.4.2, there is no consensus in the literature with respect to what extent coordinating activities should be part of the interpreter's role. The discussion in the literature shows that not all types of institutional discourse ask for the same demands. In the literature on dialogue interpreting there seems to be agreement that an interpreter in court or in a police interrogation is allowed less room to manoeuvre than an interpreter in a medical encounter (Hale 2007:40-41; cf. Berk-Seligson 2002; Hale 2004; Nakane 2009; Baraldi 2012; Zorzi 2012). With respect to the asylum context the opinions differ: some say asylum hearings should be treated as court hearings whereas others advocate an active mediation by the interpreter (Hale 2007:85-86; Inghilleri 2012:11).

The studies on dialogue interpreting discussed in section 2.1.2. in relation to similarity, distinguish a number of interpreters' actions to which I will refer as coordinating activities or contributions (cf. Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012). These are discussed below.⁶²

⁶² Maryns (2006) contained some examples showing an interpreter contributing to the coordination of the discourse. However, she did not discuss these examples as such, contrary to the other studies. Therefore, Maryns (2006) is left aside in section 2.2.3.

2.2.2.1. Berk-Seligson (2002)

Berk-Seligson discusses three types of coordinating contributions, which she called 'intrusive verbal acts': the interpreter interrupting 1. the attorney and 2. the witness, and 3. the interpreter prompting the witness. Her aim was to determine how these contributions affected the attorneys' or witnesses' impression on the jurors in terms of competence, intelligence and/or trustworthiness (Berk-Seligson 2002:186-194). The interruptions of the attorneys' speech concerned clarifications questions, comments on the grammatical structure of a rendition and request to the judge to clarify a dialectal problem with the witness (ibid:187). She concluded that an attorney was found less competent when he was repeatedly interrupted by the interpreter. This was different for the interruptions of the witnesses' speech, concerning clarification questions or contributions with the aim to stop the witness for continuing speaking. These interruptions did not have much impact on the jurors' impression of the witness (ibid:195).

The interpreter prompting the witness concerned witnesses' answering to yes/no questions in paralinguistic utterances such as *uhuhm*, which is usually not accepted by attorneys and judges. The analysis showed that a witness was more highly regarded by the jurors in case an interpreter prompted the witness for a proper answer, then in case an interpreter rendered the witness' paralinguistic utterance in a similar way (ibid:192-193).

Berk-Seligson (ibid:195) concluded that overall, the interpreters' coordinating contributions had less impact than the pragmatic alterations discussed in section 2.1.1.1. in relation to similarity.

2.2.2.2. Bot (2005)

The coordinating contributions discussed by Bot (2005) mainly concern turn-allocation. Non-renditions and lack of renditions are rare in her data (Bot 2005:114-115).

An interpreter always contributes to organising turn-allocation between the patient and himself, independent of the therapist asserting his role as chair (ibid:253). Overlapping speech often facilitates turn transfer. Bot found that an attempt of self-allocation by the interpreter was often introduced by 'he says'. This indicates that the use of this type of reference can also be used for smooth turn transfer – in addition to its function as establishing a distance between the interpreter and the content of the original turn (see also section 2.1.1.2)(ibid:123-128).

2.2.2.3. Hale (2004)

The interpreter's coordinating contributions are mainly discussed in Hale's chapter exploring factors contributing to the loss of control on the part of the counsel in court (Hale 2004:159). Most of the interpreter's action indeed led to a loss of control – to a greater or lesser extent.

One of the coordinating contributions Hale (2004) discussed, is the interpreter answering a witness' question. The questions initiate clarification sequences in which the interpreter provided the clarification. Hale concluded that the fact that the

clarification sequence remained inaccessible for the remaining participants, led to loss of control on the part of the counsel. However, this did not appear to be regarded as a problem by the counsel (ibid:194-198).

Hale noted that it is harder for the counsel to interrupt a witness when there is an interpreter involved. This leads to loss of control for the counsel (Hale 2004:198-203). This was illustrated by an example in which the interpreter ignored the counsel uttering an explicit stopper by providing a rendition of the witness' utterance preceding the stopper. Hale interpreted the interpreter's contribution as an action to act in accordance with the code of ethics, which directs interpreters to interpret fully and accurately without any omissions or additions (Hale 2004:204-205). The same applies for an example in which a cross-examiner interrupted the rendition of the previous utterance by the witness. The interpreter complained to the magistrate about not being able to perform her duty. The magistrate supported the interpreter and made the cross-examiner apologise, shifting power to the interpreter (Hale 2004:207).

Questions for clarification are necessary in case the interpreter does not understand the utterance he has to translate. An example in which the interpreter corrected a mistake in a lawyer's question was, on the other hand, unnecessary, and excluded the witness from the exchange. The correction saved the lawyer from losing face and consequently may have helped him to maintain control (ibid:204-205).

For Hale an interpreter interrupting to provide unsolicited information is the most salient form of deviation from the interpreter's role of passive, inconspicuous participant. In cases where such contributions are ignored no loss of control occurs. Hale also discussed an example of the interpreter offering a personal opinion, in which she showed loyalty to a witness and consequently a lack of impartiality, which is essential in court interpreting (ibid:205-206).

For the counsel, the presence of an interpreter increases the complexity of courtroom interaction, since it is more difficult to stay in control (Hale 2004:210).

2.2.2.4. *Wadensjö (1992, 1998)*

Wadensjö (1992, 1998) introduced the concept of coordination in the field of interpreting studies (Baraldi & Gavioli 2012:1; Hale 2007:200). The function of coordinating participation can be included in a rendition but can also be expressed by a lack of rendition or by a non-rendition, i.e. an interpreter's turn which is not a rendition of a prior turn by a primary speaker (Wadensjö 1992:72-74; 1998:108-110). Wadensjö distinguished a number of coordinating contributions by interpreters:

- contributions coordinating the flow of talk, such as continuers and stoppers, and other turn-allocation devices;
- initiatives aimed at establishing understanding of a prior turn, such as clarification sequences;
- meta-comments, like comments about what the other primary speaker seems to mean, comments indicating that the other primary speaker has difficulty understanding what has been said/asked, comments about what the other primary speaker is doing/is about to do (Wadensjö 1992:72-74/102-113; 1998:110).

For Wadensjö an interpreter should be able to balance between translating and coordinating (Wadensjö 1998:150). She stated a number of circumstances under which the coordinating task tends to dominate the translation task. These circumstances included:

- the situation in which an interpreter directly responds to a primary speaker's turn instead of providing a rendition of the turn;
- the situation in which an interpreter ignores a primary speaker's turn co-occurring with another turn, consequently leaving the turn untranslated;
- the situation in which a primary participant understands another other primary participant without the interpreter's mediation;
- a shift in activity, for instance when an officer shifts from interviewing to checking a document (Wadensjö 1998:149).

2.2.3. Summarising coordinating in interpreter-mediated discourse

On the basis of the studies discussed above I conclude that coordinating activities in discourse are divided in two types of devices, either aimed at turn-taking or at optimising the communication.

2.2.3.1. Turn-taking and turn allocation

Interpreters manage turn-taking in the first place by providing renditions. Starting a rendition will, for instance, stop the primary speaker from continuing to speak most of the times. Interpreters also use other means to manage turn-taking and turn allocation. Continuers are used to indicate that a primary speaker may start or continue speaking, as illustrated in (2.15).

- (2.15) Situation: medical encounter; participants: doctor (D), interpreter (IN);
language: Italian
- D il latte prosegue il latte della mamma ovviamente che è la cosa migliore
 the milk she continues mommy milk obviously that is the best thing
- IN ok
- D Questo lo prende solo in caso che lei non abbia più latte, in caso di necessità. [...]
 She has to buy this only in case she has no more milk, in case of necessity. [...] (Gavioli 2012:209)

Explicit stoppers are another means to stop a primary speaker from continuing to speak. (2.16) shows an example of an explicit stopper.

- (2.16) Situation: asylum interview; participants: asylum seeker (AS), interpreter;
language: Russian
- AS а причина- у меня мать старая... ей семьдесят-пять лет, она попала в аварию, я два года назад был здесь, как раз я приехал второго июля, а двадцать-пятого у нее случилось.

and the reason – my mother is old... she is seventyfive years old, she had an accident. I was here two years ago, I had just arrived on the second of July, and on the twentyfifth it happened to her.

→ IN/ru [taps Anton on his arm] секундочку
[taps Anton on his arm] just a second

AS aa... хорошо.

er... okay.

(Wadensjö 1992:104)

Furthermore, managing turn-taking is done by interrupting a speaker. This often results in an unfinished turn overlapping with the interrupting turn. The interpreter usually does not provide a rendition for the interrupted, unfinished turn. Consequently, its content remains inaccessible for the other discourse participant. An example is provided in (2.17).

(2.17) Situation: therapeutic session; participants: patient (P), interpreter (IN), therapist (T); languages: Persian/Dutch

P če jūrī mā īn rīš gereftīm wa showharam nagereft?
how we are rooted and not my wife?

IN/nl hij zegt, hoe zijn we hier geworteld en zij niet
he says how are we rooted here and she not

→ P īn hame
so many

→ T u zegt, u zegt eigenlijk, de Nederlandse staat ontkent dat u getrouwd bent

you say, you say in fact the Dutch state denies that you are married

(Bot 2005:126)

2.2.3.2. Optimising communication

Coordinating activities also involve interpreters' contributions to optimise communication. Clarification questions, used to improve understanding, are most often mentioned in the studies discussed above. An interpreter may be involved as the initiator of a clarification sequence, as in (2.18), but also as the one providing the clarification, as in (2.19).

(2.18) Situation: asylum interview; participants: officer (OF), interpreter (IN), asylum seeker (AS); languages: Swedisch/Russian

OF brukar de' hälsa på hos honom?
does he/they regularly visit him?

→ IN/sv e... hos vem? hos barnet?
e... at whose place? the child's?

OF nej om barnet brukar hälsa på hos pappan.
no if the child regularly visits the father

IN/sv jasså e... mm.
oh er... mm.

IN/ru приходит ребёнок e...
does the child come er...

- | | | | |
|--|-------|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| | AS | нет.
<i>no.</i> | |
| | IN/ru | навешать вас?
<i>visit you?</i> | |
| | AS | нет.
<i>no.</i> | |
| | IN/sv | nej
<i>no</i> | (Wadensjö 1992:105) |
- (2.19) Situation: courtroom; participants: witness (W), interpreter (IN); language: Spanish/English
- | | | | |
|---|-------|--|-----------------|
| | W | ¿cuando fui a ver a mi nena?
<i>when I went to see my girl?</i> | |
| → | IN/es | sí, ¿qué distancia estaba usted de ellos?
<i>yes, how far were you from them?</i> | |
| | W | estaba como... estaba más lejito que de aquí a la puerta la nena, estaba más lejos.
<i>I was about... she was a little bit further than from here to the door, my daughter, she was further away.</i> | |
| | IN/en | yes, the child was further away than from here to the door. | (Hale 2004:195) |

The repair of mistakes also occurs – either own mistakes or another participant's mistakes. In (2.20) the interpreter initiates a repair for a mistake made by counsel.

- (2.20) Situation: courtroom; participants: counsel (C), interpreter (IN); language: English
- | | | | |
|---|-------|---|-----------------|
| | C | ...did you see the doctor's wife, Mrs G., in the surgery? | |
| → | IN/en | Mrs G.? | |
| | C | yes. | |
| | IN/en | that's the name of the doctor | |
| | C | sorry, that's Mrs N., Mrs N. | |
| | IN | oh, I'm sorry. | |
| | C | sorry, you're right. | (Hale 2004:204) |

Furthermore, interpreters encourage a primary speaker to add information to what he has said before by asking specific questions (Berk-Seligson 2002:192-193; Baraldi 2012). A rather minimal example of this phenomenon is described by Berk-Seligson (2002). One of the witnesses in her data often answered yes/no questions with an affirmative paralinguistic utterance: *mhm* or *ajá* ('uhum'). Such paralinguistic answers are usually not excepted by lawyers and judges. One of the interpreters did not accept such answers either and responded to the paralinguistic utterance by saying *¡conteste!* ('answer!'), to coerce the witness into giving an acceptable answer (Berk-Seligson 2002:192-193).

Finally, interpreters produce meta-comments, for instance to explain what a discourse participant meant in a specific turn, or to make a language-related remark. The excerpt

from Maryns (2006) in (2.6), repeated below as (2.21) is an example of such a meta-comment.

- (2.21) Situation: asylum interview; participant: interpreter (IN), addressing the officer; language: French
 IN/fr xxx il ne parle pas bien. je ne comprends pas [...]
 xxx *he doesn't speak well. I don't understand [...]*
 (Maryns 2006:221)

2.3. Norms in translation theory

In the preceding sections it is argued that both similarity levels and communication principles play an important role in the production of renditions. In section 2.3.1 I will elaborate on the place of similarity and communication in the production process of renditions, in terms of norms steering this process. The notion of norm is often used in translation studies since the seventies of the previous century. Although it made little headway in interpreting studies, the notion of norm is acknowledged by scholars in the field to be a useful concept for the study of interpreting (Diriker 1999; Dufrou 2007). Starting point in this section will be the work on norms in translation theory by Chesterman (1993; 1997). Chesterman (1993:16) briefly touched upon interpreting norms, suggesting the possibility of applying his theoretical framework work to interpreting data. In this section I have put this suggestion into practice: the norms from translation theory lay the basis for a theoretical framework for the situation of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. First, in section 2.3.1, production norms are discussed. Then, in section 2.3.2, I discuss shifts and strategies, which bring to surface the working of norms in interpreter-mediated discourse.

2.3.1. Production norms

Production norms guide an interpreter through the process of producing renditions.^{63,64} By applying production norms the translator aims at meeting the expectations of the translations' recipients as adequately as possible (Chesterman 1993:10). According to Chesterman, production norms are determined by expectancy norms. Expectancy norms are established by the recipients of a translation, by their expectations of what a translation should be like (Chesterman 1993:9).⁶⁵ This means that the quality of a

⁶³ Chesterman (1997:79) mentioned that a theory of norms does not necessarily apply to translated or interpreted texts only.

⁶⁴ According to Chesterman the subset of 'competent professional translators' whose translation behaviour is accepted to be standard-setting forms the source of the production norms for translation. For this reason Chesterman calls these norms professional norms.

⁶⁵ The expectancy norms result from a subset of (translated) texts in the target language which are accepted to represent a 'model' of the desired quality. By means of the expectancy norms a translation is evaluated for 'correctness' (Chesterman 1997:64). The expectancy norms can usually be met in more than one way, i.e. different translations will qualify (ibid:64-65).

translation depends on the expectations of the receivers (Chesterman 1997:67).⁶⁶ The interaction between production norms and expectancy norms shows that the two sets of norms are in fact two sides of the same coin (Garzone 2002:116).⁶⁷ This means that the distinctions made below in production norms are applicable to expectancy norms as well.

Production norms cannot be observed directly, but they can be inferred on the basis of production strategies found in translation or interpreting data (Chesterman 1997:67; see also section 2.3.2.). In production norms the interpreter's function of establishing a similarity relation between source and target text and his function as communicator come together. Three production norms can be distinguished: a linguistic, a social and an ethical norm (Chesterman 1997:68-69):⁶⁸

- the relation norm;
- the communication norm;
- the accountability norm.

2.3.1.1. *Relation*

The relation norm is a linguistic norm that determines the relation between source text and target text (Chesterman 1993:5; 1997:69). A translator or interpreter should act in such a way that an appropriate relation of relevant similarity is established and maintained between source and target text. (Chesterman 1993:9; 1997:69).

The working of the relation norm depends on the definitions of 'an appropriate relation' and of 'relevant similarity'. Both depend on the context. To start with the latter, as Chesterman (1993:3) stated, the only necessary and sufficient condition for a certain text to be called a translation is that there is some perceived relation between this text and the source text. The relation should be based on certain aspects of similarity. Chesterman mentions for instance formal similarity, stylistic similarity, semantic closeness and similarity of effect. Not all aspects of similarity have to be present: depending on the translation task a certain profile of 'equivalence priorities' will be set

⁶⁶ Although it was mentioned above that norms are validated by their very existence, Chesterman considers the professional translators to be implicit norm authorities who are as such partly responsible for the validation of norms (Chesterman 1993:9, 1997:68-69).

⁶⁷ This may explain the following apparent contradiction. Talking about norms of language, Chesterman mentions that expectancy norms are based on two higher-order norms: the communication norm and an ethical norm, both professional norms (Chesterman 1997:56). Yet, in the same publication and in Chesterman (1993) he states that the professional norms are governed by the higher-order expectancy norms (Chesterman 1993:9; Chesterman 1997:67). Given the nature of the two sets of norms, both statements can be considered to be true at the same time.

⁶⁸ In Chesterman (1997) it seems like the description of norms only concerns social norms, up until the point where he mentions the existence of other norms, in particular ethical and technical or linguistic norms: 'We have so far been considering norms in a rather general, behavioural sense [...]: these are in fact social norms' (Chesterman 1997:55). However, in Chesterman (1993) the general description of norms – behavioural regularities accepted as models or standards of desired behaviour in a given community – may apply to all three types of norms: technical, ethical and social (Chesterman 1993:4-5).

on the basis of which the translator has to work (Chesterman 1997:69-70). For the situation of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse I assume the relation between turn and rendition is based on the four levels of similarity distinguished in section 2.1.2: the information level, the pragmatic level, the form level and the speaker level.

Relating a source text to a translation can determine to what extent the translation is similar to the turn with regard to the levels of similarity, distinguished in section 2.1.2. The appropriateness of the relation between the source text and the translation depends on the similarity between the situations: the more the source text has been subjected to changes, the less appropriate the relation is considered.

2.3.1.2. *Communication*

The communication norm is a social norm, specifying the translator's or interpreter's role as a mediator of the intentions of others and as a communicator in his own right. A translator or interpreter should act in such a way as to optimise communication, as required by the situation, between all the parties involved (Chesterman 1997:69). This pragmatic norm can be linked to notions of co-operation and relevance, such as the co-operation principle formulated by Grice (1975)(ibid:57).⁶⁹

In case of interpreter-mediated discourse, an interpreter (and any other discourse participant) has to express himself in such a way that the other discourse participants can understand what he intends to say. More specifically, he has to conform to general communication and social principles (as explained in section 2.2).

2.3.1.3. *Accountability*

The accountability norm is an ethical norm, concerning professional standards of integrity and thoroughness. A translator or interpreter should act in such a way that he meets the demands of loyalty towards himself, the original writer or speaker, the recipients of the translation or rendition, the commissioner of the assignment and other relevant parties. By accepting this norm the translator accepts responsibility for the translation (Chesterman 1993:8).

The requirement for a translator or interpreter to act in such a way to meet the demands of loyalty towards all parties means, in other words, that a translator or

⁶⁹ Note that the Cooperative Principle consists of maxims rather than norms. This brings up the question what the difference is between these two and whether it is possible to relate Grice's maxims to the communication norm. Norms describe behavioural regularities and stand in between rules and idiosyncrasies (Toury 1995:54; Chesterman 1997:58-59). Norms are binding: when a speaker violates a norm, this will have consequences for the acceptability of his speech (Chesterman 1997:55; Baker 2009:191). Maxims can be considered rules, as both rules and maxims prescribe preferred behaviour (Stafford 2009). However, like norms, some maxims are more rule-like than others (Grice 1975:46). Their potency may differ. Although maxims, again like norms, should in principle be binding, violations of maxims do occur. For instance, one maxim may be violated to prevent violation of another maxim (Grice 1975:49-52), which means that maxims may be competing. This is a property not unfamiliar to norms either (Toury 1999:27-28). So, the properties of maxims and norms are comparable to a great extent.

interpreter will respect the expectations of the recipients. However, the other production norms are involved as well when it comes to respecting the recipients' expectations: as mentioned in the introduction to section 2.3, a translator or interpreter aims at meeting the expectations of the translations' recipients as adequately as possible by applying the production norms (Chesterman 1993:10).

In terms of expectancy, the added value of the accountability norm as a separate production norm is not immediately clear: what does it do exactly when a rendition is produced? In my view, we should see accountability in the production process as a norm governing the other two production norms. In other words, the accountability norm is responsible for the application of the relation norm and the communication norm during the production of a rendition. As such the accountability norm makes sure that the recipients may indeed expect a rendition that is similar to the source. Furthermore, the accountability norm makes a translator or interpreter express himself in such a way that his audience can understand what he intends to say (cf. Bartsch 1987:47-49).

The accountability norm thus forms the link between the recipients' expectations on the one side (Chesterman's expectancy norm) and the communication and relation norm on the other. It plays the role of conscience during the production process. I propose the following formulation:⁷⁰

- (2.22) Accountability norm
 To meet the receivers' expectations, conform to
- a. the communication norm
 - b. the relation norm

Conforming to both norms at the same time may pose difficulties for the producer of an utterance. The norms may contradict each other. It is the producer's task to resolve such conflicts. In the context of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse, the producer is guided in this process by the prescribed discourse scenario and the requirements set by his specific role in discourse.

2.3.2. Shifts and strategies

The production norms discussed in the previous section are not directly observable in a translation or a rendition. To be able to get information about the working of the production norms, we have to make use of production strategies. These strategies are ways in which translators and interpreters seek to conform to norms, consciously or unconsciously. Unlike norms, the production strategies are directly observable from the translation product itself (Chesterman 1997:88-89): translations or renditions diverging from the original text or turn will reveal them. Section 2.3.2.2. discusses production

⁷⁰ When accountability is discussed in relation to interpreting or translating, notions such as neutrality, impartiality and confidentiality are often mentioned. These are also the notions one encounters in codes of conduct (Wadensjö 1998:58-59; Hale 2007:109; Van Elzakker & Van der Kleij 2009:135; see also section 1.4.2). The question is whether these notions should be covered by the definition in (2.13), since they concern an overall requirement, rather than a guideline used specifically during the production process.

strategies as distinguished by Chesterman (1997). In section 2.3.2.3. I will argue that in interpreter-mediated discourse – as opposed to written translations – we also find recipient strategies, i.e. strategies applied by an interpreter carrying a recipient role (or one of the other recipients of a turn), with the aim to optimise the original turn. Before I turn to discussing the different types of strategies in sections 2.3.2.2 and 2.3.2.3, I will explain in section 2.3.2.1. that not every change or *shift* from the source text is necessarily considered a production strategy.

2.3.2.1. *Shifts*

If every translation or rendition diverging from the original text or turn would involve a production strategy then it would be possible to derive to which norms a translator seeks to conform on the basis of single examples. However, for interpreting data it is doubtful whether single examples provide enough evidence to point out strategies. This might go back to a difference between translations and renditions. Different than (written) translations, renditions are produced on the spot, without hardly any time for careful and/or conscious consideration. If a rendition shows a change in comparison to the original turn, like a different grammatical structure or omission of information, the question is whether this change should be considered a strategy or just an accidental change. The moment a certain change shows up in different renditions – in a non-variable context such as interpreter-mediated institutional discourse – it can be considered a strategy. And these strategies, rather than single instances of changes, will provide us with information for deriving the working of the production norms.

To single changes I will refer as shifts. The term shift is commonly used for changes occurring in the process of translating (Bakker et al. 2009), leading to a dissimilarity between source text and target text. A shift is caused by a (conscious or unconscious) decision of the interpreter in the translation process (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:155). The decision leading to the shift could apply to a sentence but could also reach over the boundaries of a sentence (for instance, in case of a multi-sentence turn). In chapter 4 I will discuss shifts in the context of the asylum interviews.

2.3.2.2. *Production strategies*

A translator or interpreter makes use of production strategies to alter the source material in order to produce a suitable target text (Chesterman 1997:92). Chesterman gives the following general formulation of a production strategy:

(2.23) Change something. (Chesterman 1997:92)

A translator will apply this production strategy to solve a translation problem. In Chesterman's words: if a translator is not satisfied with the target version that immediately comes to mind – for instance, because of an ungrammaticality or its pragmatic weakness – he has to change the target text (ibid.).⁷¹ Such a change affects the

⁷¹ This formulation of a production strategy suggests that the translator's starting point before applying the strategy is always a 'draft' translation. It is thinkable, however, that a production strategy is directly applied to the source text and only one version of the target text is established.

relation between source and target text, i.e. it will determine the extent of similarity at different levels (like the levels of similarity discussed in section 2.1.2).

For translations Chesterman proposes a heuristic strategy classification comprising of three primary groups: syntactic/grammatical, semantic and pragmatic strategies. For every group he listed the ten main strategies (ibid:93-112), yielding an extensive though non-exhaustive list of production strategies. Below I will provide examples of a number of these strategies, relevant in the light of this research, with a special focus on the pragmatic strategies. Note that Chesterman's examples all concern sentences. In the analysis of the asylum data that will follow in the remainder of this study I assume that a production strategy is not limited to the boundaries of a sentence. In the context of interpreting data turns and renditions are more natural entities for production strategies to apply to.

Syntactic strategies primarily alter form (Chesterman 1997:94). Two types of syntactic strategies are the clause structure change and the sentence structure change. A clause structure change concerns the structure of a clause in terms of its constituent phrases (ibid:96). In (2.24) the determiner phrase 'this edition', which is the subject of the sentence, changed into a preposition phrase, whereas the generic 'you' took over the subject role.

(2.24) ST: Diese Ausgabe [...] enthält [...]

This edition [...] contains [...]

TT: In the present issue [...] you will find [...] (Chesterman 1997:97)

Sentence structure changes involve changes to the way a sentence is constructed with respect to its main clause and subclauses. In (2.25) the original sentences consists of only a main clause, whereas the structure of the translation in English shows a main clause preceded by a subclause.

(2.25) ST: Schon der Name signalisiert ein sorgfältig durchdachtes
Qualitätsprogramm [...]

*The name alone suggests a painstakingly well-thought-out quality
programme [...]*

TT: As its name suggests, this is a painstakingly devised quality program [...] (Chesterman 1997:97)

The semantic strategies mainly involve changes at the level of lexical semantics. One of the semantic strategies is hyponymy (Chesterman 1997:101-102). An example is provided in (2.26), in which a concept is replaced by a subordinate:

(2.26) ST: zahlreicher anderer *Gesellschaften*
numerous other companies

TT: numerous other *airlines* (Chesterman 1997:102)

Chesterman's pragmatic strategies concern the selection of information in the target language, which is governed by the translator's knowledge of the prospective readership of the translation. They tend to involve bigger changes from the source language and typically incorporate syntactic and/or semantic changes as well (Chesterman 1997:107). One strategy is the coherence change, which affects the logical arrangement

of information in the target text in comparison to the source text. Another one concerns radical re-ordering and/or rewriting of the source text, which is captured under the strategy of transediting. Below a number of other pragmatic strategies are mentioned, each illustrated by an example.

An explicitness change can work in two directions: either implicit information from the source text appears explicit in the target text (as *in the new terminal* instead of 'there' in (2.27)), or explicit information from the source text remains implicit in the target text (as 'of this board magazine' in (2.28)). The same applies to information changes: information can either be added to the target text (as *Vienna*, the airport of departure in (2.29)) or omitted (as the game 'Nine Men's Morris' in (2.30)).

- (2.27) ST: ... *dort* in einem eigenem Check-in-Bereich
 ... there *in its own check-in area*
 TT: ... its own check-in area *in the new terminal*
 (Chesterman 1997:109)
- (2.28) ST: bei Redaktionsschluß *dieses Bordmagazins*
 at the editorial closing date of this board magazine
 TT: At the time of going to press
 (Chesterman 1997:109)
- (2.29) ST: Hamburg wird im Linienverkehr angefliegen.
 To *Hamburg a scheduled flight will go.*
 TT: The *Vienna*-Hamburg route will be one of our new scheduled services.
 (Chesterman 1997:110)
- (2.30) ST: Spielesammlung (Dame, *Mühle* etc.)
 Games compendium (*checkers, Nine Men's Morris* etc.)
 TT: Games compendium (*checkers* etc.)
 (Chesterman 1997:110)

Interpersonal changes concern the overall style. They involve a change in the relationship between text/author and reader, such as an alteration in the formality level or the degree of emotiveness and involvement. An example is provided in (2.31), which shows the difference in form of address between German and English.

- (2.31) ST: Sehr geehrte Fluggäste!
 Well-honoured air guests!
 TT: Dear passengers, (Chesterman 1997:110)

Cultural filtering is applied when certain cultural specific source language items are translated as target language cultural or functional equivalents to conform to target language norms, as in (2.32).

- (2.32) ST: Familienname
 Family name
 TT: Surname (Chesterman 1997:108)

2.3.2.3. Recipient strategies

Recall that the quality of a translation depends on the expectations of the recipients. Their expectations of what a translation should be like determine the expectancy norms (Chesterman 1993:9; 1997:67; see also section 2.3.1). What remains implicit in Chesterman (1993, 1997) is the fact that the quality of a translation also depends on the quality of the source text. On the basis of general communicative principles, as mentioned in section 2.2, a translator – as a recipient himself – has certain expectations about the quality of the source text. If a source text does not live up to the translator's expectations, he has the option to apply a production strategy to alter the source material in order to produce a suitable target text (Chesterman 1997:92; see the previous section). In the context of translation, a translator is generally speaking not in a position to change the *source* text. This is different in a situation of dialogue interpreting, where the primary speakers produce the original turns in the presence of the interpreter. Therefore, an interpreter has an alternative option in case an original turn does not meet his expectations: he can attempt to alter the original turn by requesting the primary speaker to alter the turn. An example is provided in (2.33). The client, an asylum seeker, gave an answer to the question in the first line: *tha is the last month*. Although this is a time indication, as the question asked for, the interpreter expected an exact date. He attempted to get the date after all, by requesting it.

- (2.33) IN/en [...] when do you leave Nigeria?
 [...]

 CL on the uhm... tha is the last month.

 IN/en yea. and the date?

 CL the date [...] (Pöllabauer 2003:184)

The possibility of influencing source texts in this way – and consequently the translations – is absent in Chesterman (1993; 1997). This gap in the framework follows from his focus on (written) translations.

The action undertaken by the interpreter in (2.33) is not a production strategy. A production strategy is applied during the production of a translation on the basis of the production norms. In the situation an interpreter decides to undertake action in order to alter the original turn, he applies a strategy on the basis of the expectancy norms, while carrying a recipient role. In accordance to his discourse role at that moment, I will name such a strategy a *recipient* strategy. Apart from the discourse role of the participant applying the strategy, a recipient strategy differs from a production strategy in another way. A recipient strategy does not alter the original turn itself: the primary speaker of the original turn – and not the interpreter who applied the recipient strategy – is the one performing the alteration to the turn.

So far, we assumed the recipient applying a recipient strategy to be an interpreter. However, other discourse participants can apply recipient strategies as well. In chapter 5, I will discuss recipient strategies applied by all discourse participants, in order to clarify occurring trouble sources in the discourse.

2.4. Finding evidence for production norms

As explained above, the working of the production norms can be derived from observing production strategies in translation or interpreting data. Similarly, recipient strategies can be observed to provide information about the expectancy norms. The production and recipient strategies will shed light on the (inter)action of the similarity levels and communicative principles that are active in the discourse.⁷² For the purpose of finding the necessary evidence in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse I have selected three key components that typically occur in this type of discourse. The first component concerns the pair consisting of an original turn and its rendition. The turn-rendition pair is a key component because the majority of the utterances in interpreter-mediated discourse are part of a turn-rendition pair. Furthermore, the turn-rendition pairs are expected to be a rich source for finding production strategies, since both similarity and communication play an essential role in the production of the pairs' renditions.

The second key component is the clarification sequence. Clarification sequences are widespread in discourse and can be initiated by either of the discourse participants to clarify a communication problem in a prior turn, in order to optimise communication. In interpreter-mediated discourse the clarifications indirectly improve the renditions. The analysis of clarification sequences is expected to reveal recipient strategies with respect to optimising communication.

If one takes all the turn-rendition pairs from the discourse, a number of turns remain. The last key component comprises these remaining turns: turns lacking a rendition, produced by the officer and the client, and turns produced by the interpreter, not being renditions. I will call this component the non-translated turn. As argued in sections 2.2.2. and 2.2.3, non-translated turns can often be related to the devices used by interpreters for discourse coordination.

2.4.1. Turn-renditions pairs

In general, a rendition is related to the directly preceding turn in terms of similarity (cf. Wadensjö 1992:70; Bot 2005:149). The turn and rendition form a turn-rendition pair. In this chapter we have already seen a number of examples of turn-rendition pairs. Another example is given in (2.34). This question and answer sequence contains two turn-rendition pairs: the officer's turn in Swedish is provided with a rendition in Russian. The second pair is the client's answer in Russian followed by a rendition in Swedish.

- (2.34) OF vad jag förstår så känner ni er frisk. det var bara det här med sköldkörteln som bekymrade er.
as far as I understand you feel healthy. It was just this thing about the thyroid gland that worried you.

⁷² As explained in section 2.3.1, the sets of production and expectancy norms are two sides of the same coin. Therefore, they both involve a relation and communication norm, related to the similarity levels and communicative principles discussed in sections 2.1. and 2.2.

question is indicated by 'ini'.⁷⁴ In general, the initiation of a clarification sequence is followed by the clarification itself, indicated by 'clar'.

An interpreter's drive to initiate clarification sequences is related to his expectations about the received turn (see also section 2.3.2.3). The initiation of a clarification sequence is a recipient strategy that aims at altering the (reception of the) troubled turn. Apart from communicative principles, similarity is involved. The relation norm is applicable to the relation between the turn containing a trouble source and the expectations of the interpreter – or another discourse participant carrying a recipient role – concerning the well-formedness of the turn. The analysis of clarification sequences will show whether patterns exist with respect to the kind of trouble sources that lead to initiating clarification sequences, and which recipient strategies can be distinguished.

Initiating clarification sequences is not limited to the interpreter. An interpreter though is in all cases involved in a clarification sequence in interpreter-mediated discourse. Apart from initiating a clarification sequence an interpreter can provide a rendition containing a trouble source. Furthermore, he may be the one providing the clarification, or he may facilitate the clarification by conveying the clarification question to the relevant discourse participant. In this situation the interpreter will provide the rendition for the initiator of the sequence after the addressed discourse participant has given the clarification.

In the occurrence of a clarification sequence an interpreter may change his default role of animator for another production role, i.e. the author or the principal role. The analysis of the clarification sequences will show whether the occurring interpreter role shifts are justifiable or rather problematic. The analysis will include the sequences initiated by all discourse participants.

2.4.3. Non-translated turns

Clarification sequences are not the only device interpreters have at their disposal to coordinate participation, as discussed in section 2.2.3. Since utterances related to the coordination of participation in discourse often involve turns by the interpreter not being renditions of a prior turn by a primary speaker, and turns remaining without a rendition (Wadensjö 1998:103-151), the third key component that I selected for analysis is the non-translated turn.

Non-translated turns comprise single turns or subsequent turns that remain untranslated, spoken either in the client language or the institutional language. Some examples are given below:

(2.36) OF [...] Fünf Minuten zum Übersetzen?
 [...] *Five minutes for translating?*

⁷⁴ Schegloff et al. (1997) and Schegloff (2000) used the term repair where I use clarification sequence. Repair only refers to the efforts to clarify the trouble source. I will use the term clarification sequence to refer to both the repair or clarification and the elements typically preceding and following the repair (cf. Schiffrin 1987:79).

- IN Ja, es war net so viel, das geht schon.
Yes, it was no so much, it will do. (Pöllabauer 2003:186)
- (2.37) CL So when I first leave school, so my mother is uhm...
 IN Just the place! Sorry, just give me the place where you used to stay
 before you run.
 [...] (Pöllabauer 2003:182)
- (2.38) W ¿cómo una mampara?
what do you mean a screen?
 IN/es esas puertas.
those doors...
- IN/en she doesn't know the the word I used.
 [...] (Hale 2004:197)

The examples show that non-translated turns occur under different circumstances. In (2.36) the officer and the interpreter talked about a translation related to the interview they were attending. This piece of meta-communication remained without a rendition and was consequently not accessible to the client, who was also present. The interpreter in (2.37) interrupted the client, seemingly to prevent an answer irrelevant to the question asked by the officer. He pointed out what answer was expected from the client. The interpreter's interruption was not a rendition but an independent turn.

Furthermore, the interpreter did not provide a rendition for the client's unfinished turn. Finally, in (2.38) the interpreter made a comment for the court about a word that he used that was not understood by the witness. Again, the interpreter's turn is not a rendition. These examples show that a characteristic of non-translated turns is the fact that its content remains inaccessible for one of the discourse participants (unless the participant has (a certain) knowledge of the other language in the interview as well).

Non-translated turns are far less frequent in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse than turn-rendition pairs, but, nevertheless, form a substantial part of the discourse. The analysis of non-translated turns has to show in the first place to what extent this type of discourse contributes to the coordination of participation in the context of asylum interviews. Furthermore, the analysis will show the influence of coordination participation devices on the prescribed participation frameworks in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. Finally, the analysis of the non-translated turns will shed some light on the relation between devices for coordinating participation and the framework of norms.

3. Corpus design and data selection

This study is based on a corpus of 14 asylum interviews, all second interviews from 14 individual asylum procedures (see sections 1.3.2. and 1.3.3. for more information about the second interview and the other interviews in an asylum procedure). In this chapter I describe in the first place the process of gathering the interviews (section 3.1). Second, I describe the main properties of the corpus as a whole, and of the 14 interviews individually (section 3.2). Furthermore, this chapter provides information about the main discourse elements and the way the discourse has been transcribed (section 3.3). Finally, I will explain how I identified in the data the instances of the three key components that will be analysed in chapters 4 to 6: the turn-rendition pairs, the clarification sequences and the non-translated turns (section 3.4).

3.1. Gathering the data

For the purpose of this study I attended and recorded a series of second interviews. The recordings took place during two periods, in 2003 and 2005/2006. Interviews were selected on the basis of the asylum seekers' origin and the language of the interview (see section 3.1.1). Collecting the recordings was complicated by the fact that a substantial number of the participants (interpreter, asylum seeker or officer) objected to a recording. The process of gathering the recordings is described in section 3.1.2. The recording settings were more or less equal for all interviews. A description of the setting of the interview room and technical specifications of the recordings can be found in section 3.1.3.

3.1.1. Choice of client languages

The client language⁷⁵ was the main criterion in the selection of the interviews. The assumption was made that the officers would master – to a certain extent – the western languages English and French, since these languages are taught at Dutch secondary schools.⁷⁶ Non-western languages, on the other hand, were not expected to be part of the officers' knowledge. Comparing the interviews in which the officer has (limited) command of the client language and interviews in which he has not, could provide us with information about how the officer's command of the client language affects the course of the communication.

⁷⁵ As explained in section 1.3.3, the client language is a language of which may be reasonably assumed that the asylum seeker can speak and understand it.

⁷⁶ It was not possible to check the officers' language skills in advance. Often a case was appointed to a certain officer just before the interview.

The distinction between western and non-western languages is also interesting in the light of the discourse participants' language comprehension when confronted with a different variety of a certain language. If the client language is English or French the interpreter and the asylum seeker probably do not speak the same variety of English or French. The difference in language variety may be of influence on the mutual comprehensibility. If the interpreter's language background is different from the officer's, the difference between their varieties of Dutch may affect the mutual comprehensibility in the institutional language as well.

My aim was to select either English or French as a client language for half of the interviews, and a non-western language for the other half. Another factor in the selection was the continent from which the asylum seekers originated, which I chose to be Africa because of its language situation. In many African countries people learn English or French as a second (or third) language. As a consequence, both western and non-western languages are found among the client languages of the interviews of African asylum seekers. In the selection of the interviews the non-western languages were limited to Swahili and Somali. For these languages I was certain of the availability of transcribers/translators. Furthermore, there were enough interviews in these languages.

At the end of the recording periods I had been able to gather eight interviews in western client languages (four English, four French) and six in non-western client languages (five Swahili, one Somali).

3.1.2. Selecting, attending and recording interviews

Two series of audio recordings were made. The first series consisted of eight interviews recorded at the IND office in Zwolle (February-April 2003). On the basis of a first analysis of the interviews gathered in Zwolle I could determine the final number of interviews needed for the purpose of this study. To extend the number of interviews I planned another series of recordings, which lead to seven interviews recorded at the office in Zevenaar (April 2005-February 2006).

The reasons for choosing audio rather than video recordings were the following. First, I expected more objections from the discourse participants to a video recording because of a greater invasion of their privacy (Luff & Heath 1993, cited in Liddicoat 2007). Second, the use of a video camera is likely to be more intrusive during the interview than the use of an audio recorder (Liddicoat 2007).⁷⁷

Permission of all parties involved was a requirement for recording and analysis of the interviews. Before the individual participants in each interview were asked for their permission, a general permission was necessary from three organisations. In the first place, the IND had to agree with the study and the recording of the interviews. The

⁷⁷ The participants' performance may nevertheless be influenced by the fact that they are knowingly monitored. This is known as the observer's paradox. As a consequence, the behaviour of interpreters in recorded interpreting sessions may not be completely representative for the general behaviour of these interpreters (Shlesinger 1989:114; Schjoldager 1995/2002:303).

director of the IND agreed on the following conditions, stated in the research proposal:

1. recordings would only be made with permission of all individual participants and 2. anonymity of all participants would be guaranteed. Furthermore, the IND wanted to stay informed on the progress of the project.

The two other organisations that granted permission to the study were Stichting Rechtsbijstand Asiel (SRA), an organisation that offered legal aid to asylum seekers⁷⁸ and Vereniging Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland (VVN), an organisation that offered practical help to asylum seekers during the asylum procedure. Neither organisation had any objections, as long as every individual asylum seeker would be asked for permission before the start of the interview.

At the time of the recordings second interviews took place in the 48-hours procedure as well as in the extended procedure (see also section 1.5.2). For practical reasons only interviews in extended procedures were recorded. In the extended procedure interviews were scheduled two weeks in advance, making it possible to make a selection from the scheduled interviews and to ask the participants for their permission in advance.

In 2003 the extended procedure was carried out at different IND locations. I chose Zwolle as the location for making the first series of recordings. By choosing one location, only one IND unit would be burdened with the selection of the interviews and the activities that followed the selection. In 2005 most second interviews in the extended procedures took place in Zevenaar. For this reason Zevenaar became the location for the second series of recordings.

With the help of the IND units in Zwolle and Zevenaar responsible for scheduling the asylum interviews, I selected the interviews on the basis of the asylum seeker's origin and the language of the interview. The interpreter of a selected interview received a phone call from the IND team to ask his permission. In case the interpreter did not want to cooperate, the interview would be removed from the selection.

With respect to the officers participating in the interviews, the situations in Zwolle and Zevenaar differed. In Zwolle every officer that could potentially be selected for a recording received an email from his manager. This email explained about the study and the fact that a number of interviews would be attended and recorded by a researcher. The manager decided that because of the general permission for the study granted by the director of the IND, an individual permission from the officers was not necessary. In Zevenaar such a decision was not made and every officer had to be asked individually for permission by the IND team. When an officer had objections against the researcher attending and recording the interview, the interview was taken out of the selection.

The asylum seeker of a selected interview received a letter in the language of the interview. In the letter the asylum seeker was asked whether he would be willing to cooperate and agree to the presence of the researcher at the interview to make a

⁷⁸ On 1 June 2008 SRA's services stopped and were replaced by other legal aid services (Goos 2008:8).

recording. Furthermore, the letter contained a short description of the research project. A response form and envelope were included to facilitate the asylum seeker to answer.

When the IND unit had received permission from the interpreter and the officer and the asylum seeker had not opposed to the written request, I travelled to the IND location to attend the interview. If the asylum seeker had not responded to the written request, permission was asked again in the interview room, since a non-response did not necessarily mean that the asylum seeker did not want to cooperate. At the start of the interview the officer would (let me) explain my presence and ask permission from the asylum seeker for me attending the interview and making a recording of it.

In approximately half of the cases I was informed before the interview date that one of the participants objected to cooperating in the study. Especially the interpreters showed resistance in agreeing to cooperate. This may have had to do with a fear of being tested, although it was explained to them that they would stay anonymous within the project and that no personal information would be handed over to the IND.

With regard to the interviews in which the officer and the interpreter had granted permission in advance but not the asylum seeker, approximately one-third of the asylum seekers objected to my presence or the recording during the interview. When the objection specifically concerned the recording but not my presence I stayed to attend the interview without making the recording. This was the case in three interviews. In the cases in which the asylum seeker made an objection to my presence, I left the interview. In case no objections were made at the start of the interview to either my presence or the recording of the interview I started the recording while the officer continued his introduction.

One of the recordings concerned an asylum seeker whose intelligibility was limited, due to a speech impediment. On the recording the intelligibility was even less. In the end I decided to discard this interview from the corpus, because the limited intelligibility stood in the way of a proper transcription. The fact that this interview started out as part of the corpus remained visible in the numbering: discarding the interview left a gap between interviews 10 and 12.

3.1.3. Setting during the recordings and technical specifications

The interviews took place in several hearing rooms but the setting in each room was more or less identical. The setting is illustrated in figure 1. The participants were seated around a square table. The IND officer (indicated by *OF* in figure 1) and the asylum seeker (indicated by *AS*) were seated opposite to each other. The officer sat behind a computer on which he wrote the report of the interview during the interview. The interpreter (indicated with *IN*) sat at the third side of the table, in between the asylum seeker and the officer. In the case a volunteer from VVN was present to support the asylum seeker, he was seated next to the asylum seeker. In one case an officer in training was present, and she sat next to the officer in charge. In all the interviews I sat at the side of the table opposing the interpreter (indicated by *RE*, for researcher). During the recording I observed the participants and took notes, for example to establish the participants' gaze direction while speaking and being spoken to.

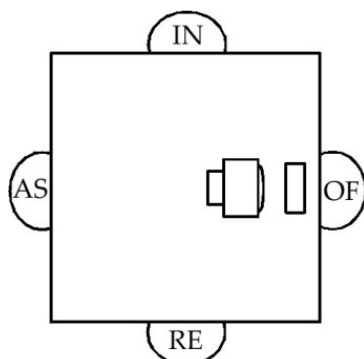


Figure 3.1: Setting interview room

The interviews - except for one - were recorded on a Superscope PSD300 cd-recorder. The recordings are in stereo; two microphones were used of the type Realistic PZM 33-1090B. With each interview one microphone was placed on the table between the asylum seeker and the interpreter, the other one between the officer and the interpreter. For the first interview a Sony portable minidisc recorder was used. The two microphones were placed in the same way as in the other interviews.

The use of two microphones made it possible to vary in the recording volume level of the left and the right track. In most recordings the recording volume level was set higher on the side of the asylum seeker than on the side of the officer, for two reasons. First, in almost all interviews the asylum seeker spoke more softly than the interpreter and the officer. The other reason was to reduce the sound of typing on the recording: as mentioned above, the officer typed the interview's report on a computer during the interview. Sometimes this sound was so loud, that it was hard to hear the other speakers talking. Reducing the recording volume level on the officer's side made the typing sound a little less prominent on the recording.

3.2. Background information on recorded interviews

In this section a number of characteristics of the 14 interviews are discussed. Section 3.2.1. contains three tables with basic information about the interviews and their participants. In section 3.2.2. a description of every interview separately is found.

3.2.1. Basic information

The second interviews vary in length; there is no default time frame in which they take place. In general, on one day two interviews are scheduled, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, but interviews taking longer than half a day are no exception. Other interviews take considerably less than half a day. This variation is reflected in the recorded interviews: their recording time varies from one hour and 13 minutes to five hours and 18 minutes. The length of the interview parts also shows variation. In table

3.1. I included the length of the narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative, which are the main parts of the second interview.

As mentioned in section 3.1, the 14 interviews concerned four different client languages: (varieties of) English, French, Swahili and Somali. Their distribution is shown in table 3.1. The table furthermore shows the country from which the asylum seekers claimed to originate. In total there are nine different African countries represented in the corpus.

<i>interview</i>	<i>recording time</i>	<i>length narrative</i>	<i>length part questions</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>language</i>
1	01:14:58 ⁷⁹	0:58:29	0:14:23	Sierra Leone	English
2	02:29:52	0:21:06	1:48:27	Ivory Coast	French
3	01:13:02	0:03:59	0:37:49	Guinea	French
4	03:44:54	1:09:56	0:43:56	Congo Braz.	French
5	01:52:31	0:50:36	0:21:07	Cameroon	French
6	01:57:34	0:24:42	0:51:53	Burundi	Swahili
7	02:37:04	0:20:14	1:31:58	Burundi	Swahili
8	02:03:26	0:04:17	1:49:12	Somalia	Somali
9	01:40:19	0:07:35	1:19:18	Burundi	Swahili
10	05:18:04	2:00:26	2:26:56	Cameroon	English
12	03:30:59	0:19:14	2:36:20	Burundi	Swahili
13	01:54:08	0:16:26	0:58:44	Burundi	Swahili
14	02:35:43	0:07:34	2:00:43	Liberia	English
15	04:34:19	3:31:06	0:45:28	Uganda	English

Table 3.1: Interviews' recording time, length main interview parts, origin asylum seeker and client language

Table 3.2. contains information about the participants involved in the interviews. 14 individual asylum seekers were interviewed, ten male and four female. Eleven officers were counted, seven male and four female, two of them conducting more than one interview. Twelve different interpreters were distinguished, five male and seven female, two of them present in two interviews.

The last table in this section concerns the client language. After the interviews I asked the interpreters about their native language. Furthermore, I asked the officers to what extent they could comprehend the client language: not at all, less than fifty per cent, more than fifty per cent or completely. I did not ask the asylum seekers whether the client language was their native language. However, on the basis of the language situations in the different countries of origin and the asylum seeker's fluency in the language it was possible to make an estimated guess about the client language being their native language or not.

⁷⁹ For technical reasons it was not possible to record the whole interview. The interview took about two hours, of which 75 minutes are recorded. The recording includes the complete narrative and around a quarter of the part with questions about the narrative.

interview	asylum seeker		interpreter		officer	
	code	sex	code	sex	code	sex
1	AS01	male	IN01	female	OF01	male
2	AS02	male	IN02	female	OF02	female
3	AS03	male	IN02	female	OF02	female
4	AS04	female	IN04	female	OF01	male
5	AS05	male	IN05	male	OF05	male
6	AS06	female	IN06	male	OF01	male
7	AS07	female	IN06	male	OF07	female
8	AS08	male	IN08	male	OF08	male
9	AS09	male	IN09	female	OF09	female
10	AS10	male	IN10	male	OF10	male
12	AS12	male	IN12	male	OF12	male
13	AS13	male	IN13	female	OF13	female
14	AS14	female	IN14	female	OF14	male
15	AS15	male	IN15	female	OF15	male

Table 3.2: *Discourse participants in the interviews*

interview	client language	native language AS?	native language IN	comprehension
				client language OF
1	English	no	Dutch	> 50%
2	French	no	French	< 50%
3	French	no	French	< 50%
4	French	no	French	< 50%
5	French	no	French	> 50%
6	Swahili	yes	Swahili	0%
7	Swahili	yes	Swahili	0%
8	Somali	yes	Somali	0%
9	Swahili	yes	Dutch	0%
10	English	no	Dutch	> 50%
12	Swahili	yes	Swahili	0%
13	Swahili	yes	Swahili	0%
14	English	no	English	100%
15	English	no	Dutch	100%

Table 3.3: *The discourse participants' command and comprehension of the client language in the interviews*

A description of every interview follows in the next section. With regard to comprehensibility and commitment, I made the following general observations. Except for one interview, number 15, comprehensibility problems did not stand in the way of the course of the interviews. Only in interview 15 the interpreter's limited understanding of the asylum seeker's variety of English prolonged the interview extensively. Varieties of English caused more comprehensibility problems than varieties

of French. Comprehensibility was sometimes hampered by soft speaking and the officer's typing.

In general officers and interpreters were committed to their work. Some of the officers showed scepticism with regard to the authenticity of the asylum seekers motives for fleeing their country. One interpreter indicated a diminished interest for his work in asylum interviews, which was noticeable in his performance, in interviews 6 and 7.

3.2.2. Description of the recorded interviews

Below details are provided for each interview: the essence of the asylum seeker's story, details concerning the course of communication and relevant characteristics.

Interview 1

The asylum seeker was a young man who claimed to be from Sierra Leone. He had been a scout leader – he wore his scout uniform during the interview – and was captured by Sierra Leonean rebels. He had managed to escape from them and had been able to flee to Europe.

The client language in the interview was English. In the beginning of the interview the officer informed the asylum seeker about the reason why he had chosen an English interpreter: although the asylum seeker claimed to speak Krio, the presence of a Krio interpreter at an earlier interview had led to miscommunication between the asylum seeker and the interpreter.

While the interpreter spoke standard English, the asylum seeker's English was a mix of West African English and West African Pidgin English. This variety was probably not his mother tongue. The interpreter sometimes had trouble understanding the asylum seeker and she asked the asylum seeker for clarification from time to time. There were no signs that the asylum seeker had any trouble understanding the interpreter.

The interpreter did not originate from The Netherlands or West Africa, and her mother tongue was neither Dutch nor English, although she spoke both languages fluently.

The officer's mother tongue was Dutch. His typing skills were not well developed: he used two fingers and used them with force. This caused a lot of noise, which bothered the interpreter. During the interview she occasionally showed signs of annoyance and after the interview she told the researcher that the loud typing had made it hard for her to concentrate.

Interview 2

The asylum seeker in this interview was also from West Africa, he claimed to be from Ivory Coast. His country had been in crisis. Groups supporting the government had been recruiting young men. Mainly because of his religious background the asylum seeker had refused to be recruited for the armed forces and therefore he had to flee from his country.

During the interview the asylum seeker spoke French but he probably had a different mother tongue, which belonged to his ethnic group. The asylum seeker seemed to understand the French interpreter well.

The interpreter originated from France and her mother tongue was French. She had no problems understanding the asylum seeker. In a few cases she did not know or understand a certain word the asylum seeker used, but in those cases the asylum seeker was able to clarify himself.

The officer was a young woman whose mother tongue was Dutch.

The participants co-operated without problems, and the atmosphere in the interview was relaxed.

Between the first and the second disc of the recording, a period of about twenty minutes of the interview was not recorded: I had waited for an appropriate moment to change the discs in order not to disturb the interview.

Interview 3

This interview differed from the other interviews in so far that the purpose of the interview was not to ask the asylum seeker to tell about the reasons for asking asylum. The asylum seeker claimed to be from Ivory Coast, but the IND discovered that he was the same man who had asked for asylum a few months earlier, and then had claimed to be from Guinea. In the interview the officer confronted the asylum seeker with this fact. She wanted the asylum seeker to admit that he had been lying and to know which nationality was his true one. At first the asylum seeker denied his first asylum application. Later on, he admitted that he had first claimed to be from Guinea, and said that he was really from Ivory Coast. The rest of the interview was about why he had applied for asylum on false grounds.

The asylum seeker spoke French, which was probably not his mother tongue, given his West African background. The asylum seeker seemed to understand the interpreter well.

The French interpreter was the same as in interview 2. Also in this interview she understood the asylum seeker well.

The officer was also the same one as in interview 2. Before the interview, she had admitted to being a bit tense because she had to confront the asylum seeker with the findings and was afraid that he might react aggressively. This turned out not to be the case. At first the asylum seeker objected strongly to the claims, but after two breaks he changed his attitude and tried to explain everything. In the end he asked the officer for forgiveness.

Interview 4

The asylum seeker was a woman from Congo-Brazzaville. She was the wife of a high-ranking officer from the staff of the former president of her country. After a coup and the proclamation of a new president, she and her family had received serious threats and had to flee from their country. Her husband had left first, the asylum seeker and her children had followed at a later moment. They had been reunited in The Netherlands.

In this interview the first and second interviews were combined. This explains the length of the interview.

The client language was French. The asylum seeker and the interpreter seemed to understand each other well. Now and then the interpreter had to ask the asylum seeker for clarification. French was probably not the first language of the asylum seeker. It was the mother tongue of the French interpreter. The asylum seeker was content with the interpreter: at the end of the interview the asylum seeker asked if it was possible for the same interpreter to be present at another interview.

The officer, who was the same one as in interview 1, did not have any understanding of French. During the interview he tried to make jokes, to make the asylum seeker feel at ease. Without effect, however, since she did not recognise his comments as jokes.

Interview 5

In this interview the asylum seeker was an adolescent from Cameroon. After the death of his parents, he had lived a rough life on the streets of a large city. He had gotten acquainted with a Dutchman who had taken him to The Netherlands. It turned out that the man had wanted to exploit the asylum seeker for sexual activities. The asylum seeker had found an opportunity to escape and eventually had ended up at the IND for an asylum application.

The asylum seeker was interviewed in French. The asylum seeker and the interpreter seemed to communicate easily. Given the language situation in Cameroon, French was probably not the asylum seeker's first language. During the interview the asylum seeker had to cry now and then.

The interpreter originated from France and French was his first language. He let the asylum talk for rather long periods of time. The officer was a young man whose mother tongue was Dutch. He understood more than fifty per cent of the French spoken in the interview.

Interview 6

The female asylum seeker in this interview originated from Burundi. Her husband had been suspected of giving information to Hutu rebels, and because of this he had been killed by militaries in his own house. At the same time the asylum seeker had been raped by one of these militaries. She had been able to flee to a friend afterwards, who had helped her to leave the country.

The asylum seeker spoke Swahili during the interview. This was possibly her mother tongue. The interpreter also spoke Swahili as his mother tongue, and also originated from the eastern part of Africa, albeit from another region. They had no trouble understanding each other.

The officer was the same one as in interview 1 and 4. He did not understand Swahili. During the interview, a number of check questions were asked about Burundi. This indicates that the officer had doubts about the asylum seeker's claimed origin. The questions were meant to help the officer who had to make a decision to the asylum application (which was not the officer doing the interview) to determine whether the asylum seeker was telling the truth.

Interview 7

The asylum seeker was another female who claimed to originate from Burundi. Her husband had gone missing after he had been accused of having contact with the rebels. The asylum seeker had been harassed by militaries who had kept asking her about her husband. She had had to pay them every time they had visited. The situation had escalated on New Year's Eve, when militaries had killed her sister in law because she had been mistaken for the asylum seeker. Then her brother in law had helped her to leave the country.

The asylum seeker's language during the interview was Swahili, which could have been her mother tongue. The interpreter was the same as in interview 6. The asylum seeker and the interpreter did not seem to have any trouble understanding each other's Swahili. The asylum seeker used a word related to her religion and a word from Kirundi, the main language spoken in Burundi, which the interpreter did not understand. The asylum seeker provided a clarification in these two cases.

The officer was a young Dutch woman. After the interview she told the researcher that her own typing had bothered her, because it had drowned out the interpreter's voice to a certain extent. The interpreter in this interview also spoke softly. During the interview the officer had to ask many times if the interpreter could repeat what he had been saying. It was noticeable that this led to a little annoyance on the part of the interpreter.

During the break the interpreter told the researcher that interpreting in this sort of interviews had become a bit boring. This was noticeable from his attitude during the interview: he did not seem to be really involved.

Interview 8

In this interview the asylum seeker was a young man from Somalia who belonged to the ethnic group of the Reer Hamar. This ethnic group had been persecuted by other ethnic groups. His father had been murdered. His mother had fled the country, followed by his brother. The asylum seeker had been taken captive and had been abused during this detention. After he had been released and had recovered, he had been able to leave the country.

The asylum seeker's mother tongue was Somali, the language he spoke during the interview. It was also the mother tongue of the interpreter. The asylum seeker and the interpreter seemed to communicate without problems. The interpreter's Dutch however was not impeccable, he often was not able or not immediately able to find the right translation in Dutch. The officer had to help him sometimes to find the correct words.

The male officer did not understand any Somali. He detected a lot of inconsistencies in the asylum seeker's story and confronted him with his findings. According to the asylum seeker most inconsistencies were based on misunderstandings on the part of the officer. The interpreter's translation might have contributed to the number of inconsistencies or misunderstandings between the asylum seeker and the officer. The asylum seeker sounded very rebellious during the interview, something that was confirmed by the interpreter while talking to the researcher during a break.

Interview 9

The asylum seeker originated from Burundi. He had been suspected of killing a military, together with some friends. The militaries had come looking for him, but while he was not at home. It had not been possible for him to return home. Because the militaries had not been able to find him, they had taken his mother with them instead. The asylum seeker had stayed with his teacher from the mosque until he had been able to leave the country and come to Europe, via Rwanda.

The language that was spoken by the asylum seeker and the interpreter was Swahili. This could have been the mother tongue of the asylum seeker. The interpreter was a Dutch woman whose mother tongue was Dutch. She had spent a longer period of time in Kenya and spoke Swahili fluently. The asylum seeker and the interpreter seemed to have no trouble understanding each other.

The officer was a Dutch woman who did not understand Swahili. She suspended the interview after 80 minutes to discuss the case with a colleague. After approximately two hours she returned to continue the interview for another twenty minutes, to ask additional questions.

During the first part as well as during the second part of the interview, the atmosphere was relaxed.

Interview 10

The asylum seeker in this interview was a man from Cameroon. In his country he had been involved in a human rights organisation that performed political activities against the government. During a demonstration he had been arrested and taken into detention. With the help of an uncle he had been released from prison on the condition that he would never again be involved in any political activities. When he accidentally had caught up in another demonstration he had been discovered by a policeman. He had been able to escape but was a wanted man from then on and he had had to flee from his country. He had boarded in Belgium but had been denied asylum by the Belgian authorities. He then had gone to The Netherlands. When he had arrived in The Netherlands he had received a confirmation that his wife, who had been arrested in Cameroon, had died in prison. This had upset him immensely and had made him acting violently in public. He had been arrested and had spent six weeks in detention. After his time in detention he had applied for asylum in The Netherlands. By mistake he had been given notice by the Dutch authorities to leave the country.⁸⁰ He had been arrested again and had spent another six months in prison before the situation had become clear and his asylum procedure had continued.

The asylum seeker spoke West African English, which was probably not his mother tongue. He tried to tell his story calmly and clearly but often got agitated.

The interpreter was a Dutchman who had studied English as a second language. He sometimes had trouble understanding the asylum seeker's English and then had to ask

⁸⁰ During the asylum procedure an asylum seeker is legally resident in The Netherlands and therefore cannot be given notice to leave the country on the ground of illegal residence.

for clarification. At the end of the interview, which took more than five hours, it was noticeable that the interpreter got impatient because he had obligations elsewhere.

The officer was a man whose mother tongue was Dutch. He understood more than half of what the asylum seeker was saying. At some points in the interview it was clear that he understood the asylum seeker better than the interpreter, but he was careful not to let the interpreter lose face.

Interview 12

The asylum seeker was a man who claimed to be from Burundi. However, at the beginning of the interview the officer informed the asylum seeker that research had revealed that his origin could not be Burundian. This finding did not make a difference to the asylum seeker, he kept to his story. It did make a difference to the officer: he clearly did not believe the asylum seeker.

The asylum seeker's reasons for asking asylum were the following. His father had been killed at his house. The asylum seeker and his sister had been present. The reason for the murder had to be found in some business the asylum seeker's father had been involved in. The asylum seeker had been afraid to get killed as well and he had fled from his country.

The asylum seeker spoke Swahili, which might have been his mother tongue. There was a lot of discussion between the officer and the asylum seeker about discrepancies between things the asylum seeker had stated earlier in the procedure or earlier in the recorded interview and things he said (later) in the recorded interview. The asylum seeker denied that his statements contained inconsistencies.

The interpreter spoke Swahili as his mother tongue. He originated from the same region as the asylum seeker claimed to be from. The interpreter and the asylum seeker seemed to understand each other well.

The male officer spoke Dutch as his mother tongue and did not understand Swahili. He confronted the asylum seeker with every inconsistent detail he found in the asylum seeker's story. This made the interview rather long, 3,5 hours. The atmosphere was a bit fierce.

A volunteer of VVN was present during the interview.

Interview 13

In this interview the asylum seeker was another man who claimed to be from Burundi. In his case a language analysis had been performed and the test result said that according to his speech his origin was not Burundian. The officer confronted him with this information. The asylum seeker explained that he had moved to Tanzania shortly after his birth and had lived there for fifteen years before returning to Burundi. This explained why his speech had been characterised as a non-Burundian variety of Swahili.

Before his departure from Burundi to Europe the asylum seeker had worked together with his father. His father had owned two trucks and had transported goods for Burundian rebels. The asylum seeker had not been aware of his father's activities for the rebels, although he had driven on one of the trucks. One day his father had not returned from work and the asylum seeker had been told that soldiers had killed him. These

soldiers had also been looking for the asylum seeker and for that reason he had not been able to stay in Burundi. First he had gone into hiding and with the help of a friend he had managed to leave the country.

The interpreter and the asylum seeker spoke Swahili with each other, which was for both speakers their mother tongue. The asylum seeker spoke with low volume and now and then the interpreter had to ask him to repeat an utterance. Apart from this they seemed to understand each other well.

The interpreter was a woman originating from the same region as the asylum seeker. Her Dutch was somewhat hesitating – she often had to search for the correct formulation – but the officer did not seem to have a problem with it.

The officer was also a woman. Her mother tongue was Dutch and she did not understand Swahili at all.

The atmosphere during the interview was neutral. Also in this interview a volunteer of VVN was present.

Interview 14

The asylum seeker was a woman from Liberia, who had lived for a few years in Ivory Coast before she had come to Europe. She had encountered many problems and was repeatedly emotional during the interview.

While she was living in Liberia her father had been killed and her mother had died of heart problems. Her sister had been killed when the war broke out. The asylum seeker had tried to run but had been stopped by the rebels. She had agreed to join the rebels, which had saved her from being killed by them. After a few months she had been able to escape. She was pregnant at that time as a consequence of being sexually abused by the rebels. A woman she had met took care of her and after she had had the baby, she had moved with this woman to Ivory Coast. There, the woman had forced her to work as a prostitute. During the time she had stayed with the woman, she had met a man. He had taken her away from the woman and had married her. With him she had gotten another child. It had turned out that her husband could not accept her first child and she had had to find another home for this child. Then war had broken out in Ivory Coast. Because of the war she had lost contact with her first child. The asylum seeker's husband had died and her in-laws had expected her to live with them. After a two-year mourning period they had wanted her to marry their youngest son, but before that she first had had to be circumcised. Refusing this, she had had to flee. She had hidden at her friend's place but one day when she was on the street, a car had hit her. The driver had turned out to be a Dutchman who then took her to The Netherlands. When she had finally arrived there, the man had wanted her to work as a prostitute to pay for the expenses he had made because of her. She had gotten away from him and had asked for asylum.

The asylum seeker and the interpreter spoke Liberian English to each other. The interpreter, also a woman, made a comment to the officer that she could not speak standard English because the asylum seeker did not understand that variety of English. Frequently, the asylum seeker did not seem to understand a question. The interpreter regularly reformulated a question to use less difficult words. The Dutch produced by the

interpreter was grammatically rather poor. The officer however did not seem to have trouble understanding her.

The male officer seemed to understand most of what the asylum seeker said without the help of the interpreter. This regularly led to the situation that the officer got impatient when the interpreter was providing a translation in Dutch and even broke off the translation. He also addressed the asylum seeker in English sometimes, but the asylum seeker did not always understand his English.

The asylum seeker did not always understand what kind of answer was desired from her. At some points the officer seemed to become impatient by this. The way he acted when this occurred, led to more confusion on the part of the asylum seeker, but in the end the officer got all the answers he needed.

During the interview a volunteer of VVN was present.

Interview 15

The asylum seeker came from Uganda. From university on he had been politically active. His political ideas had gone against the sitting government and therefore he had been persecuted by the Ugandese government. For a period of one and a half year he had been detained and mistreated, without officially being charged. After his detention he had still been followed and his houses had been searched frequently. When it had become clear that his life had been in serious danger, he and his wife had fled from the country. First they had gone to the Bahamas but when they had found out that it had not been possible to ask for asylum there without being detained during the procedure, they had decided to go to The Netherlands.

The asylum seeker was well educated, which was noticeable from the high level of English he mastered. He did have a strong Ugandese accent that caused a problem for the interpreter. The interpreter was a Dutch woman who had learned English as a second language. She often did not understand the asylum seeker, not only because of his strong accent, but also because his vocabulary was more extensive than hers. The asylum seeker helped the interpreter by repeating his words slowly, explaining the meaning of some words, and rephrasing his sentences, using less difficult words. The interpreter was aware of the communication problem, which seemed to make her uncomfortable. She repeatedly blamed the asylum seeker for the communication difficulties, telling him he was speaking too fast and did not articulate well enough. She also mentioned several times that the way he said things was not correct or impossible to translate in Dutch.

The officer in this interview was a Dutchman, who – as indicated in table 3.3. – could fully understand the asylum seeker's English. However, he did not intervene between the asylum seeker and the interpreter during the many miscommunications. He just kept on typing his report. Near the end of the interview, he started to respond directly to the asylum seeker's utterances, not waiting for the renditions. This probably had to do with time pressure.

Because of the laborious communication the interview took much longer than necessary. That seemed to exhaust both the interpreter and the asylum seeker. The

asylum seeker became less patient with the interpreter near the end of the interview, telling her twice just to omit a word from the rendition that she did not understand.

The length of the interview also pressured the interpreter who had to be home on time. She mentioned a few times that it was hard for her to concentrate.

At the end of the interview, when the asylum seeker was asked for comments on the course of the interview, he did not make a remark on the interpreter's poor performance. Neither did the volunteer of VVN, who was present during the interview.

3.3. Discourse components and transcription

The audio recordings were orthographically transcribed.^{81,82} The transcription does not only reflect the speech in the interview but also distinguishes the speakers and certain characteristics of their speech. Furthermore, the different interview parts – the introduction, the narrative, the part with questions about the narrative, the part with standard questions and the concluding remarks – are indicated in the transcripts (see section 1.5.3. for more information about the structure of the second interview). At the top of every transcription file metadata is included about the recording, mentioning among other things the number of the interview, the length of the recording, the languages spoken, and the gender of the participants.

Before discussing the transcription conventions, in section 3.3.4, I will define the most important discourse elements. In the previous chapters I have used the notions *utterance*, *turn* and *rendition* a number of times, without providing a definition. These notions will be explained in sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2. and 3.3.3.

3.3.1. Utterances

When people talk they produce *utterances*. I have taken a heuristic approach for defining this notion: an utterance begins when a participant starts to speak and ends when another participant takes over or when the same participant starts talking in another language, addressing another participant. The length of an utterance is undetermined: it may consist of one word or a backchannel like *uhuhm*, it can be a sentence or part of a sentence, but may also consist of several sentences. The example in (3.1), for instance, consists of eight utterances, every utterance indicated by the participant's tag *A* or *B*.

⁸¹ Since this study does not focus on phonetic details, phonetic information is not part of the transcription.

⁸² In interpreting studies it has been pointed out that a transcription of a recording will again cause information loss, in addition to the information loss that occurs when recording an interpreting event (Shlesinger 1989:114). Garzone (2002:107) even states that research on the basis of transcription is methodologically incorrect and ineffective, because the role of prosody cannot be taken into account. In my view it is beyond discussion that every corpus and every transcription of a corpus have their limitations, but these can be handled by researchers who are aware of them.

- (3.1) B [...] I wrote a letter. (pause)
 A Mh hm,
 B T'the governor.
 A Mh hm::,
 B -telling 'im what I thought about i(hh)m!
 A (Sh:::!)
 B Will I get an answer d'you think,
 A Ye:s, (Schegloff 1982:82)

In interpreter-mediated discourse it may occur that an interpreter speaks to one person in one language, directly followed by something he says to another person in another language. When the interpreter switches from one language to another, a split occurs: the part in the other language is not a continuation of the part in the first language. An example is given in (3.2), an excerpt taken from a medical encounter, in which the interpreter subsequently spoke to the patient, in Russian, and to the nurse (indicated by *OF*, the nurse being a representative of the medical institution), in Swedish.

- (3.2) OF delS- ((IN snuffles lightly)) ingår det då avföringsprover bå de för bakteriell och parasitologisk analys. då,
so this partly- ((IN snuffles lightly)) includes stooltests both for bacterial and parasitological analysis. then,
 IN/ru анализ кала, это е:: мы узнаём если есть бактерии и::
stooltest, that is er... we'll get to know whether there are any bacteria and...
 IN/sv va sa du nästa? jag hörde inte. och... e::
what did you say next? I didn't hear. and... er::
 OF bakteriell [...] och parasitologisk analys
bacterial [...] and parasitological analysis (Wadensjö 1992:208)

Utterances are the basic unit in the 14 transcripts of the asylum interviews. The utterances are indicated by participant tags. The interpreter's tag is furthermore specified for language.⁸³ (3.3) shows a part of the transcript of interview 1, followed by the translation.

- (3.3) <of>en tot wanneer ble+ verbleef u bij hun?</of>
 <in lang="en">so until when did you stay with them?</in>
 <as>until August. 2001.</as>
 <in lang="nl">tot augustus 2001.</in>
 OF and until when did you st+ stay with them?
 IN/en so until when did you stay with them?
 AS until August. 2001.
 IN/nl until August 2001. [1.1]⁸⁴

⁸³ The interpreter's tag remains unspecified if the utterance is language neutral or at least part of both the client language as well as the institutional language. This applies to backchannels, such as *uhuhm* and *ok*, and proper names.

⁸⁴ The numbers in square brackets refer to interview's recording number.

3.3.2. Turns

A *turn* may coincide with an utterance, but does not necessarily do so. A turn starts when a discourse participant is appointed the role of speaker – by another participant or by himself. The production of the turn establishes a certain participation framework, in which other participants are allocated a reception role (participation frameworks have been discussed in section 2.4.4.3). A turn ends when the participation framework changes, i.e. other production and/or recipient roles are allocated (cf. Levinson’s utterance-event (Levinson 1988:167)).⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ On the basis of this definition four turns can be distinguished in the sequence in (3.3) above. This number equals the number of utterances. In (3.1), however, the utterances do not coincide with the turns. In this sequence speaker A produces several backchannels as a response to speaker B. These utterances cannot be seen as full turns since they renounce the speaker role (Duncan and Fiske 1977:203; Schegloff 1982; Levinson 1988:175). As a consequence, the division of participant roles remains the same and the turn of speaker B continues, even while he is interrupted by an utterance from speaker A. For the example in (x) – repeated below with numbered lines – this means that speaker A’s utterances in line 2, 4 and 6 are no turns (indicated by the utterances struck out) and that all of speaker B’s utterances constitute one turn. A’s answer to B’s question in line 7 is the second and last turn in this sequence.

- (3.4)
- | | | | |
|---|---|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 | B | [...] I wrote a letter. (pause) | |
| 2 | A | Mh hm, | |
| 3 | B | T’the governor. | |
| 4 | A | Mh hm::, | |
| 5 | B | -telling ‘im what I thought about i(hh)m! | |
| 6 | A | (Sh:::!) | |
| 7 | B | Will I get an answer d’you think, | |
| 8 | A | Ye:s, | (example from Schegloff 1982:82) |

⁸⁵ Levinson pointed out that this definition may be problematic in some discourse situations. For instance, in an informal discourse situation with more than one potential hearer the hearer’s role may not be allocated the moment a speaker starts talking. Consequently, the participation framework would not be established right away. However, one may argue that in cases a new participation framework has not yet been established, the participants will be aware that the previous participation framework has ended, on the basis of a change in speaker, or another change (language, gaze). So, we can assume that discourse participants will be aware of the start of a new turn at the moment a certain participant framework ends, even though the new participation framework has not yet been completely established.

⁸⁶ Sacks et al. (1974) involve only the speaker’s role in determining the start and end of a turn. For interpreter-mediated institutional discourse it is necessary to involve the recipient roles as well. On the basis of the reception roles a distinction can be made between the interpreter succeedingly targeting different participants in different languages. The difference in definition does not have consequences for the applicability of the turn-taking system set out by Sacks et al (1974).

3.3.3. Renditions

In interpreter-mediated discourse most of the interpreter's turns are *renditions*. A rendition can be distinguished from other turns on the basis of its similarity relation with a preceding turn of a primary speaker: this turn and the rendition together form a turn-rendition pair.

Whether an interpreter's turn is a rendition or not may also be inferred from the turn-taking pattern it is part of. A turn-taking pattern is a combination of subsequent participation frameworks (see section 2.2.3. for more information about participation frameworks). A specific participation framework lays the foundation for the next framework. Because interpreter-mediated institutional discourse follows a specific scenario, we often find fixed combinations of participation frameworks, which means that turn-taking patterns are to a great extent predetermined. The sequence in (3.5) shows a typical example of a question and answer pair in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse.

- (3.5) OF vad jag förstår så känner ni er frisk. det var bara det här med sköldkörteln som bekymrade er.
as far as I understand you feel healthy. It was just this thing about the thyroid gland that worried you.
- IN/ru на сколько- я поняла то вы в общем-то себя чувствуете здоровой кроме того что вы- вас беспокоила щитовидка.
as far as- I have understood you on the whole feel healthy except that your thyroid gland has been disturbing/worrying you.
- CL она меня не беспокоила. просто она у меня увеличена. просто (xxx)
it has not been disturbing/worrying me. it's just that it's got bigger. it's just (xxx)
- IN/sv näe det är inte så att jag känner mig orolig eller lider av det. men, den verkar vara förstorad.
no it is not that I feel worried or it hurts. but, it- it seems to have grown bigger. (Wadensjö 1992:74)

Given the fact that the officer's turn is followed by an interpreter's turn in the client language, followed by a client's turn and then again an interpreter's turn in the institutional language, it can be assumed that the client's turn is a response to the officer's turn. Consequently, the interpreter's turns are renditions. Example (3.2), repeated below as (3.6) shows a different turn-taking pattern.

- (3.6) OF dels- ((IN snuffles lightly)) ingår det då avföringsprover bå de för bakteriell och parasitologisk analys. då,
so this partly- ((IN snuffles lightly)) includes stool tests both for bacterial and parasitological analysis. then,
- IN/ru анализ кала, это е:: мы узнаём если есть бактерии и:::
stool test, that is er... we'll get to know whether there are any bacteria and...
- IN/sv va sa du nästa? jag hörde inte. och... е:::
what did you say next? I didn't hear. and... er:::

OF bakteriell [...] och parasitologisk analys
bacterial [...] and parasitological analysis (Wadensjö 1992:208)

In the first turn the officer targeted the client and addressed the interpreter. The interpreter responded by transferring the officer's information to the client, who is both target and addressee, using the client language. This specific response suggests that the two turns form a turn-rendition pair with the client in a recipient role. However, in the third turn the speaker is again the interpreter, addressing the officer. Since this turn is not preceded by a client's turn, we can infer that the interpreter's turn is not a rendition. The difference between example (3.5) and (3.6) is schematically presented in tables 3.4. and 3.5.

Turn	Speaker	officer	Receiver client	interpreter
1	officer		+TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
2	interpreter RENDITION	-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	
3	client	+TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK		-TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
4	interpreter RENDITION	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	

Table 3.4: Turn-taking pattern of example (3.5): two turn-rendition pairs of question-answer sequence.

Turn	Speaker	officer	Receiver client	interpreter
1	officer		+TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
2	interpreter RENDITION	-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	
3	interpreter NO RENDITION	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	
4	officer		-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK

Table 3.5: Turn-taking pattern of example (3.6): a turn-rendition pair plus a clarification question and a clarification.

3.3.4. Transcription

As illustrated at the end of section 3.3.1, tags are used to organise the transcription. These tags are characteristic of the transcription files, which are based on Extensible Markup Language (XML). XML is a markup language that defines a set of rules for encoding documents in a format that is both human-readable and machine-readable. An XML-file is divided in content and markup. The tags are part of the markup, the content is found in between start and end tags.

Every tag in the transcription denotes a certain characteristic of the discourse, such as the speaker tags <of> (for the officer), <as> (for the asylum seeker) and <in> (for the interpreter) introduced at the end of section 3.2.1, designating the participants' utterances.⁸⁷ The characteristics can be specified by adding attributes, like the language attribute found in the interpreter's tag: <in lang="nl"> ('language is Dutch').

In between the speakers' start and end tags, a whole range of other tags may appear. A pause, for instance, is indicated by a specific tag (see (3.7)). Because the pause tag does not contain any speech, there is no end tag. This is indicated by the slash (/) at the end of the tag.

(3.7) Pause during turn
 <of>oh.<pause/> was ik thuis?</of>

OF oh. [pause] was I at home? [4.2]

Furthermore, when (part of) an utterance is spoken in a certain way – while laughing, whispering, etc. – a special tag is inserted, as shown in (3.8a-e).

(3.8) a. Laughing while speaking
 <of>ja. want dit is een beetje... dan wordt het een beetje ingewikkeld hoor.
 althans... <speech manner="laugh">het kan aan mij liggen maar...</speech></of>
*OF yes. because this is a bit... then it becomes a bit complicated you know. at
 least... [laughs while speaking] maybe it is just me but... [15.3]*

b. Unclear speech
 <as>that <speech manner="uncl">vital road</speech> talk. so.</as> [10.2]

c. Whispering
 <in lang="nl"><speech manner="whisper">wat was de vraag?</speech></in>
IN/nl [whispers] what was the question? [14.2]

d. Emphasis
 <in lang="nl">toen <speech manner="emph">waren</speech> zij al aanwezig in
 het kamp.</in>
IN/nl then they WERE already present in the camp. [2.1]

⁸⁷ The original tag set was in Dutch. The tags used in this chapter have been translated to English.

e. *Slow speaking*

<of><speech manner="slow">heeft zijn zaak verkocht.</speech></of>

OF *[speaking slowly] has sold his business.* [8.1]

When participants use another language during a turn, the speech tag is used as well, but with a different attribute: lang, the language attribute also used to specify the language of the interpreter's turns.

(3.9) <of><speech lang="sw">vitu?</speech></of>

OF *[in Swahili] stuff?* [12.1]

The participants may produce sounds during their turn without speaking. Such sounds are tagged as nonspeech, with an attribute to specify the sound. An example of laughing is given in (3.10).

(3.10) Laughing

<of><nonspeech sound="laugh"/>uw nationaliteit.</of>

OF *[laughs] your nationality.* [10.2]

Regularly, two speakers speak at the same time. The overlapping speech is then labelled with an overlap tag, specified by a shared id-number as attribute.

(3.11) <in lang="nl">dat is tussen... dat was... dan moest... water over maar waar dat nou precies gebeurde <overlap id="2">dat is nog niet bekend</overlap></in>
<of><overlap id="2">maar was het was het</overlap> op het land of <overlap id="3">op het water?</overlap></of>
<in lang="en"><overlap id="3">this happened</overlap> was it in eh in the water or...</in>

IN/nl *that is between... that was... then [they] had to... cross water but where exactly that happened that is yet unknown.*

OF *but was it was it on land or on the water?*

IN/en *this happened was it in eh in the water or...* [1.1]

To make it possible to line up the transcription with the audio, every five to ten minutes a time tag <time> was inserted in the transcription that mentions the cd-track and the time in hours, minutes and seconds.

(3.12) <in lang="nl">dat zweer ik ja.</in>

<time>3_00:01:10</time>

<of>uhuhm.</of>

IN/nl *that I swear yes.*

OF *uhuhm.* [3.1]

3.3.5. Translation of client languages

The bilingual character of the data was a complicating factor in the transcription process, since my command of the client languages varied from good (English), limited (French) to non-existent (Swahili and Somali). Apart from the Dutch transcription, I was

able to transcribe the English data. For the transcription of the other client languages I involved (native) speakers of the relevant languages.

Furthermore, a translation was needed, to be able to come to a proper comparison between the primary speakers' turns and the interpreters' renditions. Especially for research dealing with the complexity of renditions, proper translations of the parts in the client languages are essential: the translations of both the primary speakers' turns and the interpreters' renditions have to mirror their originals to such an extent that the outcomes of the analysis based on the translations would not differ from the outcomes if the original turns and renditions had been analysed. For every interview I carefully considered the specific needs for the translation of the client language. In certain transcripts this led to the absence of a translation, whereas other transcripts were provided with two independent translations created by two different translators.

I have done myself the transcription of the English data, and no translation was added. The mix of English and Pidgin English of the first interview was partly transcribed by myself and partly by a person who mastered Krio en Pidgin English. This transcriber also provided a translation where necessary. My knowledge of English and my experience with Pidgin English made it possible to check the translations.

The French parts of the interviews were transcribed by one person, whereas the transcription was checked and translated into Dutch by another. A sample of the transcribed/translated French data was checked by a third French speaker. Furthermore, with my own (limited) command of French I was able to do an extra check on the translations, and to change the Dutch translations to English for the excerpts included in this book.

The Swahili parts of the interviews were transcribed and translated into Dutch by one person, whereas a second person checked the transcription and provided a second translation. Furthermore, the sample of the transcribed data was checked by a third Swahili speaker, who also provided translations in English for the excerpt included in this book.

The Somali data was transcribed and translated into Dutch by one person and the transcription and translation was checked by another. In addition to this a sample of the Somali transcription/translation was checked by a third Somali speaker. Somali is a language very different from Dutch. The grammar of the Dutch translation was not always correct, which made the data sometimes difficult to understand. This fact has been taken into account all the time and the data have been checked again where necessary. The transcription and the translation into English of the excerpts included in this book have been checked by a fourth Somali speaker.

Where present in the transcripts the translations were tagged with the trans tag, as shown in (3.13). This example also shows that the translation was originally in Dutch. As explained above, translators were consulted again, as a final check, for the English translations of the data included in this book.

- (3.13) <as>non non c'est tr\`e`s rare quoi... c'est tr\`e`s rare de... </as>⁸⁸
 <trans>nee nee het is heel zelden wat... het is heel zelden dat...</trans>
 AS no no it is very rare what... it is very rare that... [2.1]

3.4. Key components in discourse

The recordings of the 14 interviews together with the tagged transcripts formed the corpus for this research. In the data I identified the instances of three key components in discourse for the analysis of the data by applying annotation tags in the transcripts. As stated in section 2.5, the key components that have been selected for analysis are turn-rendition pairs (section 3.4.1), clarification sequences (section 3.4.2) and non-translated turns (section 3.4.2). The number of occurrences of each component identified by the tagging is shown in table 3.6.

	turn-rendition pairs	clarification sequences	non-translated turns
<i>introductions</i>	607	n/a ⁸⁹	142
<i>narratives</i>	1606	676	411
<i>questions narr.</i>	3213	555	518
total	5426	1231	1071

Table 3.6: Occurrences of turn-rendition pairs, clarification sequences and non-translated turns divided by interview part.

The turn-rendition pairs were chosen as one of the objects for analysis with the aim to determine the exact relation between turns and rendition (see also section 2.5.2). The analysis is found in chapter 4. For the analysis I have taken a sample from the total number of turn-rendition pairs distinguished in the transcripts. The selection is described in section 3.4.1.1. The method that I have chosen to compare the turns with their renditions is explained in section 3.4.1.2. Finally, in section 3.4.1.3, the main properties of the sample are presented.

Clarification sequences can be found throughout the corpus of asylum interviews. Their frequency is an important indicator for communication problems. Furthermore, the participants' behaviour in clarification sequences provides information about the roles they take in discourse. For these reasons I chose the clarification sequences as one of the objects for analysis (see also section 2.5.3). The analysis is found in chapter 5 and is based on the clarification sequences found in the narratives and parts with questions about the narrative. The selection will be discussed in section 3.4.2.1. The frequency of

⁸⁸ In the transcription files diacritic characters were included as a combination of a backslash, the relevant letter and finally the accent.

⁸⁹ The analysis of the clarification sequences is based on the sequences from the narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative (see section 3.4.2). Therefore, the number of clarification sequences in the introductions is not available.

the clarification sequences and the distribution over the different participants and different parts of the interview is the topic of section 3.4.2.2.

The occurrence of non-translated turns is primarily related to activities coordinating discourse (see also section 2.2.3) The non-translated turns became the third object for analysis in this study, to get insight in the nature of the coordinating activities of the interpreters. The analysis is found in chapter 6. In this section the selection of non-translated turns is discussed (section 3.4.3.1) plus some properties of these data (section 3.4.3.2).

3.4.1. Turn-rendition pairs

As mentioned in section 3.3.2, a rendition forms a turn-rendition pair together with the turn it is related to. In the transcripts of the asylum interviews turn-rendition pairs were identified as follows:

(3.14) [pair dir='cl-il' type='complex']⁹⁰
 <as>non 2002 jusque-l\`a` il y avait les les agressions jusqu'en d\`e`cembre
 </as>
 <trans>nee 2002 tot dan er waren aanvallen tot in december</trans>
 <in>uhuhm.</in>
 <as>il y avait toujours les agressions.</as>
 <trans>er waren steeds aanvallen.</trans>
 <in lang="nl">ja in in die periode zeg maar vanaf september tot december
 2002 waren steeds gevallen van eh van agressie dreigingen.</in>
 [/pair]
 AS no 2002 until then there were attacks until December
 IN uhuhm.
 AS there were attacks all the time.
 IN/nl yes in that period like from September to December 2002 there were
 continuously occurrences of eh of aggression threats. [2.1]

In the transcripts the turn-rendition pairs are tagged with the [pair] tag. The tag has two attributes, the first indicating the translation direction (from the client language to the institutional language), the second indicating the complexity of the pair, either simple or complex. In this case the pair is specified as complex because the asylum seeker's turn consisted of two utterances.

⁹⁰ For the tagging of the turn-rendition pairs and the non-translated turns, I used tags with square brackets, instead of the XML-tags with angle brackets. The use of angle brackets was not possible since they frequently conflicted with the tags indicating the clarification sequences. For instance, in case a clarification sequence was not nested within a turn-rendition pair, but started in the middle of a turn-rendition pair and ended in the next turn-rendition pair.

3.4.1.1. Selecting a sample of turn-rendition pairs

For the purpose of analysing the turn-rendition pairs in the interviews I have marked and counted the pairs in the introductions, the narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative. Each part corresponds to a different turn-taking pattern, prescribed by the discourse scenario. In the introductions the officer is the main speaker, leading to the dominant turn-taking pattern indicated in table 3.7.

Turn	Speaker	officer	Receiver client	interpreter
1	officer		+TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
2	interpreter	-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	

Table 3.7: Dominant turn-taking pattern in the introduction

In the narratives the dominant turn-taking pattern shows the officer and asylum seeker in reversed roles. Here, the asylum seeker is the main speaker, leading to the following turn-taking pattern:

Turn	Speaker	officer	Receiver client	interpreter
1	asylum seeker	+TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK		-TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
2	interpreter	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	

Table 3.8: Dominant turn-taking pattern in the narrative

Turn	Speaker	officer	Receiver client	interpreter
1	officer		+TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
2	interpreter	-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	
3	asylum seeker	+TARGET -ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK		-TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK
4	interpreter	+TARGET +ADDRESS +CHANNEL-LINK	-TARGET -ADDRESS -CHANNEL-LINK	

Table 3.9: Dominant turn-taking pattern in the part with questions about the narrative

The parts with questions about the narrative is dominated by question and answer sequences, with the officer asking the questions. In such sequences the turn-taking consists of four turns, the second and fourth being renditions, as indicated in table 3.9.

As indicated in table 3.6, 5426 turn-rendition pairs were distinguished in the interviews' introductions, narratives and parts with questions about the narrative. The richness of the data made it impossible to analyse the whole set of pairs within the time frame of this research study. To create a manageable sample I had to limit the number of pairs radically. The selection of the pairs was not directly linked to my research questions, but neither was it a random selection. From each introduction and each narrative I chose one pair that corresponded with the dominant turn-taking pattern, and from each part with questions about the narrative I chose two pairs, a question and an answer from one sequence. This led to a sample of 56 turn-rendition pairs.

In general, I took one of the first turn-rendition pairs in every interview part, unless there was a reason to look further. I mainly skipped pairs because the structure or the content of the pair was atypical for the interview part. The reason for skipping such pairs is related to the purpose of analysing the turn-rendition pairs. The purpose is to find regularities in the participants' behaviour in the discourse, as indications for the norms followed by the participants. Regularities are more likely to surface in pairs with a more or less expected turn-taking pattern. I decided to exclude pairs with an unexpected turn-taking pattern. The pair in (3.15) is an example of a pair from the narrative with a diverging turn-taking pattern. Two discourse participants encounter a problem in this pair. First, the interpreter could not properly hear the asylum seeker because his speech was not loud enough. For this reason she interrupted the asylum seeker. Second, the officer failed to catch a part of the interpreter's rendition and initiated a clarification sequence.

- (3.15) AS on the second... January second 1999
 IN uhuhm.
 AS I go along with my boy scout. 'cause I'm a scout leader for the sea
 scouting department. but who xxx...
 IN/en excuse me. will you speak out please?
 AS ok. yes.
 IN/en because I can't hear you very well.
 AS I'm a sea scout leader.
 IN uhuhm.
 AS for the whole Freetown.
 IN Freetown. ok.
 AS [under] sea scout.
 IN uhuhm. ok.
 AS so...
 IN/nl eh op 2 januari 1999 is alles begonnen. ik ben een co-leider van eh...
eh on 2 January 1999 everything started. I am a co-leader of eh...
 OF een?
 a?

- IN/nl co-leider. van... hulp+ hulpleider. van een groep jongere scouts. eh in Freetown.
co-leader. of... assistant+ assistant leader. of a group younger boy scouts. eh in Freetown.
- OF ja.
 yes. [1.1]

In the selection length was a criterion as well. Short pairs are less likely to comprise interesting data. If I encountered several suitable pairs – i.e. with an expected pattern – at the beginning of an interview part I preferred longer pairs above the shorter ones. However, if short pairs were common for a certain interview (part), I selected a short pairs for the sample. Especially in the parts with questions about the narrative short pairs frequently occurred.

Apart from the structure the content played a role in the selection of pairs. The different parts of the interview – introductions, narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative – often started with a short introduction by the officer, like the introductory remark from the part with questions about the narrative of interview 1.

- (3.16) OF [ik heb] een vrij groot aantal vragen genoteerd. ik zou u vriendelijk willen verzoeken om eh de vragen kort en bondig te beantwoorden.
[I have] written down quite a number of questions. I would kindly request you to eh answer the questions briefly and to the point.
- IN/en I have prepared a number of questions. quite many. and eh you're requested to answer those questions. sh+ brief answers and clear answers please. [1.1]

In the selection of pairs I skipped such introductory pairs, and selected one of the first pairs with a content related to the asylum seeker's procedure or story.

I will now provide some details about particular decisions I made in the selection, starting with the introductions. Two interviews, 4 and 9 started with questions that are normally asked in the first interview. In interview 4 even the whole first interview was included. I skipped these questions (and answers). The introduction of interview 15 started atypical: At the beginning of the interview the asylum seeker made a specific request. I took the pair in which the officer responded to this request.

As for the selection from the narratives, the pair I selected from interview 8 is atypical for the narrative in general, but that applies to the whole narrative of this interview. This narrative does not deal with the reasons for asking asylum but goes about how and what to tell in the narrative of the asylum seeker in question. The narratives of interviews 10 and 15 were spread out over more than one cd recording. In both interviews I took the first suitable pair from the second recording (in both interviews these were found after a coffee break that interrupted the narratives), instead of tracing the beginnings of the narratives on the first recording. In interview 15 the asylum seeker spoke in short clauses, giving the interpreter the opportunity to translate before he even finished a sentence. I took a pair with a full sentence. It contained a clarification sequence as many pairs do in this interview. In the narrative of interview 14 the asylum seeker had to be stimulated to tell her narrative. For this reason the officer asked a

number of questions. I took one of the first substantial turns by the asylum seeker, i.e. a turn that contained more than only an affirmation of the officer's question.

In selecting pairs in the parts with questions about the narrative, I made the following decisions. Similar to the narratives of interviews 10 and 15, the part with questions of interview 2 was spread out over more than one cd recording. I took the first question and answer of the second recording of the interview. The question and answer I selected from interview 3 was atypical since it did not concern the asylum seeker's narrative. It was about the double asylum application submitted by the asylum seeker under different identities. Then, in interview 6 the question and answer were not adjacent. In between them the asylum seeker started a clarification question, which is not taken as part of the selection. Finally, in interview 13 there was no clear distinction between the standard questions and the questions about the narrative. I took the first question and answer that seemed to belong to the questions about the narrative.

3.4.1.2. *A method for comparing turns and renditions*

As mentioned in section 3.3.2. the size of a turn is variable: it may consist of only one word but also of more than one utterance. The more complex a turn is, the more difficult it will be to compare the turn as a whole to its rendition. To handle the comparison between turn and rendition I split up the turns and renditions systematically in smaller parts. I based the division in parts on a method for comparing and describing translations of fictional texts developed by Van Leuven-Zwart (1984, 1989/1990). She developed the method in order to be able to determine how and to what degree a translation differed from its source text. Furthermore, the method should provide a basis for formulating hypotheses about the strategies applied by a translator (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:154). Central in Van Leuven-Zwart's comparative model are the notions of state of affairs transeme and the satellite transeme, which in turn are derived from Dik's notions of state of affairs and satellite (Dik 1978). The state of affairs transeme consists of a predicate – a main verb – and its arguments, whereas the satellite transeme is described as 'an adverbial specification or amplification of the state of affairs transeme' (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:156). The examples in (3.17) illustrate the two types of transemes (state of affairs transemes indicated with /.../, satellite transemes with (...)).

- (3.17) a. /Linda frowned;//she sat up quickly (in her steamer chair)//and clasped her ankles./
 b. /Four men in their shirt-sleeves stood grouped together (on the garden path)/
 c. /The colonel was getting ready to go out//when his wife seized him (by the sleeve of his coat.)/ (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:156)

Van Leuven-Zwart's transemes are part of a comparative model used to establish the nature of the relation between a source text and a target text (in written translation). The relation is based upon a similarity that exists between the target-text transeme and the source-text transeme. The lack of any similarity means that the target-text transeme

is not a translation of the source-text transeme to which it was compared (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:156-157).

To be able to establish the relation between a turn and its rendition in the 56 turn-rendition pairs from the sample, I applied a division in parts similar to the division in transemes illustrated in (3.17). My division is in two ways different from the division in transemes by Van Leuven-Zwart (1989): 1. the satellite transemes are not marked separately from the state of affairs transeme they belong to, together they form one part, and 2. in case one of the predicate's arguments contains a predicate of its own, the embedded predicate (with its arguments) is distinguished from the higher predicate and considered a separate part. In other words, one part can only contain one main verb. I will illustrate this by means of two of the examples in (3.17). Both (3.17a) and (3.17c) would be divided in three parts in the following way, according to my distinctions:

(3.18) 1. Linda frowned;
2. she sat up quickly in her steamer chair
3. and clasped her ankles.

(3.19) 1. The colonel was getting ready
2. to go out
3. when his wife seized him by the sleeve of his coat.

The relation between a turn part and a rendition part is established on the basis of similarity, i.e. their common denominator (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:157). This is the first step in the comparison between a source-text transeme and a target-text transeme in Leuven-Zwart's approach. Their common denominator is expressed by content words. The second step is the comparison of each separate transeme with the common denominator, which will show either a synonymic (transeme and common denominator correspond) or a hyponymic relationship (transeme and common denominator differ). The final step is the classification of the pair's relationship: if both transemes have a synonymic relationship with the common denominator, the relationship between the transemes is synonymic too and no shift has occurred in translation. If the relationship between the transemes is not synonymic, then it falls into one of three major categories of shifts (modulation, modification and mutation), each divided in subcategories (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:157-169).

The division in parts I have chosen has a similar though less technical approach to establish the common denominator between turn and rendition parts. Furthermore, at this point I will only establish the *existence* of a similarity relationship, as a preparatory step for further analysis (discussed in chapter 4) to establish the *exact nature* of the similarity relationship (part of the second step and the whole third step in Van Leuven-Zwart's approach). To start with, I compare the parts of the rendition to the parts of the turn it belongs to and establish similarity on the basis of content words available in both turn part and rendition part. An example of the division in parts and the establishment of turn and rendition parts is given in table 3.10, in which the different parts are presented, with one part per cell.

	<i>OF02 / length 00:00:04</i>		<i>IN02</i>
1	u kunt vandaag in vrijheid spreken. <i>you can speak in freedom today.</i>	1	aujourd'hui, tu peux parler librement <i>today you can speak freely</i>
2	alles wat u zegt <i>everything that you say</i>	2	parce que tout ce qui est dit <i>because everything that is said</i>
3	wordt vertrouwelijk behandeld. <i>will be handled confidentially.</i>	3	c'est gardé confidentiel par le Ministère. <i>that will be kept confidential by the Ministry.</i>

Table 3.10: Turn-rendition pair divided in parts (introduction, interview 2)

The officer's turn in table 3.10, translated into English, consists of three parts. Part 2 is the subject of part 3, but since this subject contains a verb predicate, *say*, it has been separated from the rest of the sentence.

- (3.20) 1. you can speak in freedom today.
2. everything that you say
3. will be handled confidentially.

As stated above, a part can only contain one verb predicate or phrase. It is however possible to distinguish parts having no verb at all. For instance, in case a complete turn comprises of one word only, such as yes or no. Furthermore, there are instances of elliptical sentences lacking a verb, such as (3.21).

- (3.21) OF [...] dan nog wat vragen mevrouw [...].
[...] then yet some questions madam [...]. [4.2]

In table 3.10. the number of verb phrases in the turn equals the number of verb phrases in the rendition. Furthermore, the order of the verb phrases is equal, which is indicated by the numbers in the table's first and third column. These two properties form an indication that a certain level of similarity has been established between turn and rendition, at least at part level. Further analysis of the different parts will tell whether there is similarity of form, similarity of information and/or similarity of effect (see section 2.1.2. for more information about similarity). If, on the other hand, turn and rendition parts do not match and/or their order differs from each other, it is likely that there is no similarity between turn and rendition.⁹¹ This is the case in the following example in table 3.11, where the interpreter left out the first part of the original and added several other parts.

	<i>OF02 / length 00:00:06</i>		<i>IN02</i>
1	van eh wat er vandaag wordt gezegd <i>of eh that which will be said today</i>		
2	zal ik een rapport opmaken <i>I will draw up a report</i>	2	moi je ferai un rapport écrit uhn <i>I will make a written report uhn</i>
		-	quand on aura fini cet entretien <i>when we have finished this interview</i>

⁹¹ It is possible that pairs show similarity between turn and rendition while the number or the order of parts in the rendition does not equal those in the turn. In chapter 4 such pairs are discussed.

		-	donc ce sera comme celui-là <i>so it will be like that one</i>
		-	ce sera donc par écrit <i>so it will be written</i>
		-	tu auras toi-même une copie eeeh <i>you will have a copy yourself eeeh</i>
		-	ça sera joint à ton dossier <i>it will be added to your file</i>
3	en dat rapport wordt gebruikt <i>and this report will be used</i>	3	et c'est sur la base de eeeh ces rapports <i>and it is on the basis of eeeh these reports</i>
4	om de vraag te beantwoorden <i>to answer the question</i>	4	que on décidera <i>that one will decide</i>
5	of u in Nederland mag blijven of niet. <i>whether you may stay in The Netherlands or not.</i>	5	si oui ou non tu vas pouvoir rester aux Pays-Bas. <i>if yes or no you will be able to stay in The Netherlands.</i>

Table 3.11: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, interview 3

Note that even when a turn part can be matched to a rendition part, it does not imply complete similarity between these parts. Small grammatical or semantic differences may be observed. Parts 3 and 4 in the pair above show such small differences despite the clear connection between these turn and rendition parts. In some cases a different grammatical construction may lead to the situation that one part in a turn appears in the rendition as two verb predicates or phrases and thus as two parts. An example is given below, the relevant part is number 3.

	AS02 / length 00:00:17		IN02
1	tout à l'heure j'avais dit <i>before I have said</i>	1	ja zoals ik eh eerder zei <i>yes like I eh said before</i>
2	que je ne sais exactement pas <i>that I do not know exactly</i>	2	voor mij was het niet duidelijk <i>for me it was not clear</i>
3	s'il s'agissait maintenant même des rebelles ou des gens du gouvernement. <i>whether it concerned now even rebels or goverment men.</i>	3a	wie rebel was <i>who was rebel</i>
		3b	en wie voor de regering werkte. <i>and who worked for the government.</i>
	[...]		[...]

Table 3.12: An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, interview 2

Because the rendition's content of part 3a and 3b together is similar to part 3 in the turn, the extra verb phrase is not counted as an added part. In the analysis of the turn-rendition pairs in chapter 4 the number of parts in table 3.12. and similar pairs is considered equal in turn and rendition.

In the analysis of the turn-rendition pairs I have included small differences between matching turn and rendition parts. However, not all differences are considered equally relevant in the light of the research questions in this study. Therefore, not all differences are discussed to the same extent.

3.4.1.3. *Properties of the sample per interview part*

As explained in section 3.4.1.1. the sample consists of four times 14 turn-rendition pairs, from the introductions of every interview, from the narratives, and from the parts with questions about the narrative (14 questions and 14 answers). An overview of the turn-rendition pairs with their main properties is given in table 3.13, a-d.

All pairs from the interviews' introductions concern turns in which the officer is talking to the asylum seeker as part of the explanation concerning the course of the interview and/or the asylum procedure. The pairs' turns vary in length from 3 to 20 seconds and from 1 to 11 eleven parts.

In the narratives, the asylum seeker is the speaker in all turns, which is characteristic of the narrative, in which the asylum seeker is invited tell about his motives for asking asylum, preferably without interruptions from the officer. The source language is the client language, the renditions are in the institutional language. The length of the turns in the examples varies from four to 59 seconds and the number of parts from two to 32.

From the parts with questions about the narrative I took 14 questions posed by the officer together with the 14 answers to these questions provided by the asylum seeker. The length of the questions ranges from one to 24 seconds and from one to six parts, half of them consisting of only one part. The questions' source language is the institutional language. The answers' length varies from one to 40 seconds and from one to 21 parts, the one answer consisting of 21 parts being exceptionally long. Half of them have only one part. The answers' source language is the client language.

In total the sample contains 15 turn-rendition pairs with a one-part turn. One of these pairs originates from a narrative. The remaining 14 pairs originate from the interview parts with questions about the narrative – both questions and answers.

introd. interview	language	length turn	parts in turn
1	en	00:00:12	4
2	fr	00:00:04	3
3	fr	00:00:06	5
4	fr	00:00:12	5
5	fr	00:00:11	5
6	sw	00:00:06	2
7	sw	00:00:11	4
8	so	00:00:03	1
9	sw	00:00:11	2
10	en	00:00:18	11
12	sw	00:00:14	5
13	sw	00:00:20	10
14	en	00:00:12	8
15	en	00:00:09	4
Total			69

a. Turn properties in the introductions

narrative interview	language	length turn	parts in turn
1	en	00:00:34	20
2	fr	00:00:10	3
3	fr	00:00:59	26
4	fr	00:00:23	16
5	fr	00:00:46	32
6	sw	00:00:24	10
7	sw	00:00:18	16
8	so	00:00:08	4
9	sw	00:00:10	5
10	en	00:00:11	3
12	sw	00:00:14	7
13	sw	00:00:25	8
14	en	00:00:14	9
15	en	00:00:04	2
Total			161

b. Turn properties in the narratives

quest. interview	language	length turn	parts in turn
1	en	00:00:04	2
2	fr	00:00:12	6
3	fr	00:00:17	6
4	fr	00:00:03	1
5	fr	00:00:02	1
6	sw	00:00:09	4
7	sw	00:00:04	1
8	so	00:00:12	5
9	sw	00:00:01	1
10	en	00:00:24	6
12	sw	00:00:02	1
13	sw	00:00:03	1
14	en	00:00:01	1
15	en	00:00:09	4
Total			40

c. Turn properties of the questions in the parts with questions about the narrative

answers interview	language	length turn	parts in turn
1	en	00:00:03	1
2	fr	00:00:17	4
3	fr	00:00:01	1
4	fr	00:00:40	21
5	fr	00:00:05	5
6	sw	00:00:18	6
7	sw	00:00:07	1
8	so	00:00:03	2
9	sw	00:00:02	1
10	en	00:00:01	1
12	sw	00:00:08	6
13	sw	00:00:04	1
14	en	00:00:02	1
15	en	00:00:08	2
Total			53

d. Turn properties of the answers in the parts with questions about the narrative

Table 3.13: Properties of sample turn-rendition pairs per interview part (a-d)

3.4.2. Clarification sequences

If a (part of a) turn creates a problem for the receiver that prevents him from properly processing the turn, he can undertake action to solve the problem, by asking a clarification question to the producer of the turn. The trouble source, the clarification question and the clarifying answer together form a clarification sequence (see section 2.5.3.1. for a more extended explanation about clarification sequences).

In the transcripts the clarification sequences are identified with the <oisr> tag, as illustrated by (3.22) ('oisr' being the abbreviation for other-initiated self-repair). The tag has got four attributes. The last attribute concerns the category to which the clarification sequence belongs, category i, ii or iii. The categorisation of the clarification sequences is discussed in chapter 5. The first three attributes indicate the producer of the trouble source (ts), the initiator of the sequence (ini) and the participant clarifying the problem (cl).

(3.22) <oisr ts="as" ini="in" cl="as" type="i">
 <as>the the place is a is a village. just surrounded by about 5 houses. about
 this size.</as>
 <in lang="en">5 houses?</in>
 <as>yes. only 5 houses. and they have bamboo. bamboo eh leafs.</as>
 </oisr>

3.4.2.1. Selection of clarification sequences

The analysis of the clarification sequences (see chapter 5) is based on the sequences from the narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative. The reason I focused on these parts is twofold. In the first place, the content of the parts is unique, because every asylum seeker has a different story to tell. As a consequence the officer and the interpreter are unfamiliar with the content of these – often complex – stories. The narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative are therefore a likely source for the occurrence of clarification sequences. The introduction, the part with default questions and the conclusion, on the other hand, contain to a large extent prescribed questions and remarks. For this reason we may expect less clarification sequences in these parts.

Furthermore, the narrative and part with questions about the narrative are the most important parts of the interview, in view of the asylum procedure. In the asylum interview the focus lies on verifiable information, like dates, addresses, names and so on, in order for the asylum seeker to make his statements consistent and credible. The importance of verifiable information is reflected in the clarification sequences. This is especially apparent from the high number of clarification sequences concerning specific dates, numbers, and (names of) places and people during the narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative (see also section 1.5.3. for more information about the second interview).

Clarification sequences follow a certain structure. A sequence starts with a trouble source (ts), followed by the initiating clarification question (ini). The question is

followed by a clarification (clar). The clarification may end the sequence, as in (3.23), or may trigger a form of feedback (fb), such as in (3.24).

- (3.23) Interview 3, narrative
- | | | | |
|------|-------|---|-------|
| ts | IN/nl | [...] toen ben ik naar Zzz gegaan met een taxi.
<i>[...] then I went to Zzz by taxi.</i> | |
| ini | OF | dat is... dat is een plaats?
<i>that is... that is a place?</i> | |
| | | [...] | |
| clar | IN/nl | Zzz is een meneer.
<i>Zzz is a mister.</i> | [3.1] |

- (3.24) Interview 1, narrative
- | | | | |
|------|-------|---|-------|
| ts | AS1 | so I decided I tell my boys I say let's (join). 'cause... | |
| ini | IN1/e | let's? | |
| clar | AS1 | let us join the eh | |
| fb | IN1 | uhuhm. ok. | [1.1] |

Clarification sequences are side sequences, i.e. they interrupt the main line of discourse. The turn in which the trouble source occurs, is still part of the main line of discourse (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). The clarification is strongly connected to the information in the turn containing the trouble source. Because of this close connection, the clarification requested for by an interpreter should be included in the rendition of the troubled turn.⁹²

⁹² (a) is an example in which the interpreter does this very explicitly. This explicit way of including a clarification sequence is rather exceptional (Wadensjö 1992:109-110).

- (a) Situation: medical encounter; participants: doctor (D), interpreter (IN); languages: Swedish/Russian
- | | | | |
|------|-------|--|--|
| ts | D | e... vad man såg i avföringsprovet var förekomst av giardia.
<i>er... what you saw in the stool test was the presence of giardia.</i> | |
| ini | IN/sv | säg det på svenska
<i>say it in Swedish</i> | |
| | D | a det heter giardia.
<i>a it's called giardia.</i> | |
| | IN/sv | är det mask?
<i>is it worms?</i> | |
| clar | D | nej, det är en e... ingen mask, men det är en protozo.
<i>no, it is a er... not a worm, but it is a protozoon.</i> | |
| | IN/sv | mhm, aha. e...
<i>mhm, aha. e...</i> | |
| clar | D | tarminfektion.
<i>intestinal infection</i> | |
| | IN/ru | мм. ванализе кала у нее нашли гиардия. я у врача спрашивала что это такое, думала что это глисы, но это не глисты это какой-то тип простейших. | |

In the data it is not always clear how the clarification sequences should be delimited. In complex sequences it is sometimes possible to point out more than one trouble source. Complex sequences with closely connected trouble sources were counted as one clarification sequence. An example is given in (3.25).

- (3.25) Interview 7, narrative
- | | | |
|-----------------|-------|---|
| ts 1 | AS | basi ndugu yake sasa wa mume wangu akatafutisha akauliza kama kweli nani mtu yake amekufa inaendekaje lakini alitafutisha fasi yote hakumpata. akasema basi vile amekufa na sasa na sisi desturi zetu wa kiislamu inabidi wewe ukaeda.
<i>well the brother of my husband went there to ask whether his brother was dead and how that had happened but he looked everywhere and could not get hold of him. then he said he is dead and according to our Islamic conventions you have to do eda.</i> |
| ini 1 | IN/sw | ukaeda ndio inamaanisha
<i>eda that means</i> |
| clar 1/
ts 2 | AS | muislamu kama bwana anakufa unawekwa ndani miezi 4 na siku 10.
<i>as a Muslim when a husband dies then you are kept in seclusion for 4 months and 10 days.</i> |
| | IN | uhuhm. |
| clar 1 | AS | unajua labda kama ule bwana ameondoka unaweza kuwa una mimba au hivyo. kuanzia kujua kama ameniacha huko na mimba.
<i>you know maybe if that husband has left you might be pregnant with his child or so. to find out whether he left me pregnant.</i> |
| ini 2 | IN/sw | miezi 4 na siku 10?
<i>4 months and 10 days?</i> |
| clar 2 | AS | 10. [7.1] |

In this example the asylum seeker used a word which is unknown by the interpreter in the first turn (ts 1). The interpreter asked for clarification (ini 1), which is given to him (cl 1). In the clarification another trouble source appeared (ts 2) and again the interpreter asked the asylum seeker for clarification (ini 2). The two trouble sources could each be counted as the start of a clarification sequence, but since the sequences are intertwined, I counted them as one clarification sequence.

There are sequences in the data that resemble the structure of a clarification sequence but strictly speaking are not. In the part with questions about the narrative I found cases in which the officer asked a question followed by an answer by the asylum seeker that did not correspond to the question. The interpreter's response to the non-fitting answer in such cases was not to provide a rendition of the answer, but instead to repeat the officer's question. An example is given in (3.26).

mhm. in her stool test they found giardia. I asked the doctor whatever it is, I thought it was worms, but this is not worms it's a kind of protozoon.

(Wadensjö 1992:109-110)

- (3.26) Interview 14, questions about the narrative, languages Dutch/English
- OF ja. hoe bent u met haar in contact gekomen?
yes. how did you come in contact with her?
- IN/en how did you come in contact with her *Zzz Zzz?*
- “ts” AS xxx. the town we were before we went to Ivory Coast to the border
 there. some people came go look for work some people came looking
 for hous+... some women... the xxx women they came look for (house)
 xxx to come and stay with them. to work for them.
- IN uhuhm.
- “ts” AS that’s how she met me. that’s how she took me to house. because I
 had nobody there.
- IN uhuhm.
- “ts” AS so she told me say xxx will take me to a house. for me to be helping
 her doing her work. so I say ok. she say she will be paying me 2000.
 every month.
- “ini” IN/en but the the question is
- OF ja precies.
yes exactly.
- “ini” IN/en how do you meet her? [14.2]

The asylum seeker’s answer in (3.26), divided over three turns, did not contain the requested information and could therefore be seen as a trouble source. Following the structure of a clarification sequence, the interpreter’s response would then be the initiating clarification question. The action of the interpreter – repeating the question rather than translating the answer – should not be marked as such. As explained in section 2.5.3.1. clarification sequences are initiated because of problems of speaking, hearing, or understanding. In (x) the trouble source cannot be said to cause such a problem: what the asylum seeker said seemed to be heard and understood correctly. The question asked by the interpreter is not about clarifying the given information, but about requesting *different* information. Furthermore, the question itself is not a new question but a repetition – or in other cases a reformulation – of the officer’s question. Therefore, I consider discourse sequences such as (3.26) not as clarification sequences. They are discussed in chapter 6, as a kind of non-translated turns (section 6.2.2. about encouraging a speaker to add information).

3.4.2.2. Occurrences of clarification sequences in the interview parts

In the 14 narratives and parts with questions about the narrative 1231 clarification sequences were found, initiated by either the interpreter, the officer or the asylum seeker. More than half of the sequences occurred in the narratives. The tables below show the number of clarification sequences in the narratives (table 3.14) and in the parts with questions about the narrative (table 3.15), divided by the initiating participant. The numbers in the tables show how different the clarification sequences are distributed, but they occur in all interviews. We will use the numbers in interpreting the clarification sequences, especially in interviews showing a high frequency of clarification sequences (interviews 10 and 15; see chapter 5).

int.	lang.	length narrative	ini:in/ts:as	ini:in/ts:of	ini:of	ini:as	tot
1	en	00:58:29	14	0	20	0	34
2	fr	00:21:06	11	0	3	0	14
3	fr	00:03:59	2	0	1	0	3
4	fr	01:09:56	19	1	36	3	59
5	fr	00:50:36	5	0	4	0	9
6	sw	00:24:42	8	0	11	1	20
7	sw	00:20:14	4	0	13	0	17
8	so	00:04:17	0	0	0	0	0
9	sw	00:07:35	7	0	1	0	8
10	en	02:00:26	51	2	65	5	123
12	sw	00:19:14	3	1	2	2	8
13	sw	00:16:26	14	0	1	0	15
14	en	00:07:34	0	0	14	1	15
15	en	03:31:06	270	0	79	2	351
tot		10:35:40	408	4	250	14	676

Table 3.14: Number of clarification sequences initiated in the narratives, divided by initiating participant.

int.	lang.	length part questions	ini:in/ts:as	ini:in/ts:of	ini:of	ini:as	tot
1	en	00:14:23	7	0	2	1	10
2	fr	01:48:27	29	3	12	8	52
3	fr	00:37:49	10	0	1	3	14
4	fr	00:43:56	8	5	12	4	29
5	fr	00:21:07	3	0	2	0	5
6	sw	00:51:53	11	2	12	7	32
7	sw	01:31:58	19	4	25	8	56
8	so	01:49:12	6	4	7	1	18
9	sw	01:19:18	20	2	3	15	40
10	en	02:26:56	51	4	9	13	77
12	sw	02:36:20	39	2	11	12	64
13	sw	00:58:44	20	1	8	3	32
14	en	02:00:43	19	2	17	19	57
15	en	00:45:28	64	3	2	0	69
tot		18:06:14	306	32	123	94	555

Table 3.15: Number of clarification sequences initiated in the parts with questions about the narrative, divided by initiating participant.

Two columns in tables 3.14 and 3.15 are necessary to distinguish the interpreter as initiator: an extra distinction is made between sequences initiated as a response to a trouble source by the asylum seeker and sequences as a response to a trouble source by the officer. Such a distinction is not necessary for the asylum seeker or the officer. When these participants initiate a clarification, we can assume that the trouble source is the interpreter, since in general the asylum seeker and the officer do not respond to each other directly.⁹³ Note that in the clarification sequences in which the interpreter creates the trouble source for either the officer or the asylum seeker, the interpreter is not necessarily the participant providing the clarification. He might pass on the clarification question to the other primary speaker. An example is given in (3.27), in which the officer initiated a clarification sequences and the asylum seeker provided the clarification.

(3.27) Interview 6, narrative

ts	IN/nl	nadat ze het lichaam van mijn man hadden weggebracht kwamen er weer 2 soldaten naar mijn huis toe. <i>after they had taken away my husband's body, again two soldiers came to my home.</i>
ini	OF	ja? dus eh die waren eerder geweest die 2? <i>yes? thus eh those were there before, those two?</i>
	IN/sw	wale wawili walikuwa walikuwa hapo mwanzoni wameenda na wanarudi tena? <i>those two were the ones who left earlier and who then returned?</i>
clar	AS	ndio wale wale walikuwa wawili wakawa wamerudi. <i>yes the two of them were there earlier and returned.</i>
	IN/nl	ja. het ging om diezelfde soldaten. <i>yes. it concerned the same soldiers.</i>

[6.1]

3.4.3. Non-translated turns

All turns that did not form a turn-rendition pair together with another turn were identified as non-translated turns (see also section 2.5.4). No renditions are found among these turns since all renditions are part of a turn-rendition pair. The fact that these turns remained untranslated means that one of the discourse participants did not have had access to the turn's information, unless he had (partial) command over the other language.

Among the non-translated turns we find single turns and sequences of turns produced by one or more discourse participants. Single turns were produced by each of the three participants: asylum seeker, officer or interpreter. The sequences consisted of two or more subsequent turns, involving all combinations of participants, mainly two per sequence.

⁹³ In some interviews (one of) the primary speakers has a (partial) command of the other primary speaker's language. As a consequence direct communication may occur between the two. This kind of communication is discussed in section 6.3.

The non-translated turns are indicated in the transcription by three different tags. A turn is tagged [lack_of_rend] if it concerns a turn by one of the primary speaker that remained without a rendition. The tag's attribute orig specifies the speaker. In the example in (3.28) the speaker is the asylum seeker.

(3.28) [lack_of_rend orig='as']
 <as>he can call me sometime.</as>
 [/lack_of_rend] [14.2]

Turns produced by the interpreter are tagged [nonrend], indicating that the turn is not a rendition. The language is specified by the attribute lang, either the client language (cl) – as in example (3.29) – or the institutional language (il).

(3.29) [nonrend lang='cl']
 <in lang="fr">voilà... pardon continue.</in>
 [/nonrend]
 IN/fr *that is... I'm sorry continue.* [4.2]

In case a series of turns has been produced, not containing any renditions, the complete sequence is tagged [alt] (for alternation of speakers). The discourse participants participating in the sequence are found in the attribute part. In example (3.30) the officer and the interpreter were involved.

(3.30) [alt part='of-in']
 <in lang="nl">ja u u hebt begrepen wat meneer zegt heh?</in>
 <of>ja ja ja ja.</of>
 [/alt]
 IN/nl *yes you you have understood what Mister says, don't you?*
 OF *yes yes yes.* [10.2]

3.4.3.1. Selection of non-translated turns

The non-translated turns and the turn-rendition pairs are mutual exclusive. I selected the non-translated turns from the same interview parts from which the turn-rendition pairs were selected: the interviews' introductions, narratives and parts with questions about the narrative.

1071 instances of non-translated turns were distinguished, either single turns or sequences of turns. This is considerably less than the number of turn-rendition pairs, which counted 5426 (see also table 3.6. at the beginning of section 3.4, showing the number of turn-rendition pairs and non-translated turns per interview part).

Of these 1071, 387 instances concerned a clarification sequence.⁹⁴ Since the clarification sequences are analysed separately in chapter 5, I discarded them from the selection, leaving 684 non-translated turns for analysis. This number indicates that non-translated

⁹⁴ These only concern clarification sequences that were not part of a turn-rendition pair. The total number of clarification sequences is higher. As mentioned in section 3.4.2.2, the number of clarification sequences in the interviews' narratives and parts with questions about the narrative was 1231.

turns are common in the interviews. The distribution over the different parts of the interviews is given in table 3.16, showing that they occur in all parts.

	non-translated turns	non-translated turns (excluding clarification seq.)
<i>introductions</i>	142	114
<i>narratives</i>	411	231
<i>questions narrative</i>	518	339
total	1071	684

Table 3.16: Occurrences of non-translated turns split out by interview part, including and excluding clarification sequences.

3.4.3.2. Properties of non-translated turns

Table 3.17. shows how the non-translated turns are divided in single turns and sequences and which participants are involved in producing them. The single turns produced by the interpreter are either in the institutional language or in the client language. The instances in the client language are more frequent than the ones in the institutional language. The other groups of single turns concern asylum seekers' and officers' turns lacking a rendition. The number of single turns produced by the asylum seekers is higher than the number of officers' turns. The sequences, with different combinations of participants, consist of two or more subsequent turns.

Kind of non-translated turns	Number of occurrences
Turns interpreter institutional language	36
Turns interpreter client language	99
Turns asylum seeker	232
Turns officer	104
Sequences officer-interpreter	96
Sequences officer-asylum seeker	16
Sequences interpreter-asylum seeker	83
Sequences officer-interpreter-asylum seeker	18
Total	684

Table 3.17: Non-translated turns divided by producer(s).

In table 3.18. the distribution of non-translated turns per interview is given. It shows that non-translated turns occurred in every interview, albeit with a different frequency. Interviews 10, 14 en 15 stand out; we will return to these high frequencies in chapter 6.

int.	lang.	introduction		narrative		part questions		tot
		length	no. non-tr.	length	no. non-tr.	length	no. non-tr.	no. non-tr
1	en	00:02:06	0	00:58:29	13	00:14:23	4	17
2	fr	00:14:04	20	00:21:06	11	01:48:27	27	58
3	fr	00:12:55	5	00:03:59	2	00:37:49	6	13
4	fr	00:03:47	5	01:09:56	19	00:43:56	18	42
5	fr	00:01:58	2	00:50:36	12	00:21:07	2	16
6	sw	00:07:48	10	00:24:42	4	00:51:53	12	26
7	sw	00:15:16	2	00:20:14	1	01:31:58	6	9
8	so	00:04:08	3	00:04:17	0	01:49:12	32	35
9	sw	00:03:48	4	00:07:35	6	01:19:18	12	22
10	en	00:39:07	25	02:00:26	72	02:26:56	66	163
12	sw	00:11:38	15	00:19:14	2	02:36:20	41	58
13	sw	00:14:48	8	00:16:26	2	00:58:44	18	28
14	en	00:20:55	13	00:07:34	3	02:00:43	85	101
15	en	00:05:02	2	03:31:06	84	00:45:28	10	96
tot		02:37:20	114	10:35:40	231	18:06:14	339	684

Table 3.18: Number of non-translated turns divided by interview part.

4. Turn-rendition pairs

The code of conduct for interpreters, drawn up by the IND (see section 1.2.3), states that interpreters should translate everything that is said and provide literal or exact translations. This chapter investigates the relation between turns and rendition in terms of similarity. The analysis will show that the similarity between turn and rendition is more often than not affected. Furthermore, omission of information frequently occurs, which means that not everything said by the primary speakers is conveyed by the interpreter. This is not in accordance with the code of conduct.

Similarity between turn and rendition is affected in most cases by choices made by the interpreter, with the aim to provide renditions more efficient, relevant and/or perspicuous than the original turns. It means that interpreters handle strategies to improve communication process. This chapter wants to make clear how these strategies relate to the interpreters' prescribed role.

The topic of this chapter is to investigate the relation between turns and renditions in terms of similarity. In chapter 2 I made a distinction between four levels of similarity relevant in the context of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse: the information level, the pragmatic level, the form level and the speaker level. The first step in the analysis of the turn-rendition pairs originating from the 14 asylum interviews is to show which changes occur between a rendition and the turn it belongs to at every level of similarity. The changes will be explained in terms of shifts, i.e. changes occurring in the process of translating (Bakker et al. 2009). As explained in section 2.3.2.1, a shift is caused by a (conscious or unconscious) choice of the interpreter in the translation process (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:155).

The second step in the analysis of turn rendition pairs is to link the occurring shifts to the existence of production strategies. Interpreters have the possibility to apply production strategies to the turns they have to convey, in order to produce renditions that meet the recipients' expectations. The production strategies are linked to the production norms, guiding interpreters through the process of producing renditions. The working of the production norms is not directly observable in the renditions, but need to be derived from the occurrence of production strategies, as explained in chapter 2. Determining which production strategies interpreters apply in asylum interviews will provide insights in how norms function as a framework in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse.

For the analysis of the relation between turns and rendition a sample of turn-rendition pairs was selected. The sample's turns and renditions were divided into parts, as a method for systematically comparing the turns with their rendition and to establish the similarity relationships in each pair (see section 3.4.1). The different pairs are presented in tables and numbered as pairs in this chapter. An example is provided in pair 4.1. The left side of the table shows the original turn, produced by the asylum seeker, consisting of five parts. The right side shows the rendition of the turn, consisting of three parts.

	AS05 / length 00:00:05		IN05
		-	moeder was huisvrouw. <i>mother was housewife.</i>
1	elle ne travaillait pas. <i>she did not work.</i>	1	die werkte niet. <i>she did not work.</i>
2	c'est mon père qui... <i>it is my father who...</i>		
3	c'est mon père <i>it is my father</i>		
4	qui qui était pous+ pousseur. ⁹⁵ <i>who who was a [cart] push+ pusher.</i>		
5	seulement il travaillait. <i>only he worked.</i>	5	papa werkte. <i>daddy worked.</i>

Pair 4.1: An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 5

I established which turn parts showed a similarity relationship with a rendition part on the basis of content words available in both turn and rendition part: the first and the fifth part showed a similarity relationship with a part in the rendition. After establishing the similarity relationships between turn and rendition parts, three parts of the turn and one part of the rendition remained, for which no matching part was available. In other words, in the rendition three parts were omitted and one part was added, which makes a total of four mutations, in terms of Van Leuven-Zwart (1989). For the parts showing a similarity relationship, the level of similarity varies: the parts may be synonym, or the rendition part may show one or more modifications in comparison to the turn part (cf. Van Leuven-Zwart 1989).⁹⁶

I distinguished the shifts in the sample on the basis of the occurrence of mutations or modifications: a shift comprises one or more mutations or modifications linked to a choice in the production process of a rendition. Shifts based on both mutations and modifications have been analysed in the sample.⁹⁷ For every shift, I determined which level of similarity was primarily affected.⁹⁸ I characterised the shifts in terms of the production strategies discussed in section 2.3.2.2.

⁹⁵ A *pousseur* ('cart pusher') is a person who moves stuff for other people by means of a cart.

⁹⁶ Van Leuven-Zwart (1989) distinguished modulation and modification for the parts showing a similarity relationship and not being synonym, modulation showing a stronger similarity relationship than modification (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:159-168). However, for the purpose of this study this distinction is not useful. Therefore, I will only use one notion to indicate a similarity relationship not based on synonymy, and that is modification.

⁹⁷ Not all modifications and mutations are caused by a shift. A mistake, for instance, can lead to a modification or mutation but is not a choice made by the interpreter, and therefore not considered a shift.

⁹⁸ As explained in section 2.1.2, a shift affecting one level of similarity is likely to affect (an) other level(s) of similarity as well. In the analysis of the shifts I focussed for each shift on the level of similarity that was primarily affected, and left other affected levels of similarity unmentioned.

To find the mutations in the sample, I searched in the turn-rendition pairs for parts omitted from and added to the renditions. These changes concern the group of mutations analysed in this chapter, discussed in section 4.1. All pairs in the sample were also checked for modifications involving a change in part order.⁹⁹ After establishing the mutations and establishing the modifications involving a change in part order, 19 turn-rendition pairs remained, showing no mutations and no modifications based on a change in part order. In order to determine whether the relationship between turn and rendition in these 19 remaining pairs should be considered a relationship of synonymy, I searched these pairs for all other modifications occurring between the parts with a similarity relationship. One of the modifications I encountered in these remaining pairs concerned a change in form of address, relevant in the light of the generally accepted rule, also included in the IND work instruction, that interpreters should use the same grammatical person as the primary speaker (Ng 2013:250; Harris 1990:115-116; see also section 1.2.2). To get a complete view of the reach of this type of change in the whole sample, I checked all pairs for modifications involving form of address. All modifications are discussed in section 4.2.

4.1. Mutations

In terms of Van Leuven-Zwart (1989) mutations concern parts showing no similarity relationship with another part. This applies to turn parts without a counterpart in the rendition (parts being omitted in the rendition) and also for parts added to the rendition, that do not find their origin in the turn. For Van Leuven-Zwart (1989) a mutation is equal to a shift in the translation (see section 2.3.2.1). We should bear in mind that the parts distinguished in the turns and renditions are as such not necessarily recognised by the interpreter. Therefore, a shift does not necessarily apply to a single part. Unlike Van Leuven-Zwart (1989) I will assume that in a shift *at least* one part is involved. Mutations are considered to form one shift if they involve one choice in the translation process. Such mutations are often adjacent, but not necessarily so. Pair 4.1. above illustrated one shift involving three mutations, i.e. three omitted parts. Pair 4.2. below shows two shifts, the first involving one omitted part and one added part (indicated by the dashed lines), the second involving four added parts (indicated by the dotted lines). The parts involved in the first shift in pair 4.2. are related in a way – both contain a temporal reference – but do not show a similarity relationship. The parts added in the second shift give the asylum seeker a bit more context, provided by the interpreter on the basis of her knowledge about the asylum procedure.

⁹⁹ Changes in the order of information are not specifically discussed in the literature about interpreter-mediated discourse. The method I chose for comparing turns and renditions, however, makes clear that changes in part order occurred in approximately one third of the sample's turn-rendition pairs. This frequent occurrence of this type of modifications justified a prominent position in the analysis of the sample.

	OF02 / length 00:00:06		IN02
1	van eh wat er vandaag wordt gezegd of eh that which will be said today		
2	zal ik een rapport opmaken. I will draw up a report.	2	moi je ferai un rapport écrit uhn me, I will make a written report uhn
			- quand on aura fini cet entretien. when we will have finished this interview.
			- donc ce sera comme celui-là so that will be like that one
			- ce sera donc par écrit so that will be in writing
			- tu auras toi-même une copie eeeh you will get a copy yourself eeeh
			- ça sera joint à ton dossier that will be attached to your file
3	en dat rapport wordt gebruikt and this report will be used	3	et c'est sur la base de eeeh ces rapports and it is on the basis of eeeh these reports
4	om de vraag te beantwoorden to answer the question	4	que on décidera that they will decide
5	of u in Nederland mag blijven of niet. whether you may stay in The Netherlands or not.	5	si oui ou non tu vas pouvoir rester aux Pays-Bas. whether yes or no you will be allowed to stay in The Netherlands.

Pair 4.2: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 3

So, one choice made by an interpreter in the translation process may lead to more than one mutation, the mutations forming together one shift. It is nevertheless useful to distinguish all mutations separately. We can use the number of mutations within a shift as an indication for the impact of the shift: a shift containing four mutations will have a greater impact on the similarity relation between turn and rendition than a shift consisting of only one mutation. Below, in tables 4.1. to 4.4, I will present an overview of the number of mutations and the number of shifts related to the mutations, occurring in the 56 pairs from the introductions, from the narratives and from the parts with questions about the narrative (one table for the questions and one for the answers). They contain the total number of parts in the turn, the number of parts added to the rendition, the number of shifts concerning addition, the number of parts omitted from the rendition and the number of shifts concerning omission. Furthermore, the tables contain general information provided before in section 3.4.1: the client language spoken in the interview, the length of the turn and the total number of parts in the turn.

In the 14 pairs from the introductions we found 58 mutations. Overall, more parts were added than left out of the renditions. Only in three pairs the number of the turn's parts equals the number of the rendition's parts. In eleven pairs one or more parts were added. In seven pairs one or more parts were left out, though never exceeding the number of added parts in the same pair.

The number of shifts in the introductions is 25. Especially the shifts concerning addition consist of more parts. In the turn-rendition pair of interviews 3, 10, 12, 13 and 14 a shift occurred in which omitted parts were replaced by a related but newly added part, similar to the shift in pair 4.2. above. In these cases the shifts are counted only once, as omissions and they do therefore not appear in the column of additions.

int.	language	turn length (in sec)	number of parts in turn	no. of parts added	no. of shifts addition	no. of parts omitted	no. of shifts omission
1	en	00:00:12	4	2	2	-	-
2	fr	00:00:04	3	-	-	-	-
3	fr	00:00:06	5	5	1	1	1
4	fr	00:00:12	5	-	-	-	-
5	fr	00:00:11	5	3	1	-	-
6	sw	00:00:06	2	10	1	-	-
7	sw	00:00:11	4	7	2	-	-
8	so	00:00:03	1	1	1	-	-
9	sw	00:00:11	2	-	-	-	-
10	en	00:00:18	11	4	1	3	2
12	sw	00:00:14	5	3	3	1	1
13	sw	00:00:20	10	5	1	4	2
14	en	00:00:12	8	3	1	3	2
15	en	00:00:09	4	2	2	1	1
Tot			69	45	16	13	9

Table 4.1: Mutations in the 14 turn-rendition pairs taken from the introductions

int.	language	turn length (in sec)	number of parts in turn	no. of parts added	no. of shifts addition	no. of parts omitted	no. of shifts omission
1	en	00:00:34	20	4	-	12	7
2	fr	00:00:10	3	-	-	1	1
3	fr	00:00:59	26	3	-	11	10
4	fr	00:00:23	16	4	1	9	5
5	fr	00:00:46	32	7	3	23	10
6	sw	00:00:24	10	-	-	5	3
7	sw	00:00:18	16	2	-	9	3
8	so	00:00:08	4	2	1	-	-
9	sw	00:00:10	5	-	-	-	-
10	en	00:00:11	3	1	-	2	1
12	sw	00:00:14	7	2	1	4	3
13	sw	00:00:25	8	-	-	1	1
14	en	00:00:14	9	-	-	2	2
15	en	00:00:04	2	-	-	-	-
Tot			161	25	6	78	46

Table 4.2: Mutations in the 14 turn-rendition pairs taken from the narratives

In the pairs from the narratives 103 mutations took place. Overall, far more parts were left out than added in the renditions. Only in two pairs the number of turn parts equal the number of parts in the rendition. In the remaining twelve examples parts from the renditions are left out and/or new parts have been added by the interpreter. In only one of these twelve examples new parts are added while no parts are left out. In the eleven examples where some parts from the turn are absent, the number of parts left out exceeds the number of parts added.

The number of shifts is 52. The majority of shifts consist of more parts. In interviews 1, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 12 shifts occurred in which omitted parts were replaced by related added parts. As mentioned before, these shifts are only counted once, as shifts concerning omission.

The mutations and shifts for the questions and answer pairs taken from the parts with questions about the narratives are given in tables 4.3. and 4.4. It turns out that they contain less parts than the pairs from the introductions and the narratives, and also have less mutations. Half of the 28 turn-rendition pairs consist of only one turn. These pairs do not leave room for omitting parts. Only in one case of a one-part turn a part has been added in the rendition.

In twelve of the fourteen turn-rendition pairs of more than one part, parts were added and/or left out. Among the answer pairs we find one pair with a turn length of 40 seconds. In the rendition of this lengthy turn many parts have been left out, similar to the renditions of lengthy turns in the narratives.

The number of shifts is 12 for the questions and 11 for the answers. Some of the shifts consist of more than one part. In one shift occurring in the question of interview 3 an omitted part was replaced by a related added part. This was counted as a shift concerning omission.

int.	language	turn length (in sec)	number of parts in turn	no. of parts added	no. of shifts addition	no. of parts omitted	no. of shifts omission
1	en	00:00:04	2	-	-	1	1
2	fr	00:00:12	6	1	1	1	1
3	fr	00:00:17	6	4	1	2	1
4	fr	00:00:03	1	-	-	-	-
5	fr	00:00:02	1	1	1	-	-
6	sw	00:00:09	4	2	1	-	-
7	sw	00:00:04	1	-	-	-	-
8	so	00:00:12	5	1	1	1	1
9	sw	00:00:01	1	-	-	-	-
10	en	00:00:24	6	-	-	3	2
12	sw	00:00:02	1	-	-	-	-
13	sw	00:00:03	1	-	-	-	-
14	en	00:00:01	1	-	-	-	-
15	en	00:00:09	4	-	-	1	1
Tot			40	9	5	9	7

Table 4.3: Mutations in the 14 turn-rendition pairs taken from the questions in the parts with questions about the narrative

int.	language	turn length (in sec)	number of parts in turn	no. of parts added	no. of shifts addition	no. of parts omitted	no. of shifts omission
1	en	00:00:03	1	-	-	-	-
2	fr	00:00:17	4	-	-	-	-
3	fr	00:00:01	1	-	-	-	-
4	fr	00:00:40	21	2 ¹⁰⁰	-	13	3
5	fr	00:00:05	5	1	1	3	2
6	sw	00:00:18	6	-	-	3	2
7	sw	00:00:07	1	-	-	-	-
8	so	00:00:03	2	-	-	1	1
9	sw	00:00:02	1	-	-	-	-
10	en	00:00:01	1	-	-	-	-
12	sw	00:00:08	6	-	-	5	2
13	sw	00:00:04	1	-	-	-	-
14	en	00:00:02	1	-	-	-	-
15	en	00:00:08	2	-	-	-	-
Tot			53	3	1	25	10

Table 4.4: Mutations in the 14 turn-rendition pairs taken from the answers in the parts with questions about the narrative

In total, 100 shifts are observed in the mutations presented in tables 4.1. to 4.4. The shifts concerning omission of parts are discussed in section 4.1.1, the shifts concerning addition of parts in section 4.1.2.

4.1.1. Shifts: omission of parts

In 28 of the sample's turn-rendition pairs one or more parts have been left out, resulting in 72 shifts. The shifts were found in 13 interviews: in six pairs from the introduction (nine shifts), in eleven pairs from the narrative (46 shifts) and in eleven pairs from the part with questions (six questions, containing seven shifts, and five answers, containing ten cases). The asylum seekers' turns are more frequently affected by the omissions than the officers' turns. The analysis of the sample should explain the reasons for this difference.

	total number of shifts	shifts in introd.	shifts in narrative	shifts in questions	shifts in answers	number of interviews involved
omission of parts	72	9	46	7	10	13

Table 4.5: Number of shifts concerning omission of parts

We see three patterns in the parts left out. First of all, parts are left out and replaced by different parts containing related, but not similar information. Second, parts are left out in examples where information is repeated. And finally, parts are left out seemingly on

¹⁰⁰ The two added parts in the rendition of this pair were not caused by a shift, but concerned a self-initiated self-repair (see section 6.2.1.1).

the basis of their irrelevancy – from the interpreter’s point of view. I will discuss the turn-rendition pairs showing these patterns below, in the sections 4.1.1.1. to 4.1.1.3. Finally, in 4.1.1.4. I will discuss the remaining pairs, that do not show a particular pattern.

4.1.1.1. *Parts replaced by added parts with related content*

17 shifts in eleven turn-rendition pairs showed a combination of addition and omission in which the information from the parts left out was somehow related to information in parts added to the rendition. This is illustrated by pair 4.3.

	<i>OF02 / length 00:00:06</i>		<i>IN02</i>
1	van eh wat er vandaag wordt gezegd <i>of eh that which will be said today</i>		
2	zal ik een rapport opmaken. <i>I will draw up a report.</i>	2	moi je ferai un rapport écrit uhn <i>me, I will make a written report uhn</i>
		-	quand on aura fini cet entretien. <i>when we will have finished this interview.</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.3: Part 1 to 2 of a turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 3

The interpreter in this pair does not include part 1 in her rendition, which is a specification of what is written in the report, containing a time reference (‘that which will be said today’). However, following the rendition of part 2 a part appears in which we also find a time reference (‘when we have finished this conversation’) related to the writing of the report. This part is certainly not similar to part 1, but the parts are related through the time reference and their connection to part 2.

Whereas the officer’s time reference referred to the period of time in which the interview would take place, the interpreter referred to the moment the report would be finished.¹⁰¹ She was able to make this addition on the basis of her experience. This strategy affected similarity primarily at the level of information. I found one other shift, originating from an answer, which concerned a part with a time reference replaced by a different part with a time reference.

Another shift concerned the replacement of the first two parts of the turn by one part containing information from a previous turn. This shift is presented in pair 4.4. The omitted parts in the turn and the added part in the rendition have in common that they indicate the continuation of the traveling previously described by the asylum seeker. Again, the shift affected similarity primarily at the information level.

¹⁰¹ Through her experience the interpreter knew that the main part of the report would be written during the interview and finished just after the interview so that a copy could be handed out to the asylum seeker before leaving. Although the interpreter did not say explicitly that the report would be finished after the interview is over, this is what she implicated, given the context just described.

AS01 / length 00:00:34		IN01	
		-	eh we moesten hun dus volgen <i>eh so we had to follow them</i>
1	ok. so now we are going...		
2	we really go very far.		
3	then later we go by the by the by the sand.	3	en op een gegeven moment stopten we ergens bij een zand+ eh zanderig gebied <i>and at a certain point we stopped somewhere at a sand+ eh sandy area</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.4: Part 1 to 3 of a turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 1

In the following pair the majority of original parts have been left out of the rendition. In the unnumbered parts following the rendition of parts 1 and 5, the interpreter seemed to make an attempt to summarise parts 2 and 3 and parts 6 to 12, using the same content twice. However, the added parts are by no means similar to the content of the skipped parts. Instead the interpreter's parts are inferred from the information in the original parts. The interpreter's action affected similarity primarily at the information level.

Including the two cases in pair 4.5. I found six shifts with inferred information, in three pairs of the sample, all from a narrative.

AS07 / length 00:00:18		IN06	
1	basi tunaendelea na maisha <i>so-we are going on-with-life</i> 'so we just went on with life'	1	ja wij leidden een dus ja gewoon bestaan. <i>yes we led like a yes normal existence.</i>
2	mimi na mume wangu tukasema <i>me-and-husband-mine-we said</i> 'my husband and I said'		
3	sasa tutakimbia mpaka lini <i>now-we will run-till-when</i> 'upto when will we keep running?'		
		-	eh wij wilden niet meer vluchten. <i>eh we did not want to flee anymore.</i>
4	tumeshatoka Rwanda <i>we have left-Rwanda</i> 'we left Rwanda'	4	(want) wij eh... wij kwamen uit Rwanda. <i>(because) we eh... we came from Rwanda.</i>
5	tumekaa miaka yote. <i>where we have lived-years-all</i> 'where we had lived for many years'	5	waar wij... waar eh wij als vluchtelingen hadden gewoond. <i>where we... where eh we had lived as refugees.</i>
6	tukasema sasa <i>we said-now</i> 'we felt now'		

7	hivi wameenda kuchagua prezida wa wademokarasia <i>like this-they have gone to choose-president-of-democracy</i> 'that they are going to vote for a democratic president'		
8	tunarudia <i>we go back</i> 'why go back'		
9	vimeendeka ndivyo hivyo. <i>it has happened-like -that.</i> 'to all that has happened.'		
10	basi hakuna jinsi <i>so-there is no-way</i> 'so there is no use of going back'		
11	tubakie tu hapa <i>we remain-here</i> 'we would rather stay here'		
12	tuendeleze maisha yetu. <i>we go on-life-with.</i> 'and go on with our life.'		
		-	en... wij wilden niet meer vluchten. and... we did not want to flee anymore.
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.5: Parts 1 to 12 of a turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 7

The following shift, originating from a pair from the introduction of interview 10, involves a change of perspective related to the use of personal pronouns and a change of style. The officer spoke in a rather colloquial way. The interpreter did not take over this way of speaking completely, but added some elements of it.

	OF10 / length 00:00:18		IN10
	[...]		[...]
		8	eh if there is anything
7	ook als je denkt <i>also when you think</i>	7	that you think
8	van goh dit of dit heeft u mij misschien nog niet gevraagd <i>like gee, this or this you maybe have not asked me yet</i>	8	that should be asked
9	of dit of dit wil ik nog wat over vertellen. <i>or about this or this I want to tell something more.</i>		
10	geef het aan. <i>point it out.</i>	10	you can also tell him.

		-	please ask me this question
		-	and I will I will answer it.
11	doen we het. we'll do it.		

Pair 4.6: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 10

The relevant parts are 9 and 11 of the turn and the unnumbered parts at the end of the rendition. Part 9 and 11 are positioned in the second half of the turn, in which a change of the officer's way of speaking is notable. In part 7 the officer switched to the second person, the non-politeness form, and explained from part 7 to 11 in a rather informal manner that the asylum seeker could also bring up topics. For this he uses direct speech in 8 and 9, which increases the complexity of the participation framework: 'me' and 'I' refer to the asylum seeker and 'you' to the officer, instead of the other way around. In the rendition of part 8 the interpreter has not taken over the use of direct speech, but in the parts added to the rendition we do find direct speech. The information in the added parts is, however, not similar to the officer's direct speech parts 8 and 9. Nor are they similar to the omitted part 11. In fact, the information of the rendition up to part 10 is more or less similar to the information of the turn. The primary function of the added parts seems to be an attempt to copy the officer's way of speaking, creating a similar style. Nevertheless, similarity is affected at the speaker level.

In the following pair, from the narrative of interview 4, we find another shift of perspective related to the use of personal pronouns. The exclamation in direct speech in part 10, originally uttered by a friend of the asylum seeker, has been replaced by a related description in an added part ('she was relieved'). In this case, the interpreter did not make an attempt to preserve the original style. The formulation she chose more clearly distinguished the roles in this specific participation framework, i.e. who was saying what – at the expense of similarity at the speaker level.

	AS04 / length 00:00:23		IN04
	[...]		[...]
10	Dieu merci il n'est pas là <i>Thank god he is not there!</i>		
		-	toen zij hoorde <i>when she heard</i>
11	il est au travail <i>he is at work</i>	11	dat mijn man naar zijn werk was <i>that my husband went to work</i>
		-	dat hij bij de president was <i>that he was with the president</i>
		-	was zij opgelucht. <i>she was relieved.</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.7: Part 10 and 16 of a turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 4

In pair 4.8. the interpreter improved the coherence of the original turn. In the turn the officer is struggling with the formulation of her question. She made a start in part 4 and

a new start in part 5. The sentence that she eventually formulated is not well-formed. The interpreter ignored part 4 and 5, added a related part and translated part 6. The interpreter's changes affected similarity at the speaker level. The turn's coherence seem to have improved in the rendition.

	<i>OF02 / length 00:00:17</i>		<i>IN02</i>
	[...]		[...]
4	kunt u daar nogmaals eh... <i>could you again eh...</i>		
		-	est-ce que tu as réfléchi à ça? <i>have you reflected on that?</i>
5	kunt u daar eh vertellen <i>could you eh tell about that</i>		
6	wat u nu inmiddels heeft eh daarover heeft te zeggen? <i>what you now in the mean time have eh to say about that?</i>	6	est-ce que tu as quelque chose à dire maintenant là-dessus? <i>do you have something to say about that now?</i>

Pair 4.8: A question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 3

The remaining shifts with replaced parts concerned the addition of parts containing more general information than the information in the omitted parts. I found five shifts to a more general information level, leading to an affected similarity at the information level. Pair 4.9, from the introduction of interview 14, illustrates this kind of shift. In this pair part 6 is omitted and replaced in the rendition by the part *and she has nothing to do with this interview*. The added part is less specific than part 6.

	<i>OF14 / length 00:00:12</i>		<i>IN14</i>
	[...]		[...]
		7	she is just here
2	mevrouw de tolk vertaalt <i>ms. interpreter translates</i>	2 3	to interpret eh the (conversation) between you and I
3	wat u en ik tegen elkaar zeggen. <i>what you and tell say to each other.</i>		
		-	and she has nothing to do with this interview.
4	mevrouw de tolk is een onafhankelijke factor <i>ms. interpreter is an independent factor</i>	4	she is independent.
5	wat betekent <i>which means</i>		
6	dat ze niet bij u of bij mij hoort. <i>that she does not belong to you or me.</i>		
7	ze vertaalt enkel <i>she just translates</i>		

8	wat wij tijdens dit gesprek tegen elkaar zeggen. <i>what we say to each other during this conversation.</i>		
---	--	--	--

Pair 4.9: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 14

Pair 4.10, originating from the introduction of interview 13, contains another instance of parts replaced by a more general content. The officer's parts 1 and 2 are replaced by a newly added part in the rendition. In this example we see, in addition, that the interpreter repairs a mistake made by the officer, without mentioning this: the officer incorrectly uses the word 'interview' which is replaced in the rendition by the correct word 'report'.

	<i>OF13 / length 00:00:20</i>		<i>IN13</i>
1	en eh op basis van hetgeen u mij vertelt <i>and eh on the basis of what you tell me</i>		
2	en waar ik dus een gehoor van maak <i>and of which I thus make an interview</i>		
		-	uhn sa+ sa+ sasa eeeh watafanya eh kwenye rapoti yako <i>uhn n+ n+ now-eeeh-they will do-eh on-report-your</i> <i>'now they will work on your report'</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.10: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 13

4.1.1.2. Repeated information

In 30 shifts in 15 pairs the omitted parts contained information similar to information from another part in the same turn. The fact that information repeated in one turn often only returns once in the rendition might be an indication that repeated information is considered to be superfluous. The question is to what extent the omitted repetitions affect the similarity between turn and rendition. The shifts in the sample showing omission of repeated information changed the speech style, affecting similarity at the speaker level.

In 20 of the 30 shifts – seven pairs from a narrative, one from an introduction, one from a question and one from an answer – the renditions have been simply cleared from the repetitions in the asylum seekers' stories and in two cases from a turn by the officer. This kind of shift is illustrated by the following pair from the narrative of interview 1, of which the first parts were discussed in the previous section (4.1.1.1). The asylum seeker told his story in an elaborated way, repeating a lot of information. The interpreter systematically left out the repetitions. Pair 4.11. is an excerpt from a larger pair. The relevant part is 3.

	AS01 / length 00:00:34		IN01
		-	eh we moesten hun dus volgen <i>eh so we had to follow them</i>
1	ok. so now we are going...		
2	we really go very far.		
3	then later we go by the by the by the sand.	3	en op een gegeven moment stopten we ergens bij een zand+ eh zanderig gebied <i>and at a certain point we stopped somewhere at a sand+ eh sandy area</i>
4	when we reach to the sand		
5	they start to go inside the sand sand there.	5	en toen werd er gewoon in het zand gegr+ gegraven <i>and then there was just dig+ digging in the sand</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.11: Part 1 to 5 of a turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 1

In one shift, in pair 4.12, leaving out repeated information was combined with omitting other information at the same time. The omission affected similarity at the information level. Pair 4.12. shows that the information from part 1 was omitted. The turn contained other parts (not displayed below) with the information about who drove the two cars, and these parts were included in the rendition. However, these parts did not contain a time reference as occurred in part 1. In the first part the asylum seeker talked about a certain time, anchoring a specific event. This time reference remained absent in the rendition.

	AS13 / length 00:00:25		IN13
1	na wakati huo mimi nili+ nilikueko na+nashughulikia na hii gari nyingine <i>and-time-that-me-I was+I was there-and-and involved in and-this-car-another</i> 'and at that time, I was there busy with this other car'		
2	kwa sababu ilikuwa ni+tulikuwa tuko na malori mawili. <i>because-it was+we were-with-and-two-lorries</i> 'because we had 2 lorries.'	2	mijn vader had eig+ had twee au+ auto's vrachtauto's. <i>my father had act+ had two ca+ cars lorries.</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.12: Part 1 and 2 of a turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 13

Then there are nine shifts concerning primary speakers, either the officer or the asylum seeker, starting a sentence, breaking it off and restarting with a similar sentence. These 'false starts' do not return in the renditions. The interpreter avoided the hesitation of the primary speaker, affecting similarity at the speaker level, and resulting in a more coherent turn. If we assume that false starts have a function in attracting attention and achieving turn transfer (Goodwin 1981:56-65; Bot 2005:123), omitting them in the

rendition does not affect similarity at the information level. An example is given in the final turn-rendition pair in this section, originating from the part with questions about the narrative of interview 6. It shows an asylum seeker who hesitated before giving an answer to the question, probably because he had to think about the right answer. Only the full sentence of part 6 appeared in the rendition – with the exclusion of the interjection *aah*.

	AS06 / length 00:00:18		IN06
	[...]		[...]
5	ilikuwa ni siku ya+... <i>it was-on-day-of+...</i> 'it was on...'		
6	aah ilikuwa (kama) siku ya juma+ jumamosi. <i>aah-it was (like) day of Sat+Saturday.</i> 'aah it was on Saturday.'	6	dat was op een zaterdag. <i>that was on a Saturday.</i>

Pair 4.13: Part 5 to 6 of an answer from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 6

4.1.1.3. Selecting and summarising information from turns

In some turn-rendition pairs the omission of parts leads to a radically shortened turn. In the previous sections we have already seen some examples, for instance, in pair 4.5. This section shows more pairs. Lengthy turns are shortened, as in pair 4.14, but shorter turns as well, such as pair 4.15. Except for one shift from an introduction, all shifts concerned turns originating from the asylum seeker, either in the narrative or in the parts with questions about the narrative.

In nine turn-rendition pairs we find 17 shifts resulting in loss of information, due to omitting parts and/or to summarising information from parts. The turns' length varies from three seconds to one minute. Pair 4.14. shows the main parts of one of the lengthiest pairs, taken from interview 4, of which the interpreter omitted the turn's last eight parts in the rendition.

	AS04 / length 00:00:40		IN04
	[...]		[...]
9	[...] mais non comme nous on était dans le camp. <i>but not like us, we were in the camp.</i>		
10	on avait l'impression <i>we had the impression</i>		
11	qu'on était en s'écrité. <i>that we were in safety.</i>		
12	on ne savait pas que... <i>we did not know that...</i>	12	[...] wij wisten nog niet <i>we did not know yet</i>

13	et les militaires étaient inclus dans le problème. <i>and the soldiers were part of the problem.</i> [...]	13	dat militairen betrokken waren bij die bij die opstand. <i>that soldiers were involved in that in that revolt.</i>
		10 11 9	dus wij voelden ons nog steeds veilig in de kamp. <i>so we still felt safe in the camp.</i> [...]
14	on croyait <i>we believed</i>		
15	que c'était seulement le problème de l'ancien président <i>that it was only the problem of the former president</i>		
16	qui voulait reprendre son pouvoir. <i>who wanted to retake his power.</i>		
17	et les autres on ne savait pas aussi <i>and the others did not know either</i>		
18	qu'il y avait aussi des militaires <i>that there were also soldiers</i>		
19	qui étaient dans notre camp <i>who were also in the camp</i>		
20	qui étaient fi+ finalement les rebelles <i>who were ac+ actually the rebels</i>		
21	bien qu'ils travaillaient avec les autres. <i>although they worked with the others.</i>		

Pair 4.14: Part 9 to 21 of an answer from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 4

As mentioned above, it is not only in pairs with lengthy turns that the interpreter selectively picks his information from the turn. In the sample I found four pairs with a turn length less than 10 seconds, one of them given below. The turn length of this pair, originating from the part with questions about the narrative of interview 12, is 8 seconds. Other turn- rendition pairs with a similar length show that it is possible to render the information from such a turn completely. However, the interpreter selected only one part for his rendition.

	AS12 / length 00:00:08		IN12
1	ujue <i>know</i> 'understand'		
2	wale watu mimi sikuwahi kuwa... <i>those-people-me-I never...</i> 'that I never ... those people...'		
3	siwajuagi. <i>I don't know them.</i>	3	ik eh ik kende die mensen niet. <i>I eh I did not know these people.</i>

4	lakini siwajui <i>but-I don't-them-know</i> 'but I don't know them'		
5	ni watu gani <i>are-people-which</i> 'who those people are'		
6	lakini balikuwa banakuja tu pale nyumbani kwetu. <i>but-they were-coming-there-home-our.</i> 'but they just used to come to our home.'		

Pair 4.15: *An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 12*

In the shifts involving larger numbers of omissions similarity in the pairs is clearly affected at the information level. The question is why the interpreter feels the need to shorten the turn. For the answers, the preceding question could be a trigger for the interpreter to delimit the answer, but the shifts are also found in pairs from the narrative and in answers to open questions, such as the question in 4.16, which preceded the answer of pair 4.14. This suggests that a question is not the main trigger for an interpreter to apply this kind of shift.

	OF01 / length 00:00:03		IN04
1	hoe was uw situatie op 7 juni eh in dat kamp?	1	comment était la situation le 5 juin dans ce camp dans le camp?

Pair 4.16: *A question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 4*

4.1.1.4. Remaining pairs with parts left out

We are now left with the turn-rendition pairs that do not fit the patterns described above but which nevertheless miss parts in their renditions. I found eight of such instances in seven pairs.

Two shifts concerned an omitted part containing meta-information about the information in other parts. One of these involved a concluding remark from an asylum seeker at the end of a turn, stating that the information from the preceding parts was all he could remember. The other shift is found in pair 4.17, in which the officer concluded his question with a remark about the word *movement*. Both shifts affected similarity at the information level.

	OF0 / length 00:00:24		INO
	[...]		[...]
4	eh meneer zei zelf al heh <i>eh mister already said himself heh</i>		
5	het is een beweging heh? eigenlijk. <i>it is a movement heh? actually.</i>	5	it's a movement not a political party.

		4	that's what you said.
6	m+ movement. zegt het woord al. <i>m+ movement. the word already says it.</i>		

Pair 4.17: A question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 10

In two other shifts, both officers' turns, the parts left out referred to details from to the asylum seeker's procedure or file. The translations of the omitted parts are given in (4.1) below. In both pairs the part omitted in the rendition interrupted the preceding sentence in the turn. The omission affected similarity at the information level.¹⁰²

- (4.1) a. 'in in the documents... from the documents this is evident.'
(from the part with questions , interview 8)
- b. 'eh that was your third conversation with the IND'
(from the introduction, interview 12)

In three shifts, concerning two questions and one answer, parts were left out containing information already known from previous turns. This is illustrated by pair 4.18, the relevant part being part 2. The interpreter started the rendition in the same way as the question, but then changed her mind and used another formulation. The officer's specific information about the girl – 'the girl who was without petrol' – was changed into *this girl* in the rendition. Overall, the rendition is less coercive than the question.

	<i>OF01 / length 00:00:04</i>		<i>IN01</i>
1a	op welke wijze maakte dat meisje <i>in what way was the girl</i>	1	in what way... what is the role of this girl in the whole incident?
2	dat zonder benzine zat <i>who was without petrol</i>		
1b	deel uit van een val? <i>part of a trap?</i>		

Pair 4.18: A question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 1

The shifts in which 'old' information has been omitted affected similarity at the information level.¹⁰³

In one shift a part was omitted in which the officer made clear who he was addressing. This is shown in pair 4.19, the relevant part being the first part in the rendition.

	<i>OF10 / length 00:00:18</i>		<i>IN10</i>
1	nou voor meneer. <i>well for Mister.</i>		
2	uiteraard wordt van meneer verwacht <i>of course Mister is expected</i>	2	you are expected

¹⁰² Both pairs are addressed in section 4.2.1.1. about split parts: pairs 4.34. en 4.35.

¹⁰³ In section 4.1.2.1. we will discuss cases with a reversed effect. In those cases the interpreter added information from preceding turns.

3	dat hij eh de waarheid vertelt. <i>that he tells the truth.</i>	3	to tell the truth during this interview.
4	dat hij alles vertelt <i>that he tells everything</i>	4	and to tell him everything
5	dat hij zelf van belang acht. <i>that he himself considers important.</i>	5	that is important for your eh request for asylum.
		-	eh further he wants you eh
		-	to tell everything
6	geen dingen achterhoudt.	6	so not to withhold any information.
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.19: Turn-rendition pair (parts 1-6) from the introduction, from interview 10

The officer addressed the asylum seeker as ‘Mister’ in the first two parts and then as ‘he’ in parts 3 to 5, whereas the interpreter uses ‘you’ and ‘your’. The first part has the function of making clear who is addressed. This suggests that the previous turn was not addressed to the asylum seeker, something that cannot be checked, however, because the recording only started with the turn in 4.19. In any case, this part has not been taken over by the interpreter in the rendition. By looking at the asylum seeker and using the pronoun ‘you’, it is not necessary for the interpreter to let the asylum seeker know explicitly that he is the one addressed. Furthermore, the participation framework in which the officer addresses the asylum seeker through the interpreter is one of the default participation frameworks in the situation of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. For the interpreter, explicitly addressing the asylum seeker does not seem to have an added value in this context. The shift affected similarity at the pragmatic level. More cases involving the use of the third person to refer to other discourse participants are discussed in section 4.1.2.5 and 4.2.2.1.

4.1.2. Shifts: addition of parts

In the sample I found 28 shifts in 21 pairs concerning parts added to the rendition that did not originate from the turn to which the rendition in question was linked.¹⁰⁴ The shifts were found in eleven introductions (16 shifts), four narratives (six shifts) and six questions and answers from the part with questions about the narrative (five shifts in five questions, one shift in one answer). Six times a mutation occurred as a result of a self-initiated self-repair. These repairs are not considered to be shifts.

	total number of shifts	shifts in introd.	shifts in narrative	shifts in questions	shifts in answers	number of interviews involved
addition of parts	28	16	6	5	1	13

Table 4.6: Number of shifts concerning mutations (omission and addition of parts)

¹⁰⁴ The added parts replacing related parts, discussed in section 4.3.2, will not be discussed in this section, and are not included in the number of shifts mentioned here.

We can distinguish five patterns involving addition: renditions including information from previous turns, renditions with information more extensively explained than in the original turn, renditions to which procedural information is added, renditions to which feedback has been added, and renditions in which references to the officer were added. These five patterns are discussed in sections 4.1.2.1. to 4.1.2.5. In section 4.1.2.6. the six self-initiated self-repairs are discussed.

4.1.2.1. Adding old information

In five shifts (in five pairs) the added parts concerned 'old' information. In two shifts the information concerned a repetition at the onset of the new rendition, either coming from the previous rendition or from a turn earlier in the interview. In three shifts the added information appeared in the middle of the rendition and included information from a previous turn. The explication of information known from prior turns in the current rendition affected similarity between turn and rendition in the pairs at the information level.

In pair 4.20. we see an example of the addition of old information at the onset of the rendition.

	<i>AS12 / length 00:00:14</i>		<i>IN12</i>
		-	toen ben ik naar meneer Zzz in Zzz. <i>then I went to mister Zzz in Zzz.</i>
1	sasa ni+ nilivyokuwa namuelezea yeye pale <i>so-i was-explaining-him-there</i> 'so I was explaining to him'		
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.20: Part 1 from a turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 12

The first part in the rendition contained information from the last part of the previous turn. The added part links the previous turn/rendition to the current one, being a device for coordinating discourse.

In the turn-rendition pair below the unnumbered part at the end of the table contained information that originated from a prior turn, not directly preceding this one.

	<i>OF02 / length 00:00:12</i>		<i>IN02</i>
1	eh. u zei <i>eh. you said</i>	1	alors tu disais tout à l'heure <i>so you said earlier</i>
2	dat het niet gelukt was eh <i>that it did not work out eh</i>	2	qu'on n'a pas réussi uhn <i>that people had not succeeded uhn</i>
3	dat u werd geronseld. <i>that you were recruited.</i>	3	à te recruter. <i>to recruit you.</i>
		-	tu as réussi à t'échapper. <i>you have succeeded to escape.</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.21: Parts 1 to 3 of a question from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 2

4.1.2.2. *Extending information*

In the sample I found eight shifts in five turn-rendition pairs (of which five shifts in one interview) in which adding parts to the rendition by the interpreter led to an extended rendition with more explicit information. Three shifts, in two pairs, concerned a turn originating from the officer, translated for the asylum seeker. In the remaining five shifts, in three pairs, the translation direction was the other way around.

In seven of the eight cases the interpreter strengthened the original point of the turn, making the message clearer for the recipient, which affected similarity at the pragmatic level. One of these shifts is in pair 4.22. The turn originated from a discourse scene in which the asylum seeker and the officer discussed the level of detail of the asylum seeker's narrative. In part 1 to 5 the asylum seeker explained that he could not only tell a small part of his story.^{105, 106} At the end the interpreter added two parts, as a conclusion to the turn.

	<i>AS08 / length 00:00:08</i>		<i>IN08</i>
1	dhibaatadii hadaan waan sheegaa <i>the problem if would I tell</i> 'if I would tell about the problem'	1	nou als ik over mijn problemen ga praten <i>well if I will talk about my problems</i>
2	ku dhaho <i>I say</i> 'I would tell you that'		
3	bilooow iyo dhamaad ee leedahay. <i>beginning and end it has.</i> 'it has a beginning and an end.'	3	dan probleem heeft een begin een eind. <i>then problem has a beginning an end.</i>
4	dhexda hadii ka soo qabto <i>in the middle if would I take</i> 'if I take a piece from the middle'	4 5	ik kan niet van de midden gewoon een stukje van pakken. <i>I cannot just take a piece from the middle.</i>
5	wax gaaban ay noqonaa. <i>something short it becomes.</i> 'it would be [too] short.'		
		-	dus de bedoeling kan dan zijn <i>so the intention could then be</i>
		-	dat ik alles moet vertellen. <i>that I have to tell everything.</i>

Pair 4.22: Turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 8

Three of the shifts showing extended information are to be found in pair 4.23. The relevant parts are the additions between parts 8 and 6 of the rendition, between parts 10 and 11 and the last addition. The turn is long, and many (repeated) parts have been left out of the rendition. The parts added by the interpreter create a clear picture of the

¹⁰⁵ In this respect the turn is different from other examples taken from the narrative. It does not involve the narrative itself, but meta-communication about the narrative.

¹⁰⁶ Note that parts 4 and 5 return as one part in the rendition due to a slightly changed formulation.

story told by the asylum seeker. The clear way of telling in the rendition strengthened the effect of the turn. The interpreter did not add information but more or less repeated information from another part in a different way.

	<i>AS05 / length 00:00:46</i>		<i>IN05</i>
	[...]		[...]
6	il a dit <i>he said</i>		
7	que bon il ne peut plus... <i>that well he does not...</i>		
8	il ne peut pas avoir l'argent <i>he does not have the money</i>	8	maar die was niet rijk. <i>but he was not rich.</i>
		-	die kon mij niet zomaar onderhouden. <i>he could not support me just like that.</i>
		6	dus hij zei ja <i>so he said yes</i>
9	de m'amener à... <i>to take me to...</i>		
10	de m'envoyer à l'école tout le temps. <i>to send me to school the whole time.</i>	10	ik kan je niet naar school sturen. <i>I cannot send you to school.</i>
		-	je moet wel gaan werken. <i>you just have to go working.</i>
		-	en het geld eh brengen. <i>and bring the money.</i>
		-	alleen red ik het niet. <i>on my own I won't make it.</i>
11	bon matin et soir tu dois me trouver un travail à la carrière. la carrière à Zzz. <i>well in the morning and evening you have to find work in the quarry for me. the quarry of Zzz.</i>	11	dus hij zocht werk voor mij in een steengroeve die heet Zzz. <i>so he searched for work for me in a stone quarry that is called Zzz.</i>
12	comme ça je vais travailler. <i>that is how I went working.</i>	12	dus ik moest gaan werken. <i>so I had to go working.</i>
13	comme ça je vais travailler. <i>that is how I went to working.</i>		
		-	iedere dag naar die eh stenen hakken. <i>every day to this eh stone picking.</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.23: Turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 5

In one of the eight shifts the interpreter transferred the asylum seeker's words to the Dutch cultural context: in pair 4.24, an answer from the part with questions about the narrative, again from interview 5, the interpreter added the word 'housewife'. Again, the change affected similarity at the pragmatic level.

	AS05 / length 00:00:05		IN05
		-	moeder was huisvrouw. <i>mother was housewife.</i>
1	elle ne travaillait pas. <i>she did not work.</i>	1	die werkte niet. <i>she did not work.</i>
2	c'est mon père qui... <i>it is my father who...</i>		
3	c'est mon père <i>it is my father</i>		
4	qui qui était pous+ pousseur. ¹⁰⁷ <i>who who was a [cart] push+ pusher.</i>		
5	seulement il travaillait. <i>only he worked.</i>	5	papa werkte. <i>daddy worked.</i>

Pair 4.24: An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 5

4.1.2.3. Adding procedural information

I found nine shifts (in eight pairs) in which parts were added to the rendition, concerning additional information about the asylum procedure, provided by the interpreter mainly on the basis of his knowledge from other asylum interviews. These shifts are similar to the shifts from the previous section: by adding parts the interpreters added to the turns' perspicuity.

The eight turn-rendition pairs all originated from an introduction. In four shifts the interpreter explicated the information of the turn. In four shifts information was added to the turn and in one shift both information was added and explicated.

Pair 4.25. shows two shifts that added information to the turn. Six parts were added in the first shift before the first part, one part was added at the end of the rendition. By adding the parts the interpreter changed the information of the turn, i.e. similarity was affected at the information level.

	OF07 / length 00:00:11		IN06
		-	wakati interview ya leo itamalizika <i>when-interview-of- today- it will finish</i> 'after today's interview'
		-	utapewa ripoti. <i>you will be given-a report.</i> 'you will be given a report.'
		-	utaalikwa na wakili <i>you will be invited-by-lawyer</i> 'you will be summoned by your lawyer'
		-	kwa kuwa na maongezi na wakili huko. <i>to-have-a talk-with-lawyer-there.</i> 'for a meeting.'

¹⁰⁷ A *pousseur* ('cart pusher') is a person who moves stuff for other people by means of a cart.

		-	uchukue na ripoti ya interview ya kwanza <i>take-and-report-of-interview-of-first</i> 'carry the report of the first interview'
		-	usomewe <i>you be read for</i> 'so that it is read to you'
1	als er verder nog gegevens moeten worden gewijzigd in uw rapport van eerste gehoor... <i>if any information has yet to be changed in your report of the first interview...</i>	1 2 3	ikiwa makosa ya ripoti ya interview ya kwanza na ripoti yote ya interview ya pili <i>if-mistakes-of report-of-interview-of-first-and-report-all-of-interview-of-second</i> 'if there are errors in the reports of the 1st and the 2nd interview'
2	geldt ook voor het rapport van het gesprek van vandaag <i>[this] applies to the report of today's interview as well</i>		
3	als u daar iets aan wilt veranderen of toevoegen <i>if you want to add or change something in that one</i>		
4	dan kunt u dat via uw advocaat doen. <i>then you can do that through your lawyer.</i>	4	yote irekebishwe wakati huo <i>all -be corrected - at that time</i> 'all should be corrected during that meeting'
		-	na uzirudishe marekebisho yote huko wizara ya sheria. <i>and-you return-revised copies-all-there-ministry-of-legal.</i> 'and you should return the revised copies to the Ministry of Justice.'

Pair 4.25: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 7

The four shifts explicating information are illustrated by pair 4.26. In this pair the two added parts explicated the presence of the interpreter: she gave a more elaborate introduction of herself than the officer did for her.¹⁰⁸ Again, this affected similarity at the information level.

	OF14 / length 00:00:12		IN14
		-	and as you can see eh
		-	we are going to speak through the interpreter
1	dit is mevrouw de tolk. <i>this is Ms. interpreter.</i>	1	which is I.
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.26: Part 1 of a turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 14

¹⁰⁸ Note that she referred to herself as *I* in the last part of the rendition. I discuss issues relating to referring to self and others in sections 4.4.4. and 4.5.3.

4.1.2.4. *Added feedback*

Some of the added parts did not contribute to the information of the rendition. In the sample I found two shifts concerning feedback. This is illustrated by turn-rendition pair 4.27. The relevant part is the one following part 3 of the rendition. The tag question ‘isn’t it?’ is an addition that did not contribute to the information of the rendition. However, it affected the turn’s illocution: the turn is a statement, whereas the rendition, due to the added tag question, invited the asylum seeker to acknowledge the information stated by the officer. The addition affected similarity at the pragmatic level.

	<i>OF12 / length 00:00:14</i>		<i>IN12</i>
1	u hebt op 22 juni in Ter Apel... <i>you have on 22 June in Ter Apel...</i>	1	ok. ulipata mazungumzo tarehe 22 mwezi wa sita huko Ter Apel <i>ok-you got-the talk-date-22-month-of-6- there-Ter Apel</i> ‘did you get the discussion of 22/6 in Ter Apel’
2	eh dat was uw derde gesprek met de IND. <i>eh that was your third interview with the IND.</i>		
1	hebt u al een nader gehoor gehad <i>you already have had a second interview</i>		
3	waarin u de redenen van uw vertrek hebt mogen vertellen. <i>in which you were invited to tell about the reasons for your departure.</i>	3	kuhusu swali la kisa kimetuma ukimbie nchi yako <i>regarding-question-of- tragedy that casued-you run-country-yours</i> ‘regarding the problem that caused you to flee your country?’
		-	sivyo? <i>isn't it?</i>
4	dat rapport is nog niet uitgereikt. <i>that report has not been handed out yet.</i>	4	lakini haujapewa ripoti yenyewe <i>but-you haven't been given-report-itself</i> ‘but you haven’t been given the report itself’
		-	anasema <i>he says</i> ‘he says’
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.27: Part 1 to 5 of a turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 12

4.1.2.5. *Added part with reference to officer*

Pair 4.27 in the previous section includes another shift. Following part 4, the interpreter added ‘he says’, which did not refer to a part in the turn. This part belongs to a direct speech construction, and refers to the original speaker, the officer. Additions such as ‘he said’ are commonly found in interpreter-mediated discourse. Bot (2005:169-189) and Hale (2004:193-194) argue that the presence of these additions does not influence

similarity at the information level between turn and rendition. They emphasise the relations within a specific participation framework: the interpreter clarifies his role or emphasises his neutrality. As a result similarity is affected at the pragmatic level.

I found four shifts in four pairs (from three interviews) showing the same phenomenon. One of these shifts concerns a case of indirect speech, and not direct speech as in the other cases. This shift is presented in pair 4.28, in the first part of the rendition. The effect is similar: by referring to the officer the interpreter created a distance between herself and the content of the rendition. It makes explicit that the interpreter is not the principal of the rendition. Different from Bot (2005:123-128) I did not find occurrences of the use of 'he said' that supported the view that adding a reporting verb facilitates a smooth turn transfer.

	<i>OF15 / length 00:00:09</i>		<i>IN15</i>
		-	he would like to s+ suggest
1	zullen we het g+ het eh gesprek gewoon eh in de vorm houden <i>shall we keep the c+ the eh conversation just eh in the form</i>	1	that we keep the discussion in the form
2	zoals wij dat gewend zijn. <i>as we are used to.</i>	2	that is always used (to).
3	want u k+ u kunt straks vertellen... <i>because you c+ you can tell later...</i>		
4	dan kunt u straks daarover vertellen. <i>then later on you can tell about that.</i>	4	so then you can tell about it later on. extensively.
		-	allright?

Pair 4.28: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 15

So, the use of 'he said' seems to emphasise the division of roles in the interview. I have found other examples with a similar function. These will be discussed in section 4.2.2.1.

4.1.2.6. Self-initiated self-repairs

In six cases, in five pairs, the mutations concerned the addition of parts in the rendition as a result of a self-initiated self-repair:¹⁰⁹ not the turn but the rendition itself has been the trigger for the applied changes. As such these mutations are not considered shifts. The interpreter initiated the repairs to improve the rendition, resulting in (a greater) similarity between turn and rendition.¹¹⁰

Twice the repair concerned another translation of a specific word. This is illustrated by the repair in pair 4.29, originating from the narrative of interview 3. The French word *maquis* was troubling the interpreter and she needed two extra parts to come to a fitting rendition.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ In section 2.5.3 the different types of repairs are explained.

¹¹⁰ Self-initiated self-repairs are considered to be recipient strategies. See section 6.2.1.

¹¹¹ The English word *bush* is a loanword in Dutch.

	AS03 / length 00:00:59		IN02
	[...]		[...]
7	en partant on est arrivé quelque part <i>on the way we arrived at some place</i>	7 8	onderweg werd er gestopt bij een ja [in French] maquis. <i>on the way there was a stop at a yes [in French] maquis.</i>
8	où il y avait un maquis. <i>where there were bushes.</i>		
		-	dat is eigenlijk een eh stuk met struikgewas. <i>that is actually a eh part with shrubs.</i>
		-	dat is een beetje de de de de bush eigenlijk. <i>that is like the the the the bush actually.</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.29: Turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 3

In four repairs the interpreter needed a part to correct the previous unfinished part, which is illustrated by pair 4.30, showing parts 5 to 7 of the pair from the introduction of interview 13. The interpreter restarted the rendition of part 5 to choose a different translation for 'the intention', replacing 'a must' by 'necessary'.

	OF13 / length 00:00:20		IN13
	[...]		[...]
		-	ni ni lazima... <i>it-it-is a must...</i>
5	daarom is het ook de bedoeling <i>that is why the intention is</i>	5	inabidi wewe required-you 'it is important'
6	omdat (ik) dit gesprek dus voor u va+ zo belangrijk is <i>because (I) this interview is thus for you of+ so important</i>		
7	dat u de waarheid vertelt. <i>that you tell the truth.</i>	7	eeh usemeshe ukweli eeh-to say-truth 'that you speak the truth'
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.30: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 13

4.2. Modifications

As explained in the introduction of this chapter shifts do not only concern mutations, they may also occur in parts that do show a similarity relationship. According to Van Leuven-Zwart (1989) a shift has occurred if a rendition part is modified in comparison to the turn part it belongs to. The division in parts is less helpful for detecting modifications than it is for detecting mutations. In this section I will focus on three ways

for detecting the presence of modifications and the presence of shifts resulting from the modifications. In section 4.2.1. I will explore modifications and shifts concerning part order, i.e. rendition parts appearing at a different position in the rendition than the related parts in the turn. An example of a pair showing a change in part order is pair 4.31: parts 8 and 9 appear at the top of the rendition.

	AS14 / length 00:00:14		IN14
		8	ik was bang <i>I was afraid</i>
		9	om terug te keren naar eh de familie. <i>to return to eh the family.</i>
1	my boyf+ the the man that brought me here	1	en mijn vriend die heeft mij hier gebracht. <i>and my friend he has brought me here.</i>
2	he t+ he told me	2	hij heeft mij verteld <i>he has told me</i>
3	that he would take me somewhere.	3	ik zal je ergens brengen <i>I will bring you somewhere</i>
4	everything will be (over)		
5	(and where) I explain my problem to (him).	5	en daar kan je v+ jouw verhaal vertellen <i>and there you can tell your story</i>
6	he told me		
7	everything will be ok.	7	en alles zal goed gaan. <i>and everything will go well.</i>
8	because I were afraid		
9	to go back to my people's place.		

Pair 4.31: Turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 14

The second group of modifications involves changes in form of address. As we have seen in section 4.1.2.5, the use of a different pronoun to refer to one of the discourse participants may have an effect on the relations within a specific participation framework. In section 4.1.2.5. these shifts were related to mutations. In section 4.2.2. I will explore the turn-rendition pairs for modifications resulting in changes in form of address.

In section 4.2.3. I will analyse the turn-rendition pairs in which the turn and rendition parts did not show any mutations nor changes in part order. An example of such a turn-rendition pair is provided below.

	AS13 / length 00:00:04		IN13
1	turi+ turipata matatizo aah mwaka 2002. <i>we+we got-problems-aah-in 2002</i> 'we had problems in 2002.'	1	we hebben problemen gehad in eh het jaar 2002. <i>we have had problems in eh the year 2002.</i>

Pair 4.32: An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 13

Pairs in which mutations and changes in part order are absent make a candidate for a synonymy relationship between turn and rendition. The analysis of the turn and

rendition parts in these pairs will either confirm the synonymy relationship or reveal the modifications and related shifts between the parts.

In tables 4.7. to 4.10. I present an overview of the 56 turn-rendition pairs from the introductions, from the narratives and from the parts with questions about the narrative (one table for the questions and one for the answers) in which changes in part order occurred or a similarity relationship was established between all turn and rendition parts. Furthermore, the tables show how many shifts are related to changes in part order and how many shifts occur in the turn-rendition pairs with a similarity relationship between all parts. Apart from this information, the tables contain the total number of parts in each turn, and the general information provided before in section 3.5.1: the client language spoken in the interview, the length of the turn and the total number of parts in the turn.

In eight turn-rendition pairs from the introductions a change in part order occurred. In seven of these pairs the change was related to a shift (and in one pair to two shifts). One turn-rendition pair contained only one part and consequently, a part order change was not applicable. In three turn-rendition pairs a similarity relationship between all parts existed. In all pairs, however, (small) modifications occurred, related to one or two shifts.

In the turn-rendition pairs taken from the narratives seven pairs showed a change in part order, in all cases related to a shift. Only in one turn-rendition pair a similarity relationship between all parts was established. The pair did show a small modification, related to a shift.

int	lang	length turn	number of parts in turn	change in part order in rendition	no. of shifts	change form of address	no. of shifts	similarity relationship between all parts	no. of shifts
1	en	00:00:12	4	yes	1	yes	1	-	-
2	fr	00:00:04	3	-		yes	1	yes	1
3	fr	00:00:06	5	-		yes	1	-	-
4	fr	00:00:12	5	-		-		yes	2
5	fr	00:00:11	5	yes	1	yes	2	-	-
6	sw	00:00:06	2	yes	-	yes	1	-	-
7	sw	00:00:11	4	yes	1	-		-	-
8	so	00:00:03	1	n/a		-		-	-
9	sw	00:00:11	2	-		-		yes	1
10	en	00:00:18	11	yes	1	yes	2	-	-
12	sw	00:00:14	5	yes	-	yes	1	-	-
13	sw	00:00:20	10	yes	1	yes	1	-	-
14	en	00:00:12	8	yes	1	yes	1	-	-
15	en	00:00:09	4	-		-		-	-
tot			69		6		11		4

Table 4.7: Shifts in the 14 turn-rendition pairs taken from the introductions, showing a change in part order, a change in form of address or a similarity relationship

int	lang	length turn	number of parts in turn	change in part order in rendition	no. of shifts	change form of address	no. of shifts	similarity relationship between all parts	no. of shifts
1	en	00:00:34	20	yes	1	-		-	
2	fr	00:00:10	3	-		-		-	
3	fr	00:00:59	26	yes	1	-		-	
4	fr	00:00:23	16	yes	1	-		-	
5	fr	00:00:46	32	yes	1	-		-	
6	sw	00:00:24	10	yes	2	-		-	
7	sw	00:00:18	16	-		-		-	
8	so	00:00:08	4	-		-		-	
9	sw	00:00:10	5	yes	1	-		-	
10	en	00:00:11	3	-		-		-	
12	sw	00:00:14	7	-		-		-	
13	sw	00:00:25	8	-		-		-	
14	en	00:00:14	9	yes	1	-		-	
15	en	00:00:04	2	-		-		yes	1
tot			161		8				1

Table 4.8: Shifts in the 14 turn-rendition pairs taken from the narratives, showing a change in part order, a change in form of address or a similarity relationship

int	lang	length turn	number of parts in turn	change in part order in rendition	no. of shifts	change form of address	no. of shifts	similarity relationship between all parts	no. of shifts
1	en	00:00:04	2	n/a		-		-	
2	fr	00:00:12	6	-		yes	1	-	
3	fr	00:00:17	6	yes	2	yes	1	-	
4	fr	00:00:03	1	n/a		-		yes	1
5	fr	00:00:02	1	n/a		-		-	
6	sw	00:00:09	4	-		-		-	
7	sw	00:00:04	1	n/a		-		yes	1
8	so	00:00:12	5	yes	1	-		-	
9	sw	00:00:01	1	n/a		-		yes	1
10	en	00:00:24	6	yes	1	yes	1	-	
12	sw	00:00:02	1	n/a		-		yes	-
13	sw	00:00:03	1	n/a		-		yes	-
14	en	00:00:01	1	n/a		-		yes	1
15	en	00:00:09	4	-		-		-	
tot			40		4		3		4

Table 4.9: Shifts in the 14 turn-rendition pairs taken from the questions in the parts with questions about the narrative, showing a change in part order, a change in form of address or a similarity relationship

Many of the turn-rendition pairs taken from the parts with questions about the narrative – both questions and answers – consist of only one part. In these pairs change in part order is not applicable.

In three of the turn-rendition pairs taken from the questions a change in part order occurred, related to one or two shifts. Six turn-rendition pairs – all consisting of one part – showed a similarity relationship between the parts. In two turn-rendition pairs the similarity relationship between turn and rendition was one of synonymy. In the four remaining pairs modifications occurred, related to a shift. Only one turn-rendition pair taken from the answers showed a change in part order, related to a shift. In nine turn-rendition pairs – only one consisting of more than one part – a similarity relationship was established between the parts. In two pairs the similarity relationship was synonymy, in the pairs from interviews 1, 7, 13 and 14 the relationship was close to synonymy. In the pair from interview 15 a modification occurred which was not related to a shift, indicated by an asterisk (*) in table 4.10. (this is explained in section 4.2.2.4.). The remaining two pairs showed a modification related to a shift.

int	lang	length turn	number of parts in turn	change in part order in rendition	no. of shifts	change form of address	no. of shifts	similarity relationship between all parts	no. of shifts
1	en	00:00:03	1	n/a		-		yes	1
2	fr	00:00:17	4	-		-		yes	2
3	fr	00:00:01	1	n/a		-		yes	-
4	fr	00:00:40	21	yes	1	-		-	
5	fr	00:00:05	5	-		-		-	
6	sw	00:00:18	6	-		-		-	
7	sw	00:00:07	1	n/a		-		yes	1
8	so	00:00:03	2	n/a		-		-	
9	sw	00:00:02	1	n/a		-		yes	-
10	en	00:00:01	1	n/a		-		yes	2
12	sw	00:00:08	6	n/a		-		-	
13	sw	00:00:04	1	n/a		-		yes	2
14	en	00:00:02	1	n/a		-		yes	2
15	en	00:00:08	2	-		-		yes	*
tot			53		1				10

Table 4.10: Shifts in the 14 turn-rendition pairs taken from the answers in the parts with questions about the narrative, showing a change in part order, a change in form of address or a similarity relationship

In total, 52 shifts are related to the modifications from tables 4.7. to 4.10. The shifts concerning a change in part order are discussed in section 4.2.1, the shifts concerning a change in form of address in section 4.2.2, and the shifts occurring in in turn-rendition pairs showing a similarity relationship between all parts are discussed in section 4.2.3.

4.2.1. Shifts: change in part order

In this section I compared the part order of the renditions to the part order of the turns to determine the influence of order changes on the similarity between turn and rendition.¹¹²

For determining whether the part order in the turn differed from the part order in the rendition I did not take into account any parts added or left out in the rendition. Therefore, it is possible that the part order in the rendition of a turn-rendition pair is considered to be equal to the part order of the turn, although several parts have been added and/or left out. What counts is that the parts in the rendition with a counterpart in the turn appear in the same order as they originally do. To give an example, in pair 4.33. the part order of the rendition is 3-4-6, which does not deviate from the original part order, where part 4 also comes after part 3, and 6 after 4.

	AS12 / length 00:00:14		IN12
		-	toen ben ik naar meneer Zzz in Zzz. then I [went] to mister Zzz in Zzz.
1	sasa ni+ nilivyokuwa namuelezea yeye pale <i>so-I was-explaining-him-there</i> 'so I was explaining to him'		
2	kwa juu ndio yeye alikuwa anatumika na mzee <i>on-top-yes-him-was-being used-by-old man</i> 'since he was the one working for the old man'		
3	yeye bakaniambia ¹¹³ <i>he-told me</i> 'he assured me'	3	hoorde ik van Zzz <i>I heard from Zzz</i>

¹¹² A change in information order does not necessarily involve a change of information. This becomes clear if we compare examples (x) and (y), in which a change of information order occurs.

- (x) a. Jane married and got pregnant.
b. Jane got pregnant and married.
- (y) a. Because it was her father's birthday Jane bought a box of chocolates.
b. Jane bought a box of chocolates because it was her father's birthday.

In (x) the two events are interpreted in chronological order. (xa) cannot have the meaning of Jane getting pregnant before her marriage and, likewise, in (xb) Jane was not married when getting pregnant. The change in information order from (a) to (b) involves a change in information. In (y), there is no chronological order. The position of the father's birthday in the sentence does not influence its information. So, in this case (a) and (b) show similarity of information. The order does influence the focus of the sentence. However, this is not a matter of information but of effect.

¹¹³ The asylum seeker used the non-standard Swahili prefix *ba-*, which means 'they'. However, he was talking about one man, which is also indicated by the word *yeye* ('he'). We can assume that the prefix *ba-* in this example should be interpreted as 'he'.

4	kwamba basi batafanya mipango <i>that-so-he will do-plans</i> 'that he will make plans'	4	dat eh hij zou alles doen <i>that eh he would do everything</i>
5	ili kama bataweza kuona mimi <i>so that-if-they can-see-me</i> 'so that if he can pull me through'		
6	(batani) saidia . <i>(they will)-help me.</i> 'he will help me.'	6	om mij te helpen. <i>to help me.</i>
7	(nakumbuka). <i>(I remember).</i> 'that's what I remember.'		

Pair 4.33: Turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 12

Below I will discuss the 19 shifts that show a change in part order. These cases originate from 17 pairs in 11 interviews. The shifts originated from six pairs from the introduction (showing six shifts), seven pairs from the narrative (showing eight shifts) and four pairs from the part with questions about the narrative (three questions (four shifts) and one answer (one shift)). Five turn-rendition pairs showed a shift involving a split part (see section 4.2.1). In four pairs two adjacent parts switched place (section 4.2.2.). In eight pairs one or more parts from the turn moved up in the part order of the rendition (section 4.2.3.). In seven pairs one or more parts moved down in the part order of the rendition whereas it appeared higher in the turn (section 4.2.4.).

The cases showed that the shifts in part order resulted in affecting similarity, either primarily at form level, or primarily at the pragmatic level. In the assessment of changes in part order, we should take into account that changes between turn and rendition may be a consequence of differences between languages, in syntax or pragmatics.

The pairs showing changes in part order may show other shifts as well. These other shifts are not discussed in this section but are included in the sections in which the relevant shifts are discussed.

4.2.1.1. Split parts

A deviating part order in the rendition may be caused by a part split, either in the turn or in the rendition. In the sample I counted two shifts concerning split parts, one from an introduction and one from a part with questions about the narrative. Three other instances of split parts could not be considered a shift by itself, but rather the consequence of another shift occurring in the same pair.

Both shifts concern a similar change in structure, which affected similarity at form level. Pair 4.34. shows one of the shifts. Part 4 in the turn is a subclause and forms a sentence with the main clause in part 2.¹¹⁴ In the rendition the subject of the main clause, 'your brother' has been moved up in the order and precedes the main clause of part 2.

¹¹⁴ The main and subclause in the turn are interrupted by an independent sentence in part 3. This part – that does not return in the rendition – will not be discussed here but is included in the analysis in section 4.4, about parts omitted in the rendition.

	<i>OF08 / length 00:00:12</i>		<i>IN08</i>
	[...]		[...]
		4	walaalkaa <i>your brother</i>
2	eh. u heeft verklaard... <i>eh. you have declared...</i>	2	waxaad sheegtay <i>you have told</i>
3	in in de stukken... uit de stukken blijkt dat. <i>in in the documents... from the documents this is evident.</i>		
4	dat uw broer in de Verenigde Staten verblijft. <i>that your brother stays in the United States.</i>	4	inuu joogo Mareekanka. <i>that he stays America</i> 'stays in America.'
5	hoelang verblijft hij daar nu al? <i>how long has he been staying there already?</i>	5	mudo intee leeg buu joogaa Mareekanka hada? <i>period of time how long he stay America now?</i> 'for how long has he been staying in America now?'

Pair 4.34: Part 2 to 5 of a question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 8

Part 1 in pair 4.35. is one of the three instances of a split part being a consequence of another shift. The split part has been reunited in the rendition as a consequence of the omission of part 2. There seems to be more cohesion in the rendition of pair 4.35. than in the turn, due to the fact that the pieces of part 1 have been united.

	<i>OF12 / length 00:00:14</i>		<i>IN12</i>
1	u hebt op 22 juni in Ter Apel... <i>you have on 22 June in Ter Apel...</i>	1	ok. ulipata mazungumzo tarehe 22 mwezi wa sita huko Ter Apel <i>ok-you got-the talk-date-22-month-of-6-there-Ter Apel</i> 'did you get the discussion of 22/6 in Ter Apel'
2	eh dat was uw derde gesprek met de IND. <i>eh that was your third interview with the IND.</i>		
1	hebt u al een nader gehoor gehad <i>you already have had a second interview</i>		
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.35: Part 1 to 2 of a turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 12

4.2.1.2. *Switched parts*

In four shifts (one from an introduction, two from narratives and one from a part with questions about the narrative) two adjacent parts switched order in the rendition. Part 4 and 5 in the following pair, taken from the narrative of interview 9, are representative for these cases.

	<i>AS09 / length 00:00:10</i>		<i>IN09</i>
1	siku iliofuata walikuja tena wale wasoda kwa fasi ya nyumbani. <i>day-that followed-they came-again-those-soldiers-at-place-of-home.</i> 'on the following day, the soldiers came to my home.'	1	volgende dag zijn ze weer bij ons thuis geweest. bij ons huis. <i>next day they have been at our home again. at our house.</i>
2	walimchukua mama yangu. <i>they took-mother-my.</i> 'they took my mother.'	2	en hebben mijn moeder meegenomen. <i>and have taken my mother.</i>
3	wakasema <i>they said</i> 'they said'	3	en zeiden <i>and said</i>
4	mpaka wanipate mimi <i>until-they get-me</i> 'when they get me'		
5	ndio watamuachia yule mama yangu. <i>that is when-they will release-that-mother-mine</i> 'then they will release my mother.'	5	dat ze haar pas zouden laten gaan <i>that they would only let her go</i>
		4	als ze mij in handen zouden hebben. <i>if they would have me in their hands.</i>

Pair 4.36: *Turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 9*

The switched parts are related clauses: the verb phrase in part 4 creates the condition for the action in part 5 to happen. In other words, part 5 is the consequence of the condition in part 4. In Dutch conditional sentences, the condition can either precede or follow the consequence. This shift – and the other three as well – affected similarity at the form level.¹¹⁵

4.2.1.3. *Parts moved up*

Now I will turn to the turn-rendition pairs in which a part from the turn moved up to another position in the rendition. One instance of a part moved up was a consequence of another shift. Seven instances concerned shifts (three from an introduction, three from a narrative and one in a question from a part with questions about the narrative) one or more parts (partially) left their original position to move up in the order. One of the shifts is found in pair 4.37, originating from the introduction of interview 5.

¹¹⁵ Similarity of effect has been slightly affected in part 1: the asylum seeker mentioned 'the soldiers' whereas the interpreter only referred to the soldiers – who were already mentioned in preceding turns – with a pronoun. See for similar shifts section 4.3.4.

	<i>OF05 / length 00:00:11</i>		<i>IN05</i>
1	na afloop van dit gesprek krijgt u over een aantal weken een afspraak <i>after finishing this interview you will get an appointment in a number of weeks</i>	1	dans quelques jours tu vas avoir un rendez-vous avec quelqu'un. <i>in a few days you will have an appointment with someone.</i>
2	om het rapport van vandaag te bespreken met de tolk <i>to discuss today's report with an interpreter</i>	2a	tu vas ensemble avec un interprète comme moi <i>you go together with an interpreter such as me</i>
		5	vous allez lire ce que...le premier <i>you will read that what... the first</i>
		2b	et ce que monsieur va écrire aujourd'hui <i>and that what mister will write today</i>
3	om te kijken <i>to see</i>	3	pour voir si... <i>to see if...</i>
		-	quelqu'un te traduit <i>someone translates for you</i>
		-	ce qui est écrit dedans <i>that what is written in this</i>
		3	pour voir <i>to see</i>
4	of er fouten in staan <i>if there are mistakes in it</i>	4	si tu es d'accord. <i>if you agree.</i>
5	en dan kunt u ook dit rapport alsnog doornemen. <i>and then you can also go through this report.</i>		

Pair 4.37: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 5

The relevant parts are 2 and 5. In part 5 the officer mentioned another report, different from 'today's report' from part 2 and most likely referring to the report of the first interview. The place of this information, at the end of the turn, suggests that the officer did not think about adding this information earlier and consequently, put it at the end. It is a logical consequence of spontaneous speech that information does not always end up at the most appropriate place in a certain turn. This is where the interpreter has an advantage: while listening to the turn he will register flaws concerning its coherence, which he can fix in the rendition. This is what we see in the rendition of pair 4.37: the interpreter moved up part 5 to combine it with part 2, in order to get a more coherent information structure. The coherence change is a change at the pragmatic level of similarity. In addition to the shift in pair 4.37, four of the other shifts showed a change in coherence.

Two shifts concerned a partial move of a part. The moved information ended up in a more prominent position in the rendition, which changed the perlocution of the turn,

and consequently affected similarity at the pragmatic level.¹¹⁶ This is illustrated by pair 4.38. In the turn of this pair the asylum seeker explained the reason for fleeing her country. However, she did not come to the point right away. Only in part 6 the reason is mentioned. In the rendition, the interpreter started the rendition with part 4 and moved up the highly relevant information from part 6.

	<i>AS06 / length 00:00:24</i>		<i>IN06</i>
1	ni ni kutoka <i>for-leave</i> 'for leaving'		
2	kule yuko... <i>where-he/she is...</i> 'where he/she is...'		
3	huko nyumbani ni... <i>there-home-is...</i> 'there at home...'		
4	sababu zilizokimbiza kule nyumbani <i>reasons-that made me flee-there-home</i> 'reasons that made me flee from home'	4 6	ja de reden van het vertrek uit mijn land was eigenlijk de dood van mijn man heh. <i>yes the reason of the departure from my country was actually the death of husband heh.</i>
5	paka nikafika huku <i>till-I arrived-here</i> 'until I arrived here'		
6	nilipata matatizo mume wangu kuuliwa <i>I encountered-problems-husband-mine- murdered</i> 'I encountered the problem of my husband being murdered' [...]	6	mijn man is om het leven gebracht. <i>my husband has been murdered.</i> [...]

Pair 4.38: Part 1 to 6 of a turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 6

4.2.1.4. Parts moved down

The sample contained seven instances of a part moved down, of which six shifts concerning the (partial) movement of parts to a lower position in the rendition in comparison to their position in the original turn. One shift originated from an introduction, three from a narrative and two from a part with questions about the narrative (one question and one answer).

I found one shift in which one part moved to the end of the rendition, originating from an introduction. This pair, concerning part 6 in pair 4.39. below, shows the movement of a part that did not fit properly in the turn in the first place. The officer started part 5 with 'that is why' and repeated the reason to which 'why' referred in part 6. By adding part 6 she interrupted the sentence started in part 5. The interpreter united the

¹¹⁶ The omissions that occurred in both pairs, though, caused the similarity to be affected at the information level (see section 4.3.1. for cases of omission).

sentence in the rendition by inserting part 6 after the sentence. The last part of the rendition seems to be added to finish the sentence of part 6. The shift created more coherence, which affected similarity at the pragmatic level. One other shift, occurring in a pair from a narrative, showed a similar change.

	<i>OF13 / length 00:00:20</i>		<i>IN13</i>
	[...]		[...]
		-	ni ni lazima... <i>it-it-is a must...</i>
5	daarom is het ook de bedoeling <i>that is why the intention is</i>	5	inabidi wewe required-you <i>'it is important'</i>
6	omdat (ik) dit gesprek dus voor u va+ zo belangrijk is <i>because (I) this interview is thus for you of+ so important</i>		
7	dat u de waarheid vertelt. <i>that you tell the truth.</i>	7	eeh usemeshe ukweli eeh-to say-truth <i>'that you speak the truth'</i>
8	alles vertelt <i>tell everything</i>	8	na useme eh kila kitu yote matatizo yako yote and-say-eh-every-thing-all-problems-your- all <i>'and tell all your predicaments'</i>
		-	imekushika. that has caught you. <i>'that have befallen you.'</i>
9	wat eventueel van belang kan zijn <i>what perhaps can be of importance</i>		
10	en dat u geen gegevens achterhoudt. <i>and that you do not withhold any information.</i>		
		6	kwa hii mazungumzo ni ya lazima sana so-this-talk-is-of-importance-much <i>'so this interview is of great importance for you'</i>
		-	kupata ukimbizi wako. to get-your-flee <i>'to get your asylum.'</i>

Pair 4.39: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 13

In the following pair, the relevant parts presented below as pair 4.40, three parts moved down in the order of the rendition. However, in the rendition the three parts appear as one. This part summarised the information of the three parts, leading to a perlocutionary change. The information value of turn and rendition remained similar, but similarity was affected at the pragmatic level.

	AS04 / length 00:00:40		IN04
9	[...] mais non comme nous on était dans le camp. <i>but not like us, we were in the camp.</i>		
10	on avait l'impression <i>we had the impression</i>		
11	qu'on était en s'écourité. <i>that we were in safety.</i>		
12	on ne savait pas que... <i>we did not know that...</i>	12	[...] wij wisten nog niet <i>we did not know yet</i>
13	et les militaires étaient inclus dans le problème. <i>and the soldiers were part of the problem.</i> [...]	13	dat militairen betrokken waren bij die bij die opstand. <i>that soldiers were involved in that in that revolt.</i>
		10 11 9	dus wij voelden ons nog steeds veilig in de kamp. <i>so we still felt safe in the camp.</i> [...]

Pair 4.40: Part 9 to 13 of an answer from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 4

Three shifts concerned a form change. In the rendition a part had been partially moved down in the order of the rendition. One of the shifts is presented in pair 4.41. The partial move resulted in a slightly changed order, hardly notable. In this pair, originating from the part with questions about the narrative of interview 3, information from part 1, 'before the break', is moved to the end of part 2 in the rendition (only the relevant parts of the example are shown). The change slightly affected similarity at the form level.

	OF02 / length 00:00:17		IN02
1	eh. ik heb u voor de pauze eh gevraagd <i>eh. I have asked you before the break</i>	1	[...] alors je t'ai demandé <i>well I have asked you</i>
2	of u nog even wilde nadenken over eh het feit <i>whether you could think again about eh the fact</i>	2	de réfléchir avant la pause. <i>to reflect before the break</i>
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.41: Part 1 and 2 from a question in the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 3

4.2.2. Shifts: changes in form of address

The analysis of the pairs revealed 14 shifts, in twelve pairs from nine interviews, involving a change in the use of pronouns. These shifts can be divided in two groups.

The first group, discussed in 4.2.2.1, concerns references to self and others. In these shifts one of the discourse participants deviates from the prescribed form of address. An example would be an interpreter referring to the officer as ‘he’ instead of ‘I’ while speaking to the asylum seeker. The other group concerns changes between turn and rendition in the use of the politeness pronoun. This kind of change is only visible when a politeness pronoun is available in both the institutional language and the client language. This only applies to the interviews with a French speaking asylum seeker. These shifts are discussed in section 4.2.2.2.

4.2.2.1. References to self and other

In section 4.1.2.5. I discussed parts that appeared in the rendition to make a reference to the original speaker, i.e. the officer. By adding such a reference the interpreter created a distance between himself and the things being said. It emphasises the relations within the participation framework and makes explicit that the interpreter is not the principal of a rendition. This kind of shifts affects similarity at the pragmatic level.

In the sample of turn-rendition pairs we find nine other shifts, in eight pairs from seven interviews, involving a reference to one of the discourse participants, unexpected in the light of the discourse scenario and default roles occurring in this kind of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse.

In pair 4.42, originating from the introduction of interview 10, both the officer and the interpreter used a third person reference in an unexpected way. This pair was already discussed in section 4.1.1.4. because of the omission of the first part of the turn.

	<i>OF10 / length 00:00:18</i>		<i>IN10</i>
1	nou voor meneer. <i>well for Mister.</i>		
2	uiteraard wordt van meneer verwacht <i>of course Mister is expected</i>	2	you are expected
3	dat hij eh de waarheid vertelt. <i>that he tells the truth.</i>	3	to tell the truth during this interview.
4	dat hij alles vertelt <i>that he tells everything</i>	4	and to tell him everything
5	dat hij zelf van belang acht. <i>that he himself considers important.</i>	5	that is important for your eh request for asylum.
		-	eh further he wants you eh
		-	to tell everything
6	geen dingen achterhoudt.	6	so not to withhold any information.
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.42: Turn-rendition pair (parts 1-6) from the introduction, from interview 10

The officer, first of all, used ‘mister’ and ‘he’ to refer to the asylum seeker, who should be the addressed discourse participant. This happened in one other pair from interview 10, and also in one pair from another interview’s introduction.

Then the interpreter used 'him' and 'he' to refer to the officer. This kind of shift occurred in three other pairs, from different interviews, affecting similarity at the pragmatic level. In the sample I did not come across instances of the interpreter referring to the asylum seeker with a third person pronoun while providing a rendition for a turn by the asylum seeker.¹¹⁷

For the interpreter the use of the third person puts a distance between the rendition's content and the interpreter (cf. Bot 2005:170; Hale 2004:191; Pöllabauer 2007:50-51).

In two shifts it seems clear that the interpreter felt a need to distinguish herself from the officer. In pair 4.43. the interpreter used, for this purpose, the third person to refer to both the officer and herself.

	OF01 / length 00:00:12		IN01
1	en ik wil u nogmaals verzoeken <i>and I would like to ask you again</i>	2	although I have already mentioned in the introduction
2	wat ik al eerder tegen u zei bij mijn inleidende woorden <i>what I said to you before during my introductory words</i>	1	I would like to repeat
		-	and insist on the fact
3	om het aan te willen geven <i>to make it known</i>	4	that if there is any communication problem
		-	or anything that you don't understand
4	als zich problemen voordoen in de communicatie tussen u en mij of u en de tolk. <i>if problems occur in the communication between you and me or you and the interpreter.</i>	3	will you please interrupt right away.

¹¹⁷ Although no shifts appeared in the sample, in the interviews I found instances of the asylum seeker using the second person to address the interpreter and the third person for the officer. It shows that the asylum seekers in those cases see the interpreter as their main discourse partner. This kind of shifts is discussed in section 6.2.3.

- (a) IN/nl eh ik begrijp... wij wij begrijpen elkaar.
eh I understand... we we understand each other.
- OF uhuhm. [12.2]
- IN/nl maar ik weet niet wat u vertelt die blanke man want eh wanneer ik geef een antwoord hij komt nog met een andere antw+ een andere vraag. na die vraag
but I don't know what you are telling the white man because eh when I give an answer he poses another answ+ another question. after that question
- OF ja ja. dat zegt... dat zegt hij tegen u? wij begrijpen elkaar want ik ben de blanke man in het verhaal.
yes yes. that he tells... that is what he tells you? we understand each other because I am the white man in this story.
- IN/nl ja.
yes.

		4	(it is) either between you and this gentleman or between you and the interpreter.
--	--	---	---

Pair 4.43: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 1

In the other shift, the interpreter used the first person to refer to herself, to make clear that she herself is meant by ‘the interpreter’, as can be seen in part 1 of pair 4.44. In the remaining parts of this example, not included here, the interpreter used the third person again for herself and the first person for the officer. In both shifts the changed use of person affected similarity at the pragmatic level.

	<i>OF14 / length 00:00:12</i>		<i>IN14</i>
		-	and as you can see eh
		-	we are going to speak through the interpreter
1	dit is mevrouw de tolk. <i>this is Ms. interpreter.</i> [...]	1	which is I. [...]

Pair 4.44: Turn-rendition pair (first parts) from the introduction, from interview 14

4.2.2.2. Politeness

In general, the officer addresses the asylum seeker with the Dutch politeness pronoun *u* in the interviews. In three out of four of the client languages in the sample, English, Somali and Swahili, the use of this form of address is not visible in the rendition since no distinction is made between a polite and an informal form of address in these languages. French, however, does make such a distinction: the pronoun *vous* is the formal form of address, whereas *tu* is the informal form.

In the following pair, originating from the introduction of interview 2, a difference occurred in the rendition regarding the form of address. The pair has already been discussed in section 4.5.2.2. and is repeated below as pair 4.45.

	<i>OF02 / length 00:00:04</i>		<i>IN02</i>
1	u kunt vandaag in vrijheid spreken. <i>you can speak in freedom today.</i>	1	aujourd'hui, tu peux parler librement <i>today you can speak freely</i>
2	alles wat u zegt <i>everything that you say</i>	2	parce que tout ce qui est dit <i>because everything that is said</i>
3	wordt vertrouwelijk behandeld. <i>will be handled confidentially.</i>	3	c'est gardé confidentiel par le Ministère. <i>that will be kept confidential by the Ministry.</i>

Pair 4.45: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 2

The interpreter addressed the asylum seeker using *tu* in part 1. In the beginning of the interview the interpreter asked the asylum seeker whether he agreed with the form of

address *tu*, the informal pronoun for the second person singular. Throughout the interview she used *tu*, discarding the officer's use of the politeness pronoun.

This kind of shift was found in four other pairs, originating from the French interviews 2, 3 and 5. The cases all concerned renditions of officers' turns.¹¹⁸ The interpreters expect that the asylum seeker would appreciate it to be addressed in an informal way. This is what the interpreter in interview 2 mentioned to the officer (the relevant excerpt is presented in section 6.1.2). In interviews 2 and 3 the same interpreter was present. The interpreter of interview 5, did not give an explanation for the use of *tu*. However, the asylum seeker in his interview was a minor, and this might have been a reason for the interpreter to shift to the non-politeness form. The interpreter in interview 4, the remaining French interview, followed the officer in the use of the politeness pronoun. For all three interpreters French was their native language. The shifts affected similarity at the speaker level.

Once in the sample the officer slipped into the informal form of address, as shown in in part 7 of pair 4.46. below. Since the client language in the interview was English, a language that does not distinguish between a polite and an informal form of address, the slip remained unnoticed for the asylum seeker.

	<i>OF10 / length 00:00:18</i>		<i>IN10</i>
	[...]		[...]
		8	eh if there is anything
7	ook als je denkt <i>also when you think</i>	7	that you think
8	van goh dit of dit heeft u mij misschien nog niet gevraagd <i>like gee, this or this you maybe have not asked me yet</i>	8	that should be asked
	[...]		[...]

Pair 4.46: Part 8 to 9 of a turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 10

4.2.3. Shifts: no change in part number and order

In this section I have analysed the 19 pairs in which turn and rendition contain an equal number of parts and, in case the number of parts is more than one, in which the parts are ordered in the same way, to see to what extent modifications have occurred in these pairs. I distinguished 19 shifts, in 14 pairs, either occurring in one part pair – in which order is not relevant – (discussed in section 4.2.3.1), or in a pair consisting of more than one part (discussed in section 4.2.3.2).

The analysis showed that modifications found in the pairs with no changes in part number and order involve similar kinds of shifts as the shifts related to the mutations discussed before.

¹¹⁸ In the sample the asylum seekers did not address the officer in their turns. Therefore, the phenomenon could not have surfaced in the translation direction from asylum seeker to officer.

4.2.3.1. One part pairs

In the sample I found 13 turn-rendition pairs consisting of one part, all originating from either a question or an answer from the parts with questions about the narrative. In nine of these pairs I distinguished 12 shifts, with a varying effect. In eight pairs the relationship between turn and rendition could (almost) be considered one of synonymy. Looking at a detailed level, a small number of small differences became visible affecting the similarity. This is illustrated by the pairs 4.47. to 4.49. below.

Pair 4.47 is an answer from the asylum seeker to one of the officer's questions in interview 13. Turn and rendition are built up in the same way, around the same main verb. The interpreter added *the year*, which has no consequences for the information in the rendition in comparison to its original. We see both the asylum seeker and the interpreter hesitate just before mentioning the year. However, this is likely to be a coincidence, since in other turn-rendition pairs of this interview hesitations are generally not taken over by the interpreter.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, the interpreter does not render the asylum seeker's hesitation at the beginning of the turn in the rendition resulting in a repetition of the pronoun 'we'.

In the previous sections about mutations I concluded that shifts making the information clearer for the recipient affected similarity at the pragmatic level (section 4.1.2.2). Consequently, in 4.47. similarity has been affected at the pragmatic level as well by the addition of *the year*. Furthermore, the omission of the pronoun 'we' affected similarity at the speaker level. However, the shifts concerning modifications have a lesser impact on similarity than the mutations discussed previously.

	<i>AS13 / length 00:00:04</i>		<i>IN13</i>
1	turi+ turipata matatizo aah mwaka 2002. <i>we+we got-problems-aah-in 2002</i> 'we had problems in 2002.'	1	we hebben problemen gehad in eh het jaar 2002. <i>we have had problems in eh the year 2002.</i>

Pair 4.47: An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 13

The turn-rendition pair in 4.48. originates from interview 14 and contains a clarification question (indicated with gray in the table). The clarification itself was not audible, the asylum seeker probably nodded to confirm. The information from a clarification sequence is considered to be part of the turn. If the information from a clarification sequence would not be included in the rendition of the turn, the information would remain inaccessible for the other primary speaker (cf. Hale 2004:194-198; Nakane 2009:14). Furthermore, the information provided in a clarification sequence is closely connected to the information of the turn that caused the initiation of the clarification sequence (see also chapter 5 about clarification sequences). Omitting the information from rendition is therefore considered to affect the similarity between turn and rendition. In the case of pair 4.48 the information from the clarification sequence is already present in the turn itself, so it cannot be distinguished in the rendition.

¹¹⁹ This is in line with the findings in Hale (2004), who concluded that characteristics such as hesitations are usually not preserved in the rendition (see also section 2.1.1.3).

	AS14 / length 00:00:02		IN14
1	I'm working for her in a bar.	1	ik heb voor haar in een in een bar gewerkt. <i>I have worked for her in a in a bar.</i>
	IN14		
	in the bar?		

Pair 4.48: *An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 14*

Turn and rendition differ in tense, which slightly affected similarity of the form level. The asylum seeker used the present continuous, although she was talking about the past. This is characteristic for her language variety of English. The interpreter used a perfect tense to make the intended past tense explicit.

Just like pair 4.47, the asylum seeker's turn contains a repeated subject pronoun, which was omitted in the rendition. The omission affected similarity at the speaker level. In this case, the first *I* overlapped with another speaker's turn. That may have been a reason for the asylum seeker to start over her turn.

Another shift that occurred in the pairs in which turn and rendition were almost synonymous was a shift from more specific to less specific information. This happened in two pairs, of which 4.49. is one. In this pair the girl mentioned in the turn is replaced by a pronoun in the rendition, slightly affecting similarity at the information level.

	AS01 / length 00:00:03		IN01
1	the girl is a member of the rebel.	1	zij is een lid van de rebellen. <i>she is a member of the rebels.</i>

Pair 4.49: *An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 1*

In five of the 13 turn-rendition pairs shifts occurred with a greater impact in comparison to the eight pairs almost showing a relationship of synonymy, although still the impact is smaller than the mutations' impact. In pair 4.50, originating from interview 9, the pronoun 'he' is replaced by 'his corpse' in the rendition. The interpreter was able to make this explication because the information was available from previous turns. This small change in information may be a way of strengthening the clarity of the question. This shift is similar to the shifts discussed in section 4.1.2.1, concerning the addition of old information and affected similarity at the information level.

	OF09 / length 00:00:01		IN09
1	waar is hij aangetroffen? <i>where is he found?</i>	1	wali+ walimkuta wapi? maiti yake? <i>they+they got-where? body-his/her?</i> <i>'where did they recover it, his corpse?'</i>

Pair 4.50: *A question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 9*

In pair 4.51, originating from interview 10, we find two shifts. One concerns a grammatical change: a clause was transposed to a noun. The function of *is* in the turn is only to link the name of the organisation (mentioned in the question preceding the answer in table 11) explicitly to the noun *human right group*. However, the link between the name and the noun does not disappear by leaving out the verb and does only affect similarity between turn and rendition at the form level.

The other change concerns an omission. The asylum seeker started his answer with ‘no’. This is left out of the rendition. It seems that this difference could be retraced to a dissimilarity in the turn-rendition pair of the question, preceding the answer, as can be seen in pair 4.52. The asylum seeker’s *no* could be a response to ‘not a political party’, which did not originate from the officer’s turn. Since *no* is not a proper response to the officer’s question it may have been left out of the rendition for reasons of clarity. The omission affected similarity at the level of information of form, effect and information. Again, this shift takes place within one part and therefore does not affect the similarity to the same degree as the shifts showing omissions in the previous sections.

	AS10 / length 00:00:01		IN10
1	no is a human right group.	1	een mensenrechtengroepering. <i>a human right group.</i>

Pair 4.51: *An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 10*

	OFO / length 00:00:24		INO
	[...]		[...]
4	eh meneer zei zelf al heh <i>eh mister already said himself heh</i>		
5	het is een beweging heh? eigenlijk. <i>it is a movement heh? actually.</i>	5	it's a movement not a political party.
		4	that's what you said.
6	m+ movement. zegt het woord al.		

Pair 4.52: *A question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 10*

Pair 4.53, originating from interview 4, shows a semantic shift. In the rendition the officer’s question is changed from specific to more general, affecting similarity at the information level. From the use of ‘your’ we may conclude that the officer specifically asked about the asylum seeker’s situation and not the general situation. In the turns prior to the question the asylum seeker already explained that the rebellion had started on 5 June, whereas her personal problems only started on 7 June. Hence, the officer’s question concerning her situation on 7 June. However, the interpreter asked about ‘the situation’, so not specifically referring to the asylum seeker’s situation.

	OF01 / length 00:00:03		IN04
1	hoe was uw situatie op 7 juni eh in dat kamp? <i>how was your situation on 7 June eh in that camp?</i>	1	comment était la situation le 5 juin dans ce camp dans le camp? <i>how was the situation on 5 June in this camp in the camp?</i>

Pair 4.53: A question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 4

The question is whether this shift from specific to more general is deliberate. It could be that the shift is connected to the mistake we find in the same part: the interpreter mentioned 5 June instead of 7 June. In that case the dissimilarity between turn and rendition does not follow from the production norms, since mistakes fall outside the scope of the framework of norms.

The following turn-rendition pair, 4.54, originating from interview 14, is a question that was preceded by another question from the officer: 'what kind of work did you do?', followed by a similar rendition by the interpreter. The rendition of the additional question however shows an explication of the officer's question. First of all, the officer did not formulate a full question, whereas the interpreter did, thereby not only giving the rendition a different style and a different grammatical structure but also adding information, by mentioning 'the woman', as the one the asylum seeker would be working for. Furthermore, the officer explicitly mentioned one option but left room for other options by adding 'or something'. In the rendition the interpreter limited the options to only one in a clear yes/no-question.

	OF14 / length 00:00:01		IN14
1	in de huishouding of iets dergelijks? <i>housekeeping or something?</i>	1	were you helping the woman eh eh in the house? as a housemaid?

Pair 4.54: A question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 14

The shift in pair 4.54. is similar to the shifts showing explication of information discussed in the section about mutations. Although the impact of this shift is smaller, it affected similarity at the information level.

In the remaining pair the only part in the turn has changed into two verb clauses with similar information but with a different focus. The turn focussed on the people accompanying the asylum seeker during his return, whereas the rendition started with confirming the return to Burundi in 1993 before turning to the question of who accompanied the asylum seeker. The rendition changed the turn's perlocution, affecting similarity at the pragmatic level.

	OF07 / length 00:00:04		IN06
1	met wie bent u in 93 precies teruggeke+ keerd naar Burundi?	1	mwaka tisini na tatu wakati uliporudi Burundi year-ninety-and-three-the time-when you returned-Burundi 'in 1993 when you returned to Burundi'

		1	ulirudi pamoja na nani? you returned-together-with-who? 'who did return with you?'
--	--	---	--

Pair 4.55: A question and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 7

4.2.3.2. More part pairs

In six turn-rendition pairs consisting of more than one part the number and order of parts are equal in turn and rendition. Five shifts occurred in five pairs, in one pair the modification was the result of an incorrect rendition.

One pair showed a relationship close to synonymy, presented below as pair 4.56, originating from the narrative of interview 15. It is the shortest turn compared to the length of the other narrative examples. Most turns in this interview are short, which is related to the problematic communication between the asylum seeker and the interpreter (see also section 3.2.2).

	<i>AS15 / length 00:00:04</i>		<i>IN15</i>
1a	that organisation	1a	en die organisatie heette <i>and that organisation was called</i>
2	they told me	2	zo werd mij verteld... <i>as I was told...</i>
			the People's Redemption?
			<i>AS15</i>
			Redemption Army.
			<i>IN15</i>
1b	was called the People's Redemption Army.	1b	Army. ok. People's Redemption Army.

Pair 4.56: Turn-rendition pair from the narrative, from interview 15

Even the limited content of this turn caused the interpreter to initiate a clarification sequence, marked in the table by the grey cells (see also section 5.2.3. for a detailed discussion of the clarification sequences in this interview). The clarification sequence is closed with a confirmative 'ok', after which the last piece of the rendition followed.

Apart from the clarification sequence the rendition is very similar to the turn. The interpreter also inserted part 2 in the middle of part 1, as the asylum seeker did, albeit that the verb was originally in part 1b, whereas it appeared in part 1a in the rendition. The tense of part 2 in the rendition differs from its original: passive versus active. This grammatical change slightly affected similarity at the form level.

In the remaining five turn-rendition pairs containing more than one part and showing an equal number and order of parts, similarity was affected to a greater extent. The following pair, originating from the introduction of interview 2, has already been discussed in section 4.2.2.2, because of the difference in form of address between turn and rendition, and is repeated below as pair 4.57.

	<i>OF02 / length 00:00:04</i>		<i>IN02</i>
1	u kunt vandaag in vrijheid spreken. <i>you can speak in freedom today.</i>	1	aujourd'hui, tu peux parler librement <i>today you can speak freely</i>
2	alles wat u zegt <i>everything that you say</i>	2	parce que tout ce qui est dit <i>because everything that is said</i>
3	wordt vertrouwelijk behandeld. <i>will be handled confidentially.</i>	3	c'est gardé confidentiel par le Ministère. <i>that will be kept confidential by the Ministry.</i>

Pair 4.57: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 2

Apart from the change in form of address we find an addition by the interpreter in parts 2 and 3. She added the causal conjunction *because* to relate the first part to the second part. The officer has left the relation between the different parts implicit. In part 3 there is another addition by the interpreter: both officer and interpreter used a passive construction, but the interpreter added that it is the ministry who will be handling everything that is said confidentially.

By explicating information the interpreter was clearer in her formulation twice, in comparison to the original turn, affecting similarity at the information level. One other pair of the five pairs containing more parts and showing an equal number and order of parts showed a similar shift as the shift in pair 4.57.

Pair 4.58. is taken from the introduction of interview 4. If we check the parts of the rendition we see that turn parts 3 and 4 correspond each with two parts on the rendition side, due to a difference in grammatical style: the officer's way of speaking is succinct, and could even be interpreted as curt, whereas the interpreter used more elaborate sentences.

	<i>OF01 / length 00:00:12</i>		<i>IN04</i>
1	nou dan nog wat vragen mevrouw <i>well then yet some questions madam</i>	1	j'ai maintenant encore quelques questions à vous poser. <i>now I have yet some questions to ask to you.</i>
2	die in wezen formaliteiten zijn. <i>which are actually formalities.</i>	2	ce sont des questions eeh pour différentes.. pardon des questions standard. <i>they are questions eeh for different.. excuse me standard questions.</i>
3	zoals de vraag of u toestemming geeft <i>like the question whether you give permission</i>	3a	je voulais vous demander <i>I would like to ask you</i>
		3b	si vous donnez l'autorisation <i>whether you give permission</i>
4	om eventueel in andere landen te onderzoeken <i>to investigate in other countries if necessary</i>	4a	qu'il y ait des recherches de fait dans d'autres pays européens <i>that there will be a factual investigation in other European countries</i>

		4b	pour voir <i>to see</i>
5	of u daar niet eerder hebt verbleven. <i>whether you have stayed there earlier.</i>	5	si vous avez déjà été dans ces autres pays. <i>whether you have already been in these other countries.</i>

Pair 4.58: Turn-rendition pair from the introduction, from interview 4

The officer introduced the question that he wanted to ask with an elliptical phrase. Then, he asked his question in an indirect way. In fact, he did not pose a question at all, but only gave an example of one of the questions to come, however, with the intention to get the answer straight away. The interpreter, on the other hand, used full sentences and posed the actual question, starting with 'I would like to ask you'. This shift affected similarity at the speaker level.

In part 4 the interpreter made clear that the countries mentioned by the officer are European countries, thereby giving a bit more information than is found in the turn. The fact that the interpreter knew that the officer was talking about European countries shows her familiarity with the asylum topic. The difference in word choice in part 5 might also follow from this familiarity. The interpreter used the verb 'to be' instead of the officer's more specific verb 'to stay'. Since the interpreter seems to try to be as clear as possible in both style and information, the choice for a less specific word is a bit unexpected. However, if we place the information from part 5 in its legal context the conclusion would be that the interpreter's broader term is justified. The research referred to by the officer has the purpose to find out whether or not an other member state of the European Union should be held responsible for the asylum seeker's application, on the basis of the so-called Dublin Convention. This might be the case, for example, when the asylum seeker has entered the European Union illegally via another country before entering The Netherlands (Goos 2008:136). It is not necessary for the asylum seeker to have stayed in this first country, simply passing through can be enough to make this country responsible for the asylum application. Therefore, the interpreter's use of 'to be' is in fact more accurate than the officer's formulation. These small changes affected similarity at the information level.

In the following pair, originating from the part with questions about the narrative in interview 2, two shifts occurred. The first concerned a clause structure change, in part 3, which affected similarity at the form level.

	<i>AS02 / length 00:00:17</i>		<i>IN02</i>
1	tout à l'heure j'avais dit <i>before I have said</i>	1	ja zoals ik eh eerder zei <i>yes like I eh said before</i>
2	que je ne sais exactement pas <i>that I do not know exactly</i>	2	voor mij was het niet duidelijk <i>for me it was not clear</i>
3	s'il s'agissait maintenant même des rebelles ou des gens du gouvernement. <i>whether it concerned now even rebels or government men.</i>	3	wie rebel was <i>who was rebel</i>
		3	en wie voor de regering werkte. <i>and who worked for the government.</i>

4	pour moi les militaires ce sont des militaires donc...	4	een militair is een militair. <i>a soldier is a soldier.</i>
	IN02		
	donc tu disais qu'ils étaient habillés en militaires?		
	AS02		
	oui oui bien sur.		

Pair 4.59: *An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, from interview 2*

The second shift concerns the clarification sequence occurring at the end of the turn. For her own understanding the interpreter asked a clarification question, which concerns additional information, i.e. information that was not already part of the asylum seeker's turn, different than, for instance, the clarification sequences we saw above (pairs 4.48. and 4.56). The information from the clarification sequence is omitted in the rendition. Since I consider the information from a clarification sequence to be part of the turn's information, the similarity between turn and rendition is affected. The interpreter might have considered the information from the clarification sequence irrelevant since it only confirmed the content of her rendition. Nevertheless, the omission affected similarity at the information level.

The modification in pair 4.60. is not related to a shift, but is the result of an incorrect rendition. The pair is an answer from the part with questions about the narrative in interview 15. Like the previous turn-rendition pair from interview 15 discussed in this section it contains a short turn. The turn consists of two parts, the rendition of three parts, of which the latter two together form the rendition of the turn's second part. In this case the split-up of one part into two parts in the rendition affected the similarity of form, effect and information. In the turn the verb phrase *belonging to a political organisation* is specified by the prepositional phrase *by registration*. In the rendition a sentence structure change occurred: the prepositional phrase altered to the verb phrase 'to be registered', following the verb phrase 'to belong to a political party' and the coordinating conjunction 'and'. Instead of the two phrases forming a unity – as in the original turn where one phrase modifies the other – we find two separate phrases in the rendition, with an independent meaning. The grammatical structure in the rendition slightly altered the meaning of the original turn.

	AS15 / length 00:00:08		IN15
1	I have not have the privilege	1	ik heb niet het privilege gehad <i>I have not had the privilege</i>
2	of belonging to a political organisation by registration.	2a	om te behoren eh en eh tot een politieke partij <i>to belong eh and eh to a political party</i>
		2b	en om geregistreerd te zijn. <i>and to be registered.</i>

Pair 4.60: *An answer and its rendition from the part with questions about the narrative, interview 15*

4.3. *Conclusions*

The analysis of the turn-rendition pairs has made clear that an enormous amount of changes and adaptations happen in the process of interpreting, including the omission and addition of information. Affecting similarity at one or more levels seems to be the rule rather than the exception. Interpreters are active communication partners in the interviews. In the 56 turn-rendition pairs of the sample 152 shifts occurred, involving mutations and modifications. Only four of the 56 turn-rendition pairs turned out to have a synonymy relationship between all parts of the turn and the rendition, which means that these pairs were not affected at the four levels of similarity distinguished in section 2.1.2. Consequently, the remaining 52 turn-rendition pairs showed an affected similarity relationship between turn and rendition. In this chapter I discussed the 152 shifts, and related them to different production strategies, as discussed in section 2.3.2.2.

In the following sections I present the conclusions concerning the similarity relationship between turn and rendition in the sample's turn-rendition pairs. In section 4.3.1. I discuss the levels of similarity affected by the occurring shifts, and the production strategies applied by the interpreters in order for the shifts to happen. In section 4.3.2. I will argue that the production strategies applied in the sample can be related to more general strategies, following from the interaction of the norms in the framework of norms presented in section 2.3.1.

4.3.1. Levels of similarity affected

The analysis of the sample showed that only four turn-rendition pairs showed a synonymy relationship, i.e. the four levels of similarity – the information level, the pragmatic level, the form level and the speaker level – were not affected in these four pairs. Consequently, in 52 turn-rendition pairs the similarity relation between turn and rendition was affected. In one pair the rendition diverged from the original turn due to a mistake in the rendition, in the 51 other pairs shifts occurred, that could be linked to a production strategy, affecting one or more of the four levels of similarity.

In general, the shifts seem to result in renditions more perspicuous and more relevant – from the interpreters' point of view – than the original turns. This is in line with a general finding in translation studies, that translations tend to be more explicit than the original texts (Chesterman 1997). The strategies applied by the interpreter can be seen as changes for the benefit of the communication, supporting the view that the interpreters' mediation is not limited to translating but also serves a function in coordinating the participation in discourse (Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012b). With regard to the asylum seekers' turns we can conclude that the renditions are overall more suitable for the officer to include them in the interview report than the original turns, confirming Wadensjö's (1992) findings. Though this does not necessarily mean that interpreters apply strategies with the aim to provide texts suitable for the written report, as argued by Maryns (2006). The increased perspicuity in the renditions of the officers' turns facilitates the asylum seekers' understanding of the discourse, potentially giving rise to more relevant responses from the asylum seeker (cf. Baraldi 2012).

As explained in section 2.1.2, a shift affecting one level of similarity, is likely to affect (an)other level(s) of similarity as well. In the analysis of the shifts I focussed for each shift on the level of similarity that was primarily affected, and left other affected levels of similarity unmentioned. The majority of the shifts concerning omission of parts primarily affected similarity at the information level or at the speaker level. For the shifts concerning addition of parts the level of similarity primarily affected was either the information level or the pragmatic level. Shifts concerning part order affected similarity either primarily at the pragmatic level, leading to more coherence in the renditions, or at the form level, contributing to the well-formedness of the renditions. For the shifts concerning form of address the relevant level of similarity was either the pragmatic level, concerning diverging references to the officer and the interpreter, or the speaker level, involving the use of the politeness pronoun. In the pairs showing no change in part number or part order shifts occurred as well, affecting all levels of similarity.

The fact that the similarity relationship between turns and renditions are affected in the majority of the turn-rendition pairs at one or more levels of similarity does not per se negatively influence the communication in the asylum interviews (contra Bot 2005, for the context of interpreter-mediated therapeutic sessions). Although the interpreter's severe interference is in a limited number of turns questionable, overall, the translation process does not seem to jeopardise a reliable account of the asylum seekers' narrative, as suggested by Maryns (2006).

The outcomes of the analysis of the sample are summarised in tables 4.11. and 4.12, showing the number of shifts primarily affecting the different levels of similarity for every turn-rendition pair in the sample.

In 15 pairs only shifts occurred involving modifications, which affected the similarity in the pairs at least at one level of similarity. The shifts occurring in these 15 pairs involved all levels of similarity. The questions and the answers comprised the most pairs with only shifts involving modifications. The information level was affected the most, in ten pairs, whereas the pragmatic level was affected the least, in two pairs.

In the remaining 37 pairs shifts occurred involving mutations. The shifts distinguished in these pairs concerned, apart from mutations, the modifications concerning part order and form of address – in 22 of the 37 pairs.¹²⁰ The shifts affected the pairs at least at one level of similarity and involved all four levels. The analysis showed that shifts primarily affecting the form level only concern modifications. This means that the addition or omission of parts always affects the similarity at a level other than the form level. As the analysis indicates, this is the information level in the majority of the shifts. The majority of the pairs showing shifts concerning mutations have therefore mostly been affected at the level of information. Only in the narratives, the number of pairs affected at the speaker level exceeds the number of pairs affected at the information level.

Now I will turn to the question how the outcomes relate to the four levels of similarity.

¹²⁰ As explained in the introduction to this chapter, the turn-rendition pairs showing mutations have not been explored for other modifications than the modifications concerning change in part order and change of form of address.

				mutation shifts					modification shifts					total
				simil. level affected				tot	simil. level affected				tot	
				inform.	pragm.	form	speaker		inform.	pragm.	form	speaker		
int	lng	turn length												
introductions	1	en	00:00:12		2			2		1	1		2	4
	2	fr	00:00:04					0	1			1	2	2
	3	fr	00:00:06	2				2				1	1	3
	4	fr	00:00:12					0	1			1	2	2
	5	fr	00:00:11	1				1		2		1	3	4
	6	sw	00:00:06	1				1		1			1	2
	7	sw	00:00:11	2				2		1			1	3
	8	so	00:00:03		1			1					0	1
	9	sw	00:00:11					0	1				1	1
	10	en	00:00:18	1	1		1	3		2	1		3	6
	12	sw	00:00:14	2	2			4		1			1	5
	13	sw	00:00:20	3				3		2			2	5
	14	en	00:00:12	2			1	3		2			2	5
	15	en	00:00:09		2		1	3					0	3
	total introductions				14	8		3	25	3	12	2	4	21
narratives	1	en	00:00:34	4			3	7			1		1	8
	2	fr	00:00:10				1	1					0	1
	3	fr	00:00:59	5			5	10			1		1	11
	4	fr	00:00:23	5			1	6			1		1	7
	5	fr	00:00:46	3	3		7	13		1			1	14
	6	sw	00:00:24				3	3		2			2	5
	7	sw	00:00:18	3				3					0	3
	8	so	00:00:08		1			1					0	1
	9	sw	00:00:10					0			1		1	1
	10	en	00:00:11				1	1					0	1
	12	sw	00:00:14	4				4					0	4
	13	sw	00:00:25	1				1					0	1
	14	en	00:00:14				2	2		1			1	3
	15	en	00:00:04					0			1		1	1
	total narratives				25	4		23	52		4	5		9

Table 4.11: Primarily affected levels of similarity in shifts, in the pairs from the introductions and narratives

				mutation shifts					modification shifts					total
				simil. level affected				tot	simil. level affected				tot	
				inform.	pragm.	form	speaker		inform.	pragm.	form	speaker		
int	lng	turn length												
questions	1	en	00:00:04	1				1					0	1
	2	fr	00:00:12	1			1	2				1	1	3
	3	fr	00:00:17	1			1	2		1	1	1	3	5
	4	fr	00:00:03					0	1				1	1
	5	fr	00:00:02		1			1					0	1
	6	sw	00:00:09	1				1					0	1
	7	sw	00:00:04					0		1			1	1
	8	so	00:00:12	1	1			2			1		1	3
	9	sw	00:00:01					0	1				1	1
	10	en	00:00:24	2				2		1	1		2	4
	12	sw	00:00:02					0					0	
	13	sw	00:00:03					0					0	
	14	en	00:00:01					0	1				1	1
	15	en	00:00:09				1	1					0	1
	total questions				7	2		3	12	3	3	3	2	11
answers	1	en	00:00:03					0	1				1	1
	2	fr	00:00:17					0	1		1		2	2
	3	fr	00:00:01					0					0	
	4	fr	00:00:40	3				3		1			1	4
	5	fr	00:00:05	1	1		1	3					0	3
	6	sw	00:00:18	1			1	2					0	2
	7	sw	00:00:07					0	1				1	1
	8	so	00:00:03	1				1					0	1
	9	sw	00:00:02					0					0	
	10	en	00:00:01					0	1		1		2	2
	12	sw	00:00:08	1			1	2					0	2
	13	sw	00:00:04					0		1		1	2	2
	14	en	00:00:02					0			1	1	2	2
	15	en	00:00:08					0					0	
	total answers				7	1		3	11	4	2	3	2	11

Table 4.12: Primarily affected levels of similarity in shifts, in the pairs from the parts with questions about the narrative – questions and answers

4.3.1.1. *Information level affected*

The information level is the level of similarity that was most often affected in the sample. Of the 152 shifts 63 shifts primarily concerned an effect at the information level. The majority – 39 shifts – were found among the 72 shifts concerning omissions. Omission can be related to efficiency: information considered irrelevant or redundant by the interpreter is left out of the rendition (Hale & Gibbons 1999:207). 14 shifts affecting the information level involved addition of parts – half of the total number of shifts concerning addition. In the 19 shifts showing no change in part order and/or number, ten shifts affected similarity at the information level.

The many omissions and additions in the sample's renditions show that interpreters make choices with respect to the information that should be preserved and additionally included in the rendition, often affecting similarity at the information level. The data do not support Hale's (2004) claim for the context of courtroom interpreting that interpreters focus on maintaining similarity at the information level.

The length of the renditions is an indication that omission is driven by efficiency: in a high number of shifts led to rendition briefer than the turn (23 shifts). There are 17 shifts in which the interpreter omitted many parts, leaving a severely reduced rendition (section 4.1.1.3). Furthermore, in six shifts parts were replaced by related parts that summarised the turn's information or made inferences on the basis of the turn's information. In general, the long turns are produced by the asylum seekers, as a consequence of the nature of the interview. This explains why more omitted parts are found in the renditions of asylum seekers' turns.

In a number of cases information appeared less specific in the rendition than in the turn (eight shifts). This might be related to the fact that the more specific information could be inferred from the context or from information previously given. From this point of view the more specific is not necessary for the turn's target to be fully informed. However, the use of less specific information is not necessarily shorter or more efficient.

The relevance of the turn's information led in a number of shifts to the omission of information (nine shifts). Meta-information was considered irrelevant and omitted in a number of cases. Some shifts concerned omission of information already available from previous turns or a previous part in the same turn. One shift involved a clarification sequence of which the clarification was not included in the rendition.

The addition of parts also affected similarity at the information level. In adding information an interpreter shows to have access to other knowledge than available from the turn only (cf. Baraldi 2012:307-308), like information available from the context or from his own experience. Explication and addition of procedural information happened in 12 shifts, leading to renditions more perspicuous than the original turns. The same applies to the renditions to which information was added originating from previous turns, which occurred in eight shifts. Explication and addition primarily is found in renditions in the client language, so directed at the asylum seeker. These production strategies can be understood as coordinating actions facilitating an asylum seeker in understanding the discourse (Baraldi 2012:320).

Sometimes it is not clear whether there is strategy behind a shift, and if so, what that strategy would be. Among the small shifts occurring in the pairs without a change in part order or number, one shift concerned the omission of the word *no* at the beginning of the sentence. The interpreter may have considered this small word to be superfluous in the rendition (see also chapter 6, which discusses small words in the context of non-translated turns). Furthermore, I found two shifts in which a part containing a time reference was replaced in the rendition by a different part with a time reference. We cannot exclude that memory plays a role in such cases: the interpreter does not recall the exact part, but remembers certain properties – such as a time reference. On the basis of the incomplete information a rendition is produced.

4.3.1.2. *Pragmatic level affected*

The majority of the 36 shifts affecting similarity at the pragmatic level were divided over the additions (14 shifts), the shifts showing a change in part order (ten shifts) and the shifts showing a changed form of address (nine shifts). Two shifts occurred in the pairs showing no change in part order and/or number, and one was found among the omissions.

In nine shifts information was added leading to a rendition more perspicuous than the turn (cf. Hale 2004:100). Two shifts involved the addition of tag questions, changing the turn's illocution.

The use of a reporting verb occurred a few times in the sample. For the interpreter this could be a matter of distancing himself from the primary speaker, as suggested in the literature (Bot 2005; Hale 2004; Pöllabauer 2007). The occurrences of the addition of 'he said' together with other instances of changes in form of address – the interpreter using the third person pronoun to refer to the officer and the first person pronoun to refer to himself – (in ten shifts) supported this view: referring to the officer in the third person can be a strategy to emphasise the participant roles, i.e. the principal's role is carried by the officer and not by the interpreter. A few shifts concerned a turn in which the officer mentioned both himself and the interpreter. The changed use of pronouns was a strategy to distinguish the participants in the turn.

In four shifts a change in the use of pronouns occurred because the officer used the third person pronoun to refer to the asylum seeker, while the asylum seeker was the turn's target. The interpreter's strategy to correct the original form of address led in three shifts to a change of pronoun into second person and in one shift to the omission of the part which aimed specifically at addressing the asylum seeker.

Similar to Berk-Seligson (2002) I found shifts involving syntactic strategies yielding an effect at the pragmatic level of similarity. The pragmatic effect in these seven shifts was aimed at increasing the turn's coherence. It was not possible to pinpoint specific syntactic strategies – like converting sentences from passive to active mode, as mentioned in Berk-Seligson (2002) – as being responsible for the specific pragmatic effect.

Two shifts moved information to a more prominent position, changing the turn's perlocution. The perlocution was changed by two other shifts as well: one shift

summarised the information from different parts into one part, the other shift changed the focus of the turn, while holding on to the information of the original turn.

4.3.1.3. *Form level affected*

Similarity was affected at the form level in 13 shifts. The majority, nine shifts, occurred in the pairs showing a change in part order, whereas the remaining four were found in the pairs showing no change in part order and/or number.

The shifts concerned grammatical changes in ten shifts and word order changes in three shifts. The well-formedness of the renditions may be driving the interpreter applying these shifts. However, especially in form changes it is difficult to determine whether a change is the result of a (conscious or unconscious) choice by an interpreter, or rather a consequence of the grammatical or cultural differences between the source and the target language.

4.3.1.4. *Speaker level affected*

Speaker characteristics in the turns such as hesitations and repetitions do generally not return in the renditions, similar to the findings of Wadensjö (1992), Berk-Seligson (2002) and Hale (2004). Berk-Seligson questioned whether the omission of speaker characteristics can be seen as a conscious strategy to influence a primary speaker's impression (in her study the witness' impression). My analysis does not yield evidence to support the view of a conscious strategy to influence the primary speaker's impression on the other primary speaker.

32 of the 40 shifts affecting similarity at the speaker level involved an omission of parts. Relevance is a likely drive for the omission of repeated information and false starts (unfinished sentences). In 20 shifts the similarity at the speaker level was affected by the omission of repeated information in the turn. Furthermore, the omission of false starts – i.e. unfinished sentences – affected similarity at the speaker level in twelve shifts. Assuming that false starts have a function in attracting attention and achieving turn transfer (Goodwin 1981:56-65; Bot 2005:123), then omitting them in the rendition does not affect similarity at the information level.

Eight shifts concerned speech style, of which five concerned the use of the informal pronoun in French instead of the politeness pronoun. As one interpreter explained to the officer, this strategy aims at meeting the asylum seeker's expectations.

4.3.2. Production strategies and production norms

The production strategies applied to meet the communication norm are an essential part of the coordinating actions performed by an interpreter. The analysis showed that an interpreter cannot fully conform to the relation norm and the communication norm at the same time. Instead, an interpreter has to find a balance in weighing the production norms (cf. Wadensjö 1998:150; Russell 2002:124). The analysis in this chapter showed how this balancing between relation and communication works out in the practice of asylum interviews.

The analysis of the sample's 56 turn-rendition pairs established that only four pairs showed a strict ('literal') similarity relationship of synonymy. In the remaining pairs similarity was affected at least at one of the four levels of similarity – the information level, the pragmatic level, the form level or the speaker level. The outcomes of the analysis clearly uncover the competition between the relation norm and the communication norm: the similarity relation of the turn-rendition pairs has been affected due to the application of production strategies, which, at the same time, are meant to optimise the communication. By using production strategies, interpreters seem to aim at more efficient turns by focussing on the relevant information in the turns, and at more perspicuous turns, by producing renditions that are well-formed and as informative as the situation requires. Furthermore, there are production strategies that optimise the communication by changing the footing of a turn, i.e. the way the speaker of a turn relates to the other discourse participants.

As stated in section 4.3.1, the fact that the similarity relationship between turns and renditions is affected in the majority of the turn-rendition pairs at one or more levels of similarity does, overall, not injure the course of the discourse. The interpreters seem to be driven by the intention to act in the interest of the primary speaker and the receiver of the turn. The sample does not show any actions by an interpreter that would suggest a doubtful integrity. The interventions can be justified from the viewpoint of communication. In general, the result seems to be the outcome of an acceptable balance between the communication and relation norm.

Balancing the communication and relation norm may also deliver less attractive outcomes. It may happen that the interpreters lose sight of their translating task, and lean too heavily on their coordinating role. Even though the interpreter's action in such cases can be explained as an action to optimise the communication, the question to be asked always remains whether an interpreter did not outstretch his role of mediator. The relation between turn and rendition may be severely weakened and as a consequence may leave both the primary speaker and the receiver remain in the dark about specific, relevant details of information, not only in the case of omitted information but also in the case of added or altered information. In none of the cases the primary speaker has a say in the changes and does the recipient know what has been changed. The institution has a task in determining whether and which occurrences of an imbalance in the relation and communication norm are acceptable, and, if not, in findings ways to prevent them.

5. Clarification sequences

Clarification sequences are a communicative device for coordinating discourse exchanges, used to clarify an information problem related to a prior turn. According to the IND's code of conduct for interpreters, such interventions are allowed to prevent misunderstandings. This chapter examines the circumstances under which clarification sequences are initiated. The analysis will show that clarification sequences are often necessary, to come to a proper reception of a turn or part of a turn. However, clarification sequences may also be initiated with the aim to get more specific or additional information, which is not in accordance with a strict interpretation of the code of conduct. It is in the latter kind of clarification sequences that we find both interpreters and officers acting beyond their role prescribed by the institutional discourse scenario.

As explained in chapter 2 (section 2.4.2), the initiation of a clarification sequence is a recipient strategy pointing to a troubled turn, in order to improve or support communication. An example of a clarification sequence is given in (5.1). The trouble source (ts) occurs in the first line. The interpreter, who did not fully catch the asylum seeker's turn, initiated a clarification sequence, given in the second line (ini). Then the asylum seeker came up with a clarification (clar), as can be seen in the third line, followed by the interpreter's acknowledgement (fb for feedback), given in the fourth line, which closed the sequence.

(5.1) Interview 1, narrative, language English
ts AS so I decided I tell my boys I say let's (join). 'cause...
ini IN/en let's?
clar AS let us join the eh
fb IN uhuhm. ok. [1.1]

Clarification sequences are found throughout the corpus of asylum interviews. In chapter 4 we have seen several occurrences of clarification sequences within a turn-rendition pair. These occurrences exemplify that clarification sequences commonly take place between two participants. When the content of the clarification sequence is not conveyed to the third discourse participant, the content of the sequence remains inaccessible to this participant. This may influence his participation in the discourse (Hale 2004:194-198; Nakane 2009:14). The issue of turns that remain inaccessible to one of the discourse participants is further discussed in chapter 6.

The reasons for initiating a clarification sequence – i.e. the reasons why a prior (part of a) turn is considered a trouble source – differ. We distinguish three categories of clarification sequences on the basis of the trouble source encountered by the receiver of a turn: (i) a trouble source may be (part of) a turn that has not been properly heard or understood, (ii) a trouble source requires specification, or (iii) a trouble source triggers a request for new additional information. The categories are linked to the recipient strategies REPEAT/CONFIRM (category i), SPECIFY (category ii) and ADD (category iii), which

all aim at clarifying some trouble source. By applying a recipient strategy, an interpreter may shift role, taking the role of author or principal (Nakane 2009:13-14; Wadensjö 1998:168-169; Berk-Seligson 2002:70-71). In this chapter I will argue that role shifting for the interpreter is acceptable from the viewpoint of the IND's code of conduct when applying REPEAT/CONFIRM, but less acceptable when applying SPECIFY, and least acceptable when applying ADD.

In section 5.1, I will elaborate on the three categories: in which contexts do they occur and which recipient strategies are applied by the discourse participants for the initiation of a clarification sequence. The variation found in the different interviews with respect to the clarification sequences of the different categories is discussed in sections 5.2. (category (i)) and 5.3. (category (ii) and (iii)).

5.1. Categories in clarification sequences

The definition of a clarification sequence from chapter 2 (section 2.4.2) indicates that such a sequence is initiated in case of a problem of speaking, hearing or understanding. The discourse participant receiving a turn experiences a trouble source that does not live up to his expectations and somehow stands in the way of the communication as not all information became available. Analysis of the clarification sequences in the asylum interviews resulted in the distinction of three categories of trouble sources, presented in (5.2).

(5.2) Recipient strategies in clarification sequences

- i. REPEAT/CONFIRM
Initiate a clarification sequence in case a received turn contains a trouble source that has not been properly heard or understood by the discourse participant; the clarification will be a (partial) repetition or confirmation of the content of the trouble source.
- ii. SPECIFY
Initiate a clarification sequence in case a received turn contains a trouble source that lacks specific information implicitly assumed in the turn for which the discourse participant is in need.
- iii. ADD
Initiate a clarification sequence in case a received turn contains a trouble source which triggers the discourse participant to ask for additional information.

In the sequences below we find examples of the different categories: in (5.3) a category (i) sequence, in (5.4) an example from category (ii) and in (5.5) an example from category (iii).

The interpreter in (5.3) did not properly hear or understood the verb *doubled*. By asking a general question (*sorry?*) followed by a question in which she replaced the troubling verb, she got a clarifying answer from the asylum seeker.

(5.3) Interview 15, narrative, language English

		[...]	
ts	AS	but also doubled as a farmer.	
ini	IN/en	sorry?	
clar	AS	he doubled also as a farmer.	
clqs	IN/en	but he also worked as a farmer?	
clar	AS	as a farmer.	
	IN	uhuhm.	[15.1]

The officer in (5.4) created a trouble source in the first line: he used the adverb *here*, without an explicit referent. The interpreter wanted to clear up this lack of specific information and initiated a clarification sequence in the second line. The officer's clarification took place in the third and fifth line.

(5.4) Interview 4, questions about the narrative, language Dutch

ts	OF	hoe lang was u hier mevrouw toen uw man jullie kwam ophalen [...]?	
		<i>how long were you here madam when your husband came to pick you up [...]?</i>	
ini	IN/nl	eh u bedoelt in Zzz?	
		<i>eh you mean in Zzz?</i>	
clar	OF	ja.	
		<i>yes.</i>	
	IN/nl	ja.	
		<i>yes.</i>	
clar	OF	dus hoe lang was mevrouw in Zzz.	
		<i>so how long was madam in Zzz.</i>	[4.3]

In (5.5), the interpreter's rendition at the beginning of the example triggered the officer to initiate a clarification sequence of category (iii): he wanted additional information about the relation between the asylum seeker and a nun mentioned in her narrative. His question is transferred to the asylum seeker, who provided an answer. The interpreter's rendition of the answer clarified the issue for the officer.

(5.5) Interview 4, narrative, languages Dutch/French

ts	IN/nl	ja een non (pardon) dus. ik ging eh bij een non met mijn kinderen.	
		<i>yes so a nun (excuse me). I went eh to a nun with my children.</i>	
		[...]	
ini	OF	hoe kende mevrouw die non?	
		<i>how did madam know that nun?</i>	
	IN/fr	comment vous connaissiez cette n+ cette soeur?	
		<i>how did you know this n+ this sister?</i>	
	OF	<u>of kende ze die überhaupt?</u>	
		<i>or did she know her altogether?</i>	
	AS	<u>c'est une soeur qui prie avec moi. elle est même morte. elle ne vit plus.</u>	
		<i>she is a sister who prays with me. she is dead. she does no longer live.</i>	

clar IN/nl ja. eh. ja ik bid samen met haar. in dezelfde kerk. maar zij is nu overleden.
yes. eh. yes I pray together with her. in the same church. but she has passed away now. [4.2]

Table 5.1. shows the number of clarification sequences per category, initiated by the interpreters, the officers and the asylum seekers, in the narratives and parts with questions about the narrative.¹²¹ With respect to the frequency of the different categories, the interviews show that the most clarification sequences belong to category (i). Category (ii) takes the second place and category (iii) the third, having a rather low frequency of occurrence. Further explanation about the different categories and their functions follows in sections 5.1.1. to 5.1.4.

initiator	total time	cat.	cat.	cat.	tot.	total time	cat.	cat.	cat.	tot.
	narratives	(i)	(ii)	(iii)		part qsts.	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	
interpreter	10:35:40	362	45	5	412	18:06:14	268	61	9	338
officer	10:35:40	132	76	42	250	18:06:14	123	0	0	123
asylum seeker	10:35:40	13	1	0	14	18:06:14	65	29	0	94
total	10:35:40	507	122	47	676	18:06:14	456	90	9	555

Table 5.1: Number of clarification sequences in the narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative divided by category and initiator

5.1.1. Category (i): REPEAT/CONFIRM

Most clarification sequences are initiated because a hearer fails to hear or understand a certain turn properly: around 75 per cent in the narratives and around 80 per cent in the parts with questions about the narrative.

In case of a trouble source that has not been properly heard or understood, the perlocution of the turn containing the trouble source (i.e. its intend) gets lost in receiving or understanding the turn. Initiating a clarification sequence can be interpreted as applying a strategy to ascertain or establish understanding. Such a strategy can be characterised as a strategy driven by pragmatic considerations, as the main aim is to communicate the perlocution of the turn. As Hale (2004:204-205) argues, it is a necessary action in the light of the communication.

A close connection in content between trouble source, clarification question and clarification is characteristic for clarification sequences in which the trouble source has not been correctly heard or understood. In terms of similarity, the relation between the troubled turn and the clarification is appropriate. Often, parts of the turn with the trouble source are repeated in the clarification question and/or in the clarification. This is illustrated by (5.6) below.

¹²¹ Clarification sequences from the introductions have not been included in the analysis. See section 3.4.2.1. for more information about the data selection.

- (5.6) Interview 6, questions about the narrative, language Dutch
- | | | | |
|------|-------|---|-------|
| ts | IN/nl | [...] kwam er iemand anders die met mevrouw met de trein is doorgereisd.
<i>[...] someone else came who travelled further with madam by train.</i> | |
| ini | OF | met de trein?
<i>by train?</i> | |
| clar | IN/nl | ja.
<i>yes.</i> | [6.1] |

In category (i) sequences a (part of a) turn may have become a trouble source for two reasons: either the speaker has been unclear or the hearer has just missed a small part. In (5.6) above it can be either one. In other cases it is apparent that the problem lies with the speaker, because of a lack of voice volume or otherwise. This may be indicated by the interpreter, as in the following excerpt from interview 1.

- (5.7) Interview 1, narrative, language English
- | | | | |
|---|-------|---|-------|
| | AS | on the second... January second 1999 | |
| | IN | uhuhm. | |
| | AS | I go along with my boy scout. 'cause I'm a scout leader for the sea scouting department. but who xxx... | |
| → | IN/en | excuse me. will you speak out please? | |
| | AS | ok. yes. | |
| | IN/en | because I can't hear you very well. | [1.1] |

In interview 13 the asylum seeker's turns are spoken softly overall. This may have contributed to a larger number of clarification sequences of category (i) initiated by the interpreter in this interview. This is illustrated by (5.8), in which the interpreter checked the turn's content by repeating it.

- (5.8) Interview 13, narrative, language Swahili
- | | | | |
|------|-------|--|--------|
| ts | AS | ikanibidi nikimbirie fasi ya nyumba ya dereva dereva wetu.
<i>it forced me to flee to our driver's place.</i> | |
| ini | IN/sw | umekimbia kwa nyumba ya dereva wenu.
<i>you fled to your driver's home.</i> | |
| clar | AS | eeh
<i>yes.</i> | [13.1] |

In sequences in which the initiator has forgotten the exact content of the trouble source the problem finds its cause in the receiver, as in (5.9).¹²² The interpreter's rendition shows that she had to remember quite a long stretch of discourse. Furthermore, the rendition is interrupted by a small clarification sequence initiated by the officer (ts 2, ini 2 and cl 2).¹²³ For the last part of the rendition the interpreter has to get back to the

¹²² To limit the length of the example I made a cut in the asylum seeker's turn containing the trouble source.

¹²³ The clarification sequence initiated by the officer shows that it is not always apparent that the problem from the trouble source has been solved. First of all, the officer did not make exactly clear what he missed from the interpreter's rendition. Then the interpreter responded to his clarification

asylum seeker to ask for a partial repetition of his turn (ini 1). Note that this is an example in which the trouble source is not directly followed by the clarification question.

- (5.9) Interview 1, narrative, language English
- ts 1 AS [...] so I don't see anybody. I start to look. no place for me to sleep. I decided to go to my uncle in Western.
[...]
- IN/nl eh. dus terug in Sierra Leone ben ik natuurlijk terug naar huis gegaan in Zzz. daar kom ik vandaan.
eh. so back in Sierra Leone I went of course back home in Zzz. that is where I come from.
- OF ja.
yes.
- ts 2 IN/nl ik trof eh een chaos aan. ik heb eh mijn familie niet meer gevonden. ik heb een vriendin en twee kinderen. ik heb niemand eh gezien van mijn familie. en de mensen daar vertelde mij dat na de aanval van 6 januari 1999 is het leven bijna niet meer mogelijk in dit dorp.
I found chaos. I did not find my family anymore. I have a girlfriend and two children. I saw no one of my family. and the people over there told me that after the attack of 6 January 1999 life has become almost impossible in this village.
- ini 2 OF het leven?
life?
- clar 2 IN/nl bijna. ja. en dat iedereen is op de vlucht en er is niemand meer.
almost. yes. and that everyone is on the run and there is no one anymore.
[...]
- ini 1 IN/en so you went there to your uncle's xxx?
- clar 1 AS yes exactly.
IN/nl en dat ik dan niemand meer had daar en geen huizen eh helemaal niks meer had heb ik besloten toen naar mijn oom te gaan.
and that I had nobody anymore over there then and no houses eh had completely nothing anymore then I decided to go to my uncle. [1.1]

Distraction on the side of the receiver may also cause the initiation of a category (i) clarification sequence. In the example below, from interview 1, the interpreter told the asylum seeker to sit, after he had stood up for no apparent reason in the middle of the interview. The officer was distracted by this interruption and had to initiate a clarification sequence. The interpreter's intervention also shows her influence in the interview: she felt comfortable to give the asylum seeker an order. The officer did not show any signs of disapproval of her behaviour.

question 'life?' by saying 'almost. yes.' and continued the rendition. This answer does not seem to have solved the problem.

- (5.10) Interview 1, narrative, language English
- | | | | |
|------|-------|---|-------|
| ts | IN/nl | eh op 1 oktober 2001...
<i>eh on 1 October 2001...</i> | |
| | IN/en | sit down please. | |
| ini | OF | sorry op welke datum zei je?
<i>I'm sorry on which date did you say?</i> | |
| clar | IN/nl | 1 oktober.
<i>1 October.</i> | |
| | OF | ja.
<i>yes.</i> | [1.1] |

In interview 14 the asylum seeker made an absent-minded impression, which may have led to a higher number of clarification sequences from her side. Another contributing factor may have been the difference in language comprehension between the interpreter and the asylum seeker. In (5.11) we see that interpreter replaces the phrase *how often* after the asylum seeker's clarification question. In this way she tried to come closer to the asylum seeker's comprehension level of English. Language comprehension is an important factor in the initiation of clarification sequences of category (i). I will elaborate on this topic in section 5.2.

- (5.11) Interview 14, part with questions about the narrative, language English
- | | | | |
|------|-------|---|--------|
| ts | IN/en | and how often were you given that tablet? | |
| ini | AS | huhm? | |
| clar | IN/en | how often? how many times? w+ w+ w+ did they give everyday?
once? twice? | [14.1] |

It is often impossible to tell whether an initiator has not *heard* the trouble source or did not *understand* it. In (5.10) it is clear to assume that the officer did not hear the interpreter correctly. In (5.11) above, it is more difficult to decide what the exact nature of the trouble source is. The initiating question by the asylum seeker *huhm?* is too general to draw any conclusions. In terms of norm theory, the consequences for not properly hearing and not properly understanding a trouble source are the same.¹²⁴ Therefore, there is no need to distinguish between the two.

5.1.2. Category (ii): SPECIFY

In the second category of clarification sequences, the clarification asked for is a specification of information (assumed to be) already present in the turn.¹²⁵ In these cases the communication is not optimal because the turn does not contain enough information according to the recipient. The lack of information experienced by the

¹²⁴ One could argue, though, that the difference does matter at the social level of discourse, as not properly hearing is less face threatening for the speaker uttering the trouble source than not properly understanding. The former suggests a problem on the recipient's side whereas the latter suggests a problem on the speaker's side.

¹²⁵ This category of clarification sequences is similar to Levelt's appropriateness repairs: the turn does not suffice in light of the context (Levelt 1983:51-53).

recipient is related to his expectations about the discourse. For instance, dates and proper names are important elements of an asylum interview (see section 1.3.3). The initiation of a clarification sequence of category (ii) is a strategy to explicate essential information implicitly present in a turn. Different from the recipient strategy behind category (i) sequences, the recipient strategy aims at changing the informational value of a turn.

In the category (ii) sequences the trouble source may contain, for instance, a reference word such as *here* or *this*, while the context does not contain a clear referent. This is illustrated by the sequence in (5.12) below. In the interview from which this sequence originates the identity of the asylum seeker was under discussion. The officer had brought up another asylum application, applied for by someone with the same fingerprints as the asylum seeker in the interview. To the question whether the asylum seeker was the same person as the other applicant, he had already answered that he was not the person from the other application. The example in (5.12) starts after the asylum seeker has been asked again whether he and the other applicant were the same person. With the demonstrative *this* he seemed to refer to his previous answer. To get this clear, the interpreter requested an explicit answer.

- (5.12) Interview 3, questions about the narrative, language French
- | | | | |
|------|-------|--|-------|
| ts | AS | ce que je redis c'est c'est ça.
<i>what I say again that is that is this.</i> | |
| ini | IN/fr | c'est-à dire?
<i>that is to say?</i> | |
| clar | AS | c'est pas moi.
<i>that is not me.</i> | [3.1] |

Another possibility in category (ii) is that only a part of the needed information is given, such as a date without a month, as in (5.13) below.

- (5.13) Interview 13, narrative, language Swahili
- | | | | |
|------|-------|---|--------|
| ts | AS | ndio tu+ turifika Bujumbura hio tarehe kumi na tano.
<i>yes we arrived in Bujumbura on that fifteenth.</i> | |
| ini | IN/sw | uhm mwezi?
<i>which month</i> | |
| clar | AS | mwezi wa sita.
<i>June.</i> | |
| | IN | uhuhm. | [13.1] |

In (5.14) we find another example of a trouble source that only contains part of the needed information. The asylum seeker mentioned a name without making clear to which person this name referred. The interpreter asked a question to clarify this.

- (5.14) Interview 13, narrative, language Swahili
- | | | | |
|-----|-------|---|--|
| ts | AS | sababu huyo Zzz ndiye anatoa information.
<i>because that Zzz is the one who gave the information.</i> | |
| ini | IN/sw | sikuelewa Zzz ni nani?
<i>I didn't understand who is Zzz?</i> | |

clar	AS	Zzz yule aliokamatwa eeh mkubwa wa wa assaillants. <i>Zzz who was captured was the leader of the rebels.</i>	
	IN	ok. ok.	[13.1]

In all cases the trouble source and the clarification are directly related. Different from the clarification sequences of category (i), the clarification contains information that was not explicitly provided in the turn with the trouble source. In terms of similarity, the relation between turn and clarification is considered less appropriate than in the case of category (i) sequences. However, from a communicative point of view, SPECIFY can be of added value to the discourse.

5.1.3. Category (iii): ADD

In the third category of clarification sequences the connection between the trouble source and the clarification is different from the two other categories. In clarification sequences of category (i) the trouble source is often repeated in the clarification, or repeated in the clarification question and confirmed in the clarification itself; in clarification sequences of category (ii) the clarification offers, roughly speaking, the referent to which is implicitly referred in the trouble source. Such a close connection between trouble source and clarification cannot be found in clarification sequences of category (iii). In this category the clarification is a continuation of what has been said in the trouble source. The trouble source in these clarification sequences has not been unclear, but has triggered the hearer to ask a follow-up question with the aim to get additional information concerning the topic of the trouble source.¹²⁶ In terms of similarity, the relation between the troubled turn and the clarification cannot be considered appropriate, but ADD can have communicative value, overruling the inappropriate relation.

The initiator of a clarification sequence of category (iii) experiences a lack of information related to his expectations about the discourse, similar to the situation in clarification sequences of category (ii). Consequently, he applies a strategy that aims at changing the informational value of a turn. The information of which the recipient is in need, however, is not the kind of obviously relevant information that we found in category (ii) sequences.

In (5.15) below, the interpreter was triggered to ask a follow-up question about a train ticket. First the interpreter provided the rendition of the asylum seeker's turn containing the trouble source to the officer (original turn not given in the example). Then, she turned to the asylum seeker and asked whether he had been in the possession of a train ticket.

¹²⁶ One could argue that the outcome of clarification sequences of category (iii) is strictly speaking no clarification. However, there are reasons to place them among the clarification sequences. In the first place, they create an interruption of the main line of discourse. Furthermore, their structure is equal to the sequences in the first and second category.

- (5.15) Interview 3, questions about the narrative, languages Dutch/French
[...]
- | | | |
|------|-------|--|
| ts | IN/nl | ja ik ben dus op de eh toen op de trein gestapt en eh de conducteur vroeg naar mijn kaartje.
<i>yes so I got on eh the train and eh the ticket collector asked about my ticket.</i> |
| ini | IN/fr | et tu n'avais pas de ca+ de ticket pour le train?
<i>and you did not have a ticket for the train?</i> |
| clar | AS | non.
<i>no.</i> |
- [3.1]

In (5.16) it is the interpreter again who asked a follow-up question. The asylum seeker spoke about a march and the interpreter wanted to know whether the march was his initiative.

- (5.16) Interview 10, narrative, language English
- | | | |
|------|-------|--|
| ts | AS | human right group people should come and not only human right. I want people to come out (and let's march en masse). |
| ini | IN/en | I want meaning it was your initiative? |
| clar | AS | yes. |
| | IN | ok. |
- [10.1]

5.2. Variation in using REPEAT/CONFIRM

In terms of communication, initiating a category (i) sequence is a necessary strategy to smooth and optimise communication. Within the group of category (i) sequences, we find varying frequencies that can be explained in terms of communication. Language comprehension issues (sections 5.2.2. to 5.2.4) turned out to be an important factor. Furthermore, the initiating discourse participant is a relevant factor (discussed in section 5.2.1).

5.2.1. Differences in frequency: initiating discourse participant

The number of clarification sequences of category (i) is not evenly distributed over the discourse participants. Table 5.2. shows the number of category (i) sequences in the narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative divided by the discourse participant initiating the sequence. Since the interpreter may encounter a problem from two sides – both the officer and the asylum seeker are a candidate for uttering a trouble source – these clarification sequences are divided by the origin of the trouble source as well.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Note that table 5.2. does not indicate which participant provides the clarification. If a clarification sequence was initiated by the officer or the asylum seeker – as a response to a trouble source in the preceding rendition – two options were possible: the clarification was either provided by the interpreter or by the other primary speaker, depending on the character of the trouble

The main conclusion to be drawn from table 5.2. is that the interpreter asks the largest number of clarification sequences of category (i), in response to a trouble source uttered by the asylum seeker, whereas the asylum seeker initiates the least number of category (i) sequences. For the narratives, this can be explained as follows. In the narrative most turns are produced by the asylum seeker. As a consequence, there is a limited opportunity for the asylum seeker to initiate clarification sequences. For the same reason, the interpreter will not encounter many trouble sources from the side of the officer during the narrative. This is an explanation for the low frequency of clarification sequences in the narratives initiated by the interpreter in response to the officer and clarification sequences initiated by the asylum seeker.

initiating discourse participant/ discourse participant creating ts	narratives	parts with questions about the narrative
ini = AS / ts = IN	13	65
ini = IN / ts = OF	3	27
ini = OF / ts = IN	132	123
ini = IN / ts = AS	359	241

Table 5.2: Clarification sequences of category (i) divided by initiating discourse participant and trouble source

source. Here we should make a distinction between trouble sources not properly heard and not properly understood. If the trouble source has not been properly heard, the interpreter is likely to be the one providing the clarification. In the established participation framework the clarification question is taken to be addressed and targeted to the interpreter, who responds in the role of author.

If the trouble source has not been properly understood, the interpreter may convey the clarification question to the primary speaker who produced the turn preceding the troubled rendition. In that case the primary speaker provides the clarification, which the interpreter conveys to the initiator of the clarification sequence. In the latter situation the interpreter remains in his role of animator (Nakane 2009:5). If the interpreter, on the other hand, decides to provide a clarification for a trouble source not properly understood, he does not respond in the role as animator, but takes the author or principal role (cf. Nakane 2009:11-14; Hale 2004:194-198). This is illustrated by (a), in which the interpreter answered the asylum seeker's question on the basis of his knowledge about the structure of the interview. I will discuss the interpreter's role in this kind of sequences in section 6.2.1.2.

- (a) Interview 6, narrative, language Swahili
- OF vertelt u maar.
 please tell.
- ts IN/sw umuambie matatizo mengine ni matatizo gani?
 tell him what kind of problems these other problems are.
- ini AS ah nimuelezee kwa urefu?
 ah should I explain to him in detail?
- clar IN/sw ndiyo hapa ni kusema maneno kwa urefu.
 yes here you narrate in detail.
- [6.1]

The situation is not so different for the parts with questions about the narrative. These primarily consist of questions by the officer and answers by the asylum seeker. Although the number of turns will be distributed more equally over these two participants, the length of the officer's questions will in general be shorter than the length of the asylum seeker's answers. So, during the parts with questions there is more opportunity for the asylum seeker and the interpreter in response to the officer to initiate clarification sequences than during the narrative. However, the supply is still less in comparison to the turns uttered by the asylum seeker and the interpreter's renditions of these turns.

If we only took into account the distribution or supply of turns, we would not expect a considerable difference between the number of sequences initiated by the asylum seeker on the one side and the interpreter in response to the officer on the other. After all, the supply of turns is for both more or less similar. The same goes for the number of clarification sequences initiated by the officer and the interpreter in response to the asylum seeker. Table 5.2. shows, however, that for both situations a considerable difference exists. These differences can be related to the professionalism of the discourse participants.

As explained in section 1.6.1, the second interview in the asylum procedure is in general a one-time event for the asylum seeker, whereas both the interpreter and the officer are so-called repeat-players. The latter have as such much more experience in doing asylum interviews. Their experience and the asylum seeker's lack of it play a role with regard to the existence of clarification sequences, in both communication directions – from asylum seeker to officer and vice versa.

Because an asylum seeker is not used to tell his asylum story, especially not in the formal context of an asylum procedure, it is unlikely that he will adjust his way of speaking to the specific purpose of the asylum interview. Consequently, the interpreter has to deal with an 'unpolished' version of the asylum seeker's story.¹²⁸ Chapter 4 showed that the asylum seeker's turns may be elaborated, sometimes incoherent and lacking explicit information. Such turns will give rise to the interpreter initiating clarification sequences, in order to come up with proper renditions. These renditions are often an improved version of the turn, from the viewpoint of the interpreter. As a consequence, the officer encounters an edited version of the asylum seeker's story, which will suit better in the context of the asylum interview. This version will trigger the need to initiate clarification sequences to a lesser extent. This is an explanation for the higher number of clarification sequence initiated by the interpreter in response to the asylum seeker in comparison to those initiated by the officer.

The asylum seeker is not only inexperienced in telling his story, he is also unfamiliar with the questions asked by the officer and brought to him through the interpreter. For the asylum seeker, the officer's questions will be a reason for initiating a clarification sequence more often than for the interpreter, who is used to the questions posed in asylum interviews. In view of this, we would indeed expect a higher number of

¹²⁸ The preparation that asylum seekers get from a legal aid representative (see section 1.3.3) cannot take away the asylum seekers' lack of experience with respect to telling their story in an institutional context.

clarification sequences initiated by the asylum seeker than by the interpreter in response to the officer.

The varying frequencies of category (i) sequences with regard to the initiating discourse participant follows from the general properties of the discourse participants in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse.

5.2.2. Language comprehension issues

Clarification sequences are an important indicator for communication problems in the interviews. A seriously troubled communication can be reflected by the occurrence of many clarification sequences. A multiplicity of clarification sequences may also add to this troubled communication: the focus shifts from the main line of discourse to the problem solving in the side sequences (Deen 1997:33). A limited language comprehension is often a contributing factor. This turned out to be one of the main issues that influenced the occurrence of clarification sequences of category (i). Language comprehension issues often follow from differences between the discourse participants' language varieties (Blommaert 2001:157-158). In example (5.17), for instance, the Dutch-speaking officer has trouble to understand the word *make-up*, a common Dutch word, because of the pronunciation by the interpreter, for whom Dutch is a second language.

- (5.17) Interview 7, narrative, language Dutch
- | | | |
|------|-------|--|
| ts | IN/nl | [...] ze hadden mij gevraagd om voor de make-up dus te zorgen. |
| | trans | [...] they had asked me thus to take care of the make-up. |
| ini | OF | nog even. om voor de wat? |
| | trans | once more. to take care of the what? |
| clar | IN/nl | make-up. |
| | OF | oh make-up. |
| | IN/nl | make-up ja. [laughs] |
| | trans | make-up yes. [laughs] |
| | OF | [laughs] sorry. ja. |
| | trans | [laughs] I'm sorry. yes. |
- [7.1]

A correlation between differences in language varieties and the initiation of category (i) sequences is not immediately apparent from the number of initiated sequences. In tables 5.3. and 5.4. we find the numbers of category (i) sequences for every interview, split up by initiating discourse participant and trouble source. For the clarification sequences initiated by the officer and interpreter I marked those interviews in which around ten or more clarification sequences were initiated per 60 minutes. The tables show six marked interviews for the officer and eight for the interpreter with the asylum seeker as trouble source, concerning either the narrative, the part with questions about the narrative or both. For the asylum seeker as initiating discourse participant I drew the line at five sequences per hour, leading to two marked interviews, as indicated in table 5.4: the parts with questions about the narrative in interviews 10 and 14.

In the majority of the marked interviews there was indeed a difference in language variety between the initiator of the clarification sequences and the participant causing the trouble source (see the descriptions of the interviews in section 3.2.2). However, in some of the marked interviews the language varieties coincided. This confirms that language comprehension is not the only factor in category (i) clarification sequences. For instance, in interview 10, the officer is responsible for a relative high number of category (i) clarification questions in the narrative. In this interview the asylum seeker had an elaborate way of speaking, containing many repetitions. These questions took the form of a (partial) repetition of a previous rendition.

- (5.18) Interview 10, narrative, language Dutch/English
- | | | | |
|------|-------|---|--------|
| ini | OF | [loud typing sounds] moet zijn geweest. [typing sounds stopped] ok.
ik zat 3 weken aan boord van een schip.
<i>[loud typing sounds] must have been. [typing sounds stopped] ok. I was on board of a ship for 3 weeks.</i> | |
| | IN/en | so you were on board of a ship for 3 weeks? | |
| clar | AS | yeah about 3 weeks yes. | |
| | IN/nl | dat klopt.
<i>that is correct.</i> | [10.2] |

The repetitions could be explained as checks for correctly hearing/understanding the part, but might have an additional function. Because of the asylum seeker's elaborate way of speaking the information relevant for the officer was often accompanied by other information. By repeating the relevant part from his viewpoint, he checked whether he indeed got the gist of the turn. At the same time, the officer made the asylum seeker aware of the information relevant for the interview, putting him on the right track for the continuation of the interview.

The tables also show that a difference in language variety does not necessarily lead to an increased number of category (i) sequences. For instance, in interview 1 some clarification sequences clearly occurred because the interpreter did not understand the asylum seeker's speech. However, during the narrative, the interpreter coped well with this difference, since the number of clarification sequences initiated by the interpreter following a trouble source by the asylum seeker remained limited. Another example is interview 8, in which the interpreter was often looking for the right words in Dutch. This did not lead to a high number of category (i) sequences from the officer's side.

Only one interview shows an exceptional high number of clarification sequences: in interview 15, the interpreter, a native speaker of Dutch, had serious trouble understanding the asylum seeker, who spoke English with a Ugandese accent. Given the exceptionality of this interview, I will discuss it separately, in section 5.2.3.

int.	lng.	length narrative	ini AS ts IN	ini IN ts OF	ini OF ts IN	ini IN ts AS
1	en	00:58:29	0	0	11	9
2	fr	00:21:06	0	0	3	9
3	fr	00:03:59	0	0	0	0
4	fr	01:09:56	3	1	14	14
5	fr	00:50:36	0	0	4	4
6	sw	00:24:42	1	0	8	4
7	sw	00:20:14	0	0	13	3
8	so	00:04:17	0	0	0	0
9	sw	00:07:35	0	0	1	7
10	en	02:00:26	4	1	24	43
12	sw	00:19:14	2	1	2	3
13	sw	00:16:26	0	0	1	9
14	en	00:07:34	1	0	4	0
15	en	03:31:06	2	0	47	254
tot.		10:35:40	13	3	132	359

Table 5.3: Number of clarification sequences in category (i) in the narratives, divided by initiating discourse participant and trouble source

int.	lng.	length part qsts.	ini AS ts IN	ini IN ts OF	ini OF ts IN	ini IN ts AS
1	en	00:14:23	1	0	2	5
2	fr	01:48:27	7	2	12	23
3	fr	00:37:49	3	0	1	6
4	fr	00:43:56	1	3	12	7
5	fr	00:21:07	0	0	2	3
6	sw	00:51:53	4	2	12	7
7	sw	01:31:58	6	4	25	15
8	so	01:49:12	1	4	7	4
9	sw	01:19:18	4	2	3	14
10	en	02:26:56	13	4	9	44
12	sw	02:36:20	9	1	11	29
13	sw	00:58:44	1	0	8	11
14	en	02:00:43	15	2	17	14
15	en	00:45:28	0	3	2	59
tot.		18:06:14	65	27	123	241

Table 5.4: Number of clarification sequences of category (i) in de parts with questions about the narrative, divided by initiating discourse participant and trouble source

5.2.3. The special case of interview 15

Interview 15 is an extreme case. Both during the narrative and during the part with questions about the narrative the numbers of clarification sequences with the asylum seeker as trouble source are exceptionally high, even if one takes into account that the narrative has a length of 3,5 hours. The interpreter, whose mother tongue is Dutch, struggled with the asylum seeker's Ugandese-English.¹²⁹ This resulted in many clarification sequences, in which clarification was not always reached, such as in (5.19), and in which the officer sometimes interfered to offer help, such as in (5.20).

- (5.19) Interview 15, narrative, languages English/Dutch
- | | | |
|------|-------|--|
| ts | AS | so the vice-president was summoned to <u>state house</u> . |
| ini | IN/en | sorry. was summoned to <u>stay at house</u> ? |
| clar | AS | was summoned to <u>state house</u> |
| | IN/en | yeah. |
| clar | AS | by the president. |
| | IN/nl | dus de vice-president eh werd dus opgedragen om eh <u>thuis te blijven</u> .
en hij werd ui+ opgedragen daardoor door de president.
<i>so the vice-president eh was thus summoned to eh <u>stay at home</u>. and he
was summoned for that by the president.</i> [15.1] |

In (5.19) the word *state house*, the residence of the Ugandese president, caused a problem for the interpreter. She heard *stay at house*, instead of *state house*. To check whether her understanding of the asylum seeker's turn was correct, she asked a clarification question. From the asylum seeker's response it is not clear whether he was aware of the misunderstanding. He simply repeated his turn as a clarification, which is acknowledged by the interpreter's feedback. However, the rendition of the asylum seeker's turn shows that the problem had not been solved: the interpreter told the officer that the vice-president had to stay at home.

- (5.20) Interview 15, questions about the narrative, languages English/Dutch
- | | | |
|------|-------|---|
| ts | AS | they whipped us with a rubber. |
| ini | IN/en | rubba. what is rubba? |
| cl 1 | AS | how do you call it? this rubber sjambok. in Africa we call them
sjambok. |
| | IN | uhuhm. |
| cl 1 | AS | they're rubber whips. |
| | IN/en | yeah? |
| cl 2 | OF | zweep.
<i>whip.</i> |
| fb | IN/en | I know a whip. yeah. |
| | AS | a rubber whip. |
| | IN/nl | dus een zweep. een zweep.
<i>so a whip. a whip.</i> [15.4] |

¹²⁹ The absence of clarification sequences initiated by the asylum seeker indicates that the reduced understanding of the language was not mutual.

The word *rubber* is the trouble source in (5.20). The way the interpreter repeated the word in the clarification question suggests that she had a problem with the asylum seeker's pronunciation of the word. Her feedback to the asylum seeker's clarification (cl 1) had a question intonation, which indicated that the issue had not been solved yet. At that point the officer interfered and provided a rendition of the word *whip* in Dutch. The interpreter's response shows that the issue is then solved.

The clarification sequences in interview 15 threatened the face of the interpreter (Deen 1997:33). The fact that the interpreter did not simply acknowledge the clarification in (5.20), by saying *yes* or *uhuhm* for instance, but explicitly said *I know a whip* seems to be a matter of face saving: she wanted to show the officer that she indeed had the right expertise for the interview. The same mechanism is visible in other parts of the interview and also observed by Pöllabauer (2007:48-50) in the context of asylum interviews. In this context, the sequence in (5.21) is a striking example. The word *guild* is the subject of discussion. At first, the interpreter is not able to provide a rendition for it. However, the officer got the meaning from the context and made a remark of a related word in Dutch. The officer's remark triggered the interpreter to initiate a clarification sequence, explaining the meaning of this Dutch word in all its details to the asylum seeker, to get to the bottom of the matter. This was unasked for and unnecessary, but the interpreter took this opportunity in order to show her expertise to the other discourse participants.

- (5.21) Interview 15, narrative, languages Dutch/English
- IN/nl als [in English] *guild president* leid je dus ook een [in English] *guild government*.
so as a [in English] guild president you also lead a [in English] guild government.
- OF oh een soort gilde ofzo natuurlijk.
oh a kind of guild or something of course.
- IN/en yeah you mean it it's from yeah what we knew here
- AS huhm.
- IN/en in the golden century
- AS huhm.
- IN/en we had that of of craftsmen
- AS huhm.
- IN/en who organized themselves... that was in The Netherlands.
- AS huhm.
- IN/en eh that organized themselves in small groups
- AS huhm.
- IN/en which is called [in Dutch] *gilde* in Dutch. that's what you mean?
- AS that's... eh eh eh you talk about trade unions?
- IN/en yeah.
- AS yes tra+ of trade unions.
- IN/en yeah.
- AS yeah a g+...
- IN/en but then it was not called trade union.

- AS yeah.
 IN/en it was not really a trade union.
 AS huhm. huhm
 IN/en it was the beginning of it.
 AS yeah. a guild yes is like a trade union because it had ad+ advances the interests of the students.
 OF ok.
 IN ok.
 IN/nl ja dus.
 so yes. [15.1]

I would like to emphasise that these are extreme examples. Most clarification sequences in interview 15 have normal proportions and lead directly to a satisfying clarification. Nevertheless, the interpreter's struggle with the asylum seeker's language made the interview laborious for all participants and placed the interpreter in the centre of attention, rather than the asylum seeker.

The interpreter's limited understanding of the asylum seeker's speech had consequences for the number of clarification sequences of category (i) initiated by the officer too, for two reasons. First of all, asking this type of questions is a method for checking a rendition: the rendition is repeated in the question, the interpreter translates it back to the original speaker of the turn who then can acknowledge or deny the content. In interview 15, the officer used this method when he doubted the correctness or the completeness of a rendition, which was often justified, as illustrated in (5.22).¹³⁰

- (5.22) Interview 15, narrative, languages English/Dutch
 AS huhm. after a few months colonel Zzz came to the safe house.
 [...]
 ts IN/nl na een paar momenten kwam Zzz Zzz naar het safe house.
 after a few moments Zzz Zzz came to the safe house.
 ini OF huhm. na een paar momenten zegt u?
 huhm. after a few moments you said?
 IN/en after a few moments?
 AS after a few months. a few months.
 clar IN/en a few months.
 AS months.
 IN/nl na een paar maanden.
 after a few months. [15.2]

The second reason is related to the fact that the interpreter did not wait for the asylum seeker to complete a whole sentence before starting a rendition. Instead, she gave a rendition at every (natural) pause in a sentence. This is understandable from the interpreter's point of view: a short turn is less problematic to translate. However, small chunks tend to make a translation less coherent (Jääskeläinen 209:290-291). In this case the chunking in combination with the many clarification sequences initiated by the

¹³⁰ The officer had a fair command of the client language that helped him to detect incorrect and incomplete renditions.

interpreter led to a fragmented narrative, which was rather hard to follow. As a consequence the officer frequently got confused over details in the narrative, for which he had to initiate clarification sequences. The sequence in (5.23) is a rather large example, which gives a good impression of the course of the interview. Note that the interpreter translated the officer's clarification question at the end of the excerpt for the asylum seeker to clarify. This is an indication that she was not sure about her own rendition.

- (5.23) Interview 15, narrative, languages English/Dutch
- AS so while I was eh managing the programme for national national youth training.
- IN uhuhm.
- IN/nl terwijl ik dus leiding gaf aan het programma voor national youth training.
so while I managed that programme for national youth training.
- AS my area member of parliament. the incumbant. area member of parliament.
- IN/en your area member of parliament?
- AS the sitting area member of parliament. the one who was on the job.
- IN/en yeah.
- AS huhm. accused...
- IN/nl heeft mijn districtsld van het parlement mij beschuldigd. van...
has my area member of the parliament accused me. of...
- AS accused me to the president.
- IN/en accused you
- AS yeah.
- IN/en to the president?
- AS to the president.
- IN/nl hij heeft mij ervan beschuldigd bij de president.
he has accused me of it to the president.
- AS as a person who is anti-government.
- IN/nl als een persoon die eh anti-regeringsgezind is.
as a person who eh is anti-pro-government.
- AS and accused the vice-president also of working with a person who is anti-government.
- IN/nl en eh beschuldigde ook de vice-president ervan samen te werken met een persoon die anti-regeringsgezind was.
and eh also accused the vice-president of co-operating with a person who was anti-pro-government.
- ini OF dus dus hij.. meneer werd beschuldigd en de vice-president?
so so he.. mister was accused and the vice-president?
- IN/en so YOU have been accused AND the vice-president have been accused.
- cl AS yeah. the two of us have been accused. [15.1]

The asylum seeker's turns are affected by the interpreter's limited understanding of his English as well. He tried to speak in such a way that the interpreter would understand

him. However, the amount of clarifying took a lot of effort and at some point the asylum seeker got tired and preferred leaving out details instead of explaining them again to the interpreter. This happened at two points, towards the end of the interview. The first time the interpreter indeed left out a whole sentence of the rendition. The second time, shown below in (5.24), the interpreter was very persistent in finding out the meaning of the word in question. The asylum seeker continued to explain, although his efforts turned out to be in vain.

- (5.24) Interview 15, narrative, languages English/Dutch
- AS and the mayhem.
 IN/en the mayhem?
 AS huhm.
 IN/en what do you mean by that?
 AS (well huhm.) there is tortu+... for the torture and the killing
 IN/en yeah.
 AS leave the mayhem out.
 IN/en what's mayhem?
 AS for the torture and the killing
 IN/en yeah.
 AS that's going on in Uganda. *[pause]* mayhem is a general state of anarchy.
 IN uhuhm.
 AS yeah? lawlessness.
 IN ok.
 IN/nl ja. het het verlagen. dus het martelen en het eh doden van mensen. en het zichzelf verlagen. ik weet niet of we een mooie zin krijgen zo.
yes. abasing. so torturing and eh killing of people. and abasing oneself. I don't know if we get a proper sentence like this. [15.3]

Interview 15 shows how a limited language comprehension of one of the discourse participants affects all discourse participants and is a serious obstacle for the communication and information transfer in an asylum interview.

5.2.4. Other interviews with language comprehension issues

The excessive number of clarification sequences in interview 15 seems to be an incident. Nevertheless, language issues are a factor of relevance in the initiation of clarification sequences of category (i) in other interviews as well. In this section I will show a number of category (i) sequences representative for the language issues that showed up in the interviews' clarification sequences.

The following sequences originate from interviews in which the interpreters were Dutch native speakers for whom the asylum seeker's language was a later acquired language. In (5.25) the West African asylum seeker from interview 1 used many pidgin or creole English elements. For the non-West African interpreter these elements were a problem, especially when the asylum seeker spoke fast.

- (5.25) Interview 1, narrative, language English
- AS so they start to throw a stone. on top of the sink. the the pan. because
in Africa we use sink. the pan house.
- IN uhuhm.
- AS start a big boom boom. so one man came out. he say wetin happen? na
in the people say they want see all men. all the men that they inside
the house. let them come out. say because them get 1 rebel na ya he
don escape.
- IN/en excuse me I'm not... I I'm I don't get you totally because...
- AS ja. ok.
- IN/en will you please articulate...
- AS ok. so on the on the... [...] [1.1]

The asylum seeker's Swahili in (5.26) contained non-standard words like *soda* ('soldier', originating from the French word *soldat*). This word might have been the trigger for the interpreter to initiate a clarification sequence. Being a native speaker of Dutch, she learned standard Swahili as a second language.

- (5.26) Interview 9, narrative, language Swahili
- ts AS kwa juu tuliamu+ kwamba tulimua soda.
because we+ that we killed a soldier.
- ini IN/sw samahani?
sorry?
- AS walikuja watu...
people came...
- IN uhuhm.
- AS wale wasoda.
those soldiers.
- IN uhuhm.
- clar AS walian+ walitumbia tulimua soda mwenzao.
they they told us that we had killed one of their soldiers.
- IN uhuhm. [9.1]

The asylum seeker's pronunciation in interview 10, from which the following sequence originates, was sometimes difficult to follow. In order to be certain that he had understood the asylum seeker correctly, the interpreter often paraphrased the original turn and returned it to the asylum seeker.

- (5.27) Interview 10, narrative, language English
- ts AS yeah. yeah yes. because what what I did was that I (felt good) a
location at Bonapriso. Bonapriso
- IN/en yes.
- ts AS where I was xxx but eh the place was not... I didn't like it so my wife
discovered another place in Zzz. so we have to shift.
- IN ok.
- AS yeah.
- ini IN/en so at first you discovered a location

- AS yeah.
 IN/en at Bonapriso but you didn't like it.
 clar AS yeah yeah really.
 IN ok. [10.1]

If an interpreter is a native speaker of the asylum seeker's language, there is still no guarantee for an impeccable understanding, since the varieties of the language may differ. In interview 2, the interpreter is from France, whereas the asylum seeker originates from West Africa. This contributed to the number of clarification sequences initiated by the interpreter in this interview. The sequence in (5.28) is one of them.

- (5.28) Interview 2, narrative, languages Dutch/French
 ts AS mais comme ils cherchaient en fait les corps habillés les Zzz.
but so they were in fact looking for uniformed personnel, the Zzz.
 ini IN/fr les culi quoi?
the what?
 AS les corps habillés.
uniformed personnel
 IN/fr corps habillés?
uniformed personnel?
 clar AS les militaires les gendarmes les policiers.
the militaries the police officers the police.
 IN/fr ah oui corps habillés. ok. je comprends. oui.
ah yes uniformed personnel. ok. I understand. yes.
 AS voilà.
there you are. [2.1]

In situations in which the interpreter and the asylum seeker share their language background, language issues can occur, for instance, in discussing cultural matters. In the following sequence from interview 7 the interpreter is unfamiliar with the Swahili word *eda*.

- (5.29) Interview 7, narrative, language Swahili
 ts AS basi ndugu yake sasa wa mume wangu akatafutisha akauliza kama
 kweli nani mtu yake amekufa inaendekaje lakini alitafutisha fasi yote
 hakumpata. akasema basi vile amekufa na sasa na sisi desturi zetu za
 kiislamu inabidi wewe *ukaeda*.
*well the brother of my husband went there to ask whether his brother
 was dead and how that had happened but he looked everywhere and
 could not get hold of him. then he said he is dead and according to our
 islamic conventions you have to do eda.*
 ini IN/sw *ukaeda* ndio inamaanisha?
doing eda that means? [7.1]

Differences in language variety between interpreters and asylum seekers seem to affect the interpreter more than the asylum seeker, in terms of the initiation of clarification sequences. This may have two explanations. The first one is the number of turns

addressed to the asylum seeker, in comparison to the number of turns produced by the asylum seeker: the asylum seeker more often carries a production role than a recipient role. Consequently, he relatively has a smaller chance to encounter trouble sources.

The second explanation concerns the professionalism of the interpreters. Because of their professionalism interpreters will more easily be able to adapt their language use, if they notice a difference between the language varieties of the asylum seekers and themselves. By choosing simpler words and syntax they can decrease the chance of experiencing trouble sources for the asylum seeker.

Language issues can also stand in the way between officers and interpreters. These primarily concern the interpreter's accent in Dutch and his use of words and syntax. This is illustrated by the following sequences. In (5.30) the pronunciation of the vowel in the Dutch word *stad* ('city') creates an ambiguity: the word could either be city (*stad*) or state (*staat*).

- (5.30) Interview 4, narrative, language Dutch
- | | | | |
|------|-------|---|-------|
| ts | IN/nl | dus zij vertelde mij dat ik moest proberen het kamp te verlaten en te onderdo+ onderdoken in onderduiken in het noorden kamp noorden deel van het van de stad. de stad was nu in 2... | |
| | | <i>so she told me that I had to try to leave the camp and to hid+ hidden in hide in the north camp north part of the of the city. the city was now in 2...</i> | |
| ini | OF | stad of staat? | |
| | | <i>city or state?</i> | |
| clar | IN/nl | stad. | |
| | | <i>city.</i> | |
| | OF | stad. | |
| | | <i>city.</i> | |
| | IN/nl | stad. in 2 verdeeld. | |
| | | <i>city. divided in 2.</i> | |
| | OF | uhuhm. | [4.2] |

The interpreter in (5.31) made a mistake: he used the verb *dichtplakken* ('to seal') instead of the phonetically similar word *dichtklappen* ('to shut'). He tried to repair his mistake, but again could not find the right word and chose *afklappen*, which is not a common word in Dutch. Nevertheless, by means of the context the trouble source was solved.

- (5.31) Interview 6, narrative, language Dutch
- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| ts | IN/nl | dus eh mijn man viel neer en eh ja ik wilde eh zo dicht bij mijn man eh eh dus eh naar mijn man kijken. ze zeiden toen tegen me als jij nog meer verzet biedt dan zullen wij je ook afmaken. net als je man. ik zag dat mijn man dood was. ik begon te huilen en eh ze hebben toen het lichaam van mijn man meegenomen en hebben de deur achter zich eh dichtgeplakt. |
|----|-------|---|

so eh my husband fell down and eh yes I wanted eh as close to my husband eh eh thus eh to look at my husband. then they said to me if you will resist more then we shall finish you too. just like your husband. I saw that my husband was dead. I started to cry and eh then they have taken my husband's body and eh sealed the door behind them.

- ini OF de laatste zin nog een keer?
the last sentence one more time?
- clar IN/nl ja de deur achter zich afgeklapt. ik bleef binnen en ben eh zeg maar bewusteloos geraakt en weet niet meer hoe dat daar afgelopen is.
yes shut off the door behind them. I stayed inside and got like unconscious and don't remember how it ended there. [6.1]

In the last sequence in this section, from interview 12, the interpreter used an incorrect participle of the Dutch verb *zitten* ('to sit'), which changed the meaning of the word into 'to put'. In his clarification he paraphrased his original sentence to avoid the verb altogether.

- (5.32) Interview 12, part with questions about the narrative, language Dutch
- IN/nl ik ben ook binnen gegaan. ik heb ook daar klein beetje gezet.
I went in as well. There I have also put a little.
- OF sorry? ik heb daar een beetje?
excuse me? There I have also a little?
- IN/nl ik heb een klein beetje ook rust gehad thuis.
I have also had a little bit of rest at home. [12.1]

5.3. Variation in using SPECIFY and ADD

Tables 5.5. and 5.6. show the numbers of clarification sequences of categories (ii) and (iii) divided by the initiating discourse participant and the participant responsible for the trouble source. In the sections below I will discuss for every initiating discourse participant what factors determine the occurrence of these sequences. Like in the category (i) sequences, the initiating discourse participant is a relevant factor. Furthermore, in terms of communication, we see that efficiency can overrule appropriateness, yielding the initiation of a clarification sequence.

initiating discourse participant/ discourse participant creating ts	narratives	parts with questions about the narrative
ini = AS / ts = IN	1	29
ini = IN / ts = OF	1	5
ini = OF / ts = IN	76	0
ini = IN / ts = AS	44	56

Table 5.5: Clarification sequences of category (ii) divided by initiating discourse participant and trouble source

initiating discourse participant/ discourse participant creating ts	narratives	parts with questions about the narrative
ini = AS / ts = IN	0	0
ini = IN / ts = OF	0	0
ini = OF / ts = IN	42	0
ini = IN / ts = AS	5	9

Table 5.6: Clarification sequences of category (iii) divided by initiating discourse participant and trouble source

Note that the tables do not show any clarification sequence initiated by the officer during the parts with questions. In the part with questions about the narrative the main line of discourse consists primarily of question and answer sequences: questions by the officer and answers by the asylum seeker. With respect to its form and content, these question and answer sequences can be very similar to clarification sequences of category (ii) or (iii) initiated by the officer. This is illustrated by the sequences in (5.33), from the narrative of interview 1, and (5.34), from the part with questions about the narrative in the same interview.

(5.33) Interview 1, narrative, languages Dutch/English

- ts IN/nl eh. op de weg terug met de groep en in verband met een training gingen we terug en we kwamen een meisje tegen die om hulp vroeg. ze was kennelijk met een benzineprobleem gestrand ergens met haar familie.
eh. on the way back with the group and because of a training we went back and we encountered a girl who asked for help. she evidently was stranded somewhere with her family due to a petrol problem.
- OF eh.
- IN/nl wij zeiden dat...
we said that...
- ini OF was het op het land of op het water overigens?
was it on land or in the water by the way?
- IN/nl dat is tussen... dat was... dan moest... water over maar waar dat nou precies gebeurde dat is nog niet bekend.
that is between... that was... then must... cross water but where exactly that happened is yet unknown.
- OF maar was het was het op het land of op het water?
but was it was it on land or in the water?
- IN/en this happened... was it in eh in the water or... [1.1]

(5.34) Interview 1, questions about the narrative, languages Dutch/English

- OF eh. ik had het rapport even doorgelezen eh van het gehoor hiervoor. 20 januari. daaruit maakte ik op dat het meisje dat geen benzine had met haar boot op zee voer. vandaag en ik vroeg u daar nog naar expliciet begreep ik van u dat eh dat dit zich op op het vaste land afspeelde. dat zij zonder benzine zat. wat is wat is de juiste versie?

- eh. I just read through the report eh of the interview before. 20 January. from that I concluded that the girl who did not have petrol travelled at sea with her boat. today - and I asked you explicitly about it - I understood from your words that eh that this happened on on land. that she was without petrol. what is what is the correct version?*
- IN/en eh I have the copy of your interview in January that you've had and in that interview I thought that you stated that this girl who had problems with gas. that that happened in the water in the sea and not in the streets. and now you stated that you met her on the streets. eh near the sea near the water. so what's the correct version?
- AS the correct version is that when it where it we're about to dock. when we're about to land at the Kissy terminal. so we met the girl. she was about to dock.
- IN uhuhm. [1.1]

The sequences above concern the same question. In (5.33) the officer initiated a clarification sequence of category (ii), in order to get a specification concerning the place of action: in the water or on land. The clarification to the question turned out not to be satisfactory. Consequently, the officer had to ask the same question again in the part with questions about the narrative, as shown in (5.34).

Although the questions in (5.33) and (5.34) are almost the same, their status differs because of the context in which the questions occur. The difference is that the officer's questions in the part with questions about the narrative form the main line of discourse, i.e. they do not start a side sequence, which is one of the properties of clarification sequences. Therefore, the question and answer sequences initiated by the officer in the parts with questions about the narrative are by definition no clarification sequences.

5.3.1. SPECIFY and ADD used by the asylum seeker

For the category (ii) sequences we see a difference between the clarification sequences initiated by the asylum seeker in the narrative and those in the parts with questions about the narrative, similar to the difference found in category (i) (as discussed in section 5.3.2). This difference can be explained in the same way as for the category (i) sequences: during the narrative the asylum seeker is the main speaker and as such he has little room for initiating clarification sequences.

There were no trouble sources in the interviews that caused the asylum seeker to initiate a clarification sequence of category (iii). This is expected on the basis of the discourse scenario and the asylum seeker's role in discourse. In the first place, the aim of the interview is to get information *from* the asylum seeker. The turns by the officer concern questions to reach this aim. It is unlikely that these questions trigger the asylum seeker to ask a counter question to get additional information. Furthermore, in institutional discourse there is an imbalance of power between official and client (see also section 1.6.2). The asylum seeker is not expected to outstretch his discourse role to ask for additional information (cf. Hale 2004:181 for a similar situation in court). This is different for category (ii) sequences. If certain information is left implicit in a question,

this may lead to ambiguity. Since the asylum seeker is responsible for making his statements consistent and credible, it is important for him to exclude any ambiguity from the question, so that his answer to the question cannot be misinterpreted.^{131,132}

5.3.2. SPECIFY and ADD used by the interpreter

Tables 5.5. and 5.6. show that during the narratives the interpreter initiated less clarification sequences in response to the asylum seeker than the officer in response to the interpreter. This can be related to the following. The interpreter's role in discourse is, in general, to provide renditions of the primary speakers' turns. Because of this experience in asylum interviews, the interpreter knows which information is relevant in the asylum interview and consequently he will notice when certain information remains implicit or absent (Doornbos 2006:262). By initiating a clarification sequence of category (ii) or (iii), the interpreter has the possibility to improve the original turn. See for instance the following category (iii) sequence. The interpreter prevented the asylum seeker from closing his narrative. Instead of providing a rendition of the first line, he encouraged the asylum seeker to continue, by asking for possible other problems the asylum seeker encountered. This shows that the interpreter, due to his experience, is well aware of the importance of including all relevant information during the narrative.

- (5.35) Interview 6, narrative, languages Swahili/Dutch
 AS humn humn. hiyo ni sababu ya kutoka kule kukimbia nikakimbia
 nikaja huku.
that is the reason that I fled from there and came here.

¹³¹ A number of category (ii) sequences from interview 9 initiated by the asylum seeker suggest that these sequences can also serve another function. In interview 9 the asylum seeker is rather reluctant to answer certain questions. Therefore, the clarification questions could be interpreted as a means to procrastinate the answer. This is illustrated by (a) and (b).

- (a) Interview 9, part with questions about the narrative, language Swahili
 IN/sw ulisema wengine waliondoshwa pia wengine ni nani na nani?
you said others were taken away as well. who are these others?
 AS kwa ile fasi tu wote tumekaa?
at the place where we were all staying?
 IN uhuhm.
- (b) Interview 9, part with questions about the narrative, language Swahili
 IN/sw baada ya kurudi nyumbani umekaa nyumbani tu hukutoka tena?
after you came home you just stayed at home, you did not go out again?
 AS kwa siku hiyo?
on that day?
 IN uhuhm.

¹³² In the interviews in which category (ii) sequences initiated by the asylum seeker occurred, the response by the interpreters differed within the interview. Either the interpreters provided a clarification themselves or they conveyed the question to the officer. In the latter situation the interpreters maintained the role of animator, whereas in the former situation they distanced from their default role and took the role of principal (cf. Nakane 2009:11-14; Hale 2004:194-198). I will discuss the interpreter's role in this type of problem solving sequences in section 6.2.1.2.

IN/sw	ndiyo yo+ yote hiyo au kuna matatizo mengine? <i>is that all or are there any other problems?</i>
AS	yako matatizo mengine. <i>there are other problems as well.</i>
IN/nl	ja dat is de reden van mijn vlucht van daar naar hier maar er is nog andere problemen geweest. <i>yes that is the reason for my flight from there to here but there have been other problems as well.</i> [6.1]

This kind of clarification sequences can be compared to the cases in chapter 4 in which the interpreter applied changes to the rendition with the aim to improve the original turn. Both in turn-rendition pairs and in clarification sequences the interpreter's interference can be seen as an act in the interest of both the primary speaker and the receiver, justified from the viewpoint of communication. In chapter 4 I concluded, however, that in a – limited – number of cases the interpreters had outstretched their role in discourse, functioning as a kind of co-officer. For the interpreter's clarification sequences the crossing line between acceptable interventions and outstretching the role in discourse lies between category (ii) and (iii) sequences. This explains the low frequency of category (iii) sequences initiated by the interpreter.

5.3.3. SPECIFY and ADD used by the officer

For the officer – as explained in the introduction of section 5.3 – we only find category (ii) and (iii) sequences in the narratives. The officer's role is less restricted than the interpreter's role, since he is the one conducting the interview. Nevertheless, he is bound in his actions as well. During the narrative he has to give the asylum seeker the opportunity to speak freely. Consequently, he should interrupt the asylum seeker as little as possible (see also section 1.6.1. in chapter 1). In view of this guideline, the officer should refrain himself from initiating clarification sequences as much as possible. Clarification sequences of category (i) are expected, since clarifying this type of trouble sources is essential for the continuation of the discourse. For clarification sequences of category (ii) and (iii) the situation is different: these can be postponed until after the narrative, to the interview part designated for questions about the narrative.

The fact that a considerable number of category (ii) and (iii) sequences have been initiated by the officer during the narratives suggests that there is a reason why the outcome of the weighing process will turn in the direction of an interruption after all. The progress in the narrative is a factor of influence. An officer may see a need to speed up a narrative, as is illustrated by the officer's turn in (5.36), originating from interview 1.

(5.36) Interview 1, narrative, language Dutch

OF	eh. even een opmerking meneer. we zijn nou ongeveer een eh dik een uur bezig met het noteren van eh van uw relaas. meestal gaat het wat vlugger. het is helemaal niet erg als het wat langer duurt maar ik denk dat het mede ook komt doordat u heel vaak dingen letterlijk vertelt. en als je zegt van hij zei ik zei eh hij zei ik zei dan krijg je wel een erg
----	---

lang relaas. dus probeert u het iets algemener te vertellen. iets bondiger. want anders ben ik bang dat we toch in tijdnoed gaan komen.

eh. just a remark mister. we now have been occupied an eh more than an hour with writing down eh your narrative. usually it takes less time. it doesn't matter at all if it takes a little more time but I think that it is also partly due to the fact that you very often tell things literally. and if you say like he said I said eh he said I said then the narrative becomes very long. so please try to tell it more globally. a bit more briefly. because otherwise I'm afraid that we will indeed run out of time. [1.1]

Asking questions is a way to control the flow of information (Agar 1985:150). For the officer, initiating category (ii) and (iii) clarification questions is a way to get hold of the necessary information in less time. On the other hand, it is possible that a narrative is too limited. In interview 14, for example, the asylum seeker kept her narrative so short, that it lacked a lot of details, such as names. The officer had to make an effort, by asking category (ii) and (iii) clarification questions, to be able to fill in the missing information and make the narrative complete.

On the basis of the data discussed above my conclusion is that an officer will comply to the guideline for not interrupting the asylum seeker unless there is a legitimate reason not to do so from his viewpoint. The interviews indicate that a too elaborate narrative or – exactly the opposite – a too short narrative are such reasons. In these situations the officer may use the initiation of clarification sequences of category (ii) and (iii) as a tool to speed up or prolong the narrative.

5.4. Conclusion

Within the framework of norms, clarification strategies are recipient strategies, applied to a turn that is causing a problem for a recipient, related to the recipient's expectations about the received turn. Similar to the production strategies discussed in chapter 4, recipient strategies show how discourse participants conform to the relation and communication norms. A recipient initiating a clarification sequence aims at solving a trouble source and, consequently, optimising communication. Similarity is involved in the relation between the turn containing a trouble source and the expectations of the recipient concerning the well-formedness of the turn. A greater distance – i.e. less similarity – between the original turn and the recipient's expectations means a weaker appropriateness relation between the two. We found that the occurrence of clarification sequences violating the appropriateness relation can be explained in terms of the communication norm dominating the relation norm.

Three recipient strategies were distinguished, all driven by either pragmatic considerations or by informational needs. The strategy REPEAT/CONFIRM aims at improving understanding by resolving a trouble source that has not been properly heard or understood (category (i) sequences). The strategy SPECIFY is applied to explicate information in order to resolve a trouble source that lacks specificity of information

implicitly present in the turn (category (ii) sequences). The strategy *ADD* aims at adding information to a turn that triggered the recipient's need for additional information (category (iii) sequences). The three distinguished recipient strategies differ in frequency: *REPEAT/CONFIRM* is by far the most frequently applied strategy, followed by *SPECIFY*. An extreme low frequency of occurrences was found for *ADD*. A recipient's role in resolving the trouble source is limited to requesting clarification; the actual clarification depends on the speaker of the troubled turn. Applying this recipient strategy is therefore no guarantee for resolving the trouble.

Some interviews contained more clarification sequences than others. Only in interview 15 an exceptional high number of clarification sequences were initiated due to a mismatch between the asylum seeker's and the interpreter's varieties of English. This interview shows that the presence of an interpreter cannot always prevent and may even give rise to severe communication problems. The interpreter's lack of understanding of the asylum seeker's English in interview 15 had several consequences. First of all, the interpreter's struggle understanding the asylum seeker and providing correct renditions placed the interpreter in the centre of attention, rather than the asylum seeker. In addition to explaining about his motives for asking asylum the asylum seeker had to make an extra effort to make the interpreter understand him better. Furthermore, the many clarification sequences led to a fragmented representation of the asylum seeker's narrative, which led to the initiation of even more clarification sequences (cf. Deen 1997; Jääskeläinen 2009). Because of the communication problems, the interview took much longer than planned, which caused an additional problem: time pressure. Interview 15 showed how the necessity for clarification may lead to additional problems in establishing the information exchange.

We have come across a number of clarification sequences that seem to have an additional function. In case of the elaborate speaker in interview 10, the interpreter repeated parts of the asylum seeker's preceding turn to filter out the relevant parts and to put the asylum seeker on the right track for continuing the interview. Furthermore, in the complex situation of interview 15 the officer asked the asylum seeker for clarification in order to check the interpreter's renditions.

Variation found in the frequencies of occurrence of the three categories is related to the appropriateness of the relation between turn and desired clarification (section 5.4.1), the limitations set by the prescribed discourse scenario and the participants' roles in the discourse (section 5.4.2) and finally to communicative factors in initiating clarification sequences, of which language comprehension is the most obvious one (section 5.4.3).

5.4.1. Variation in appropriateness of the clarification sequences

The variation found among the different categories is partly determined by the appropriateness relation between turn and clarification, in terms of similarity. In case the recipient encounters a turn that does not live up to his expectations, he relates the turn to the desired clarification to determine to what extent the value of the clarification adds to the value of the turn with regard to the four levels of similarity. The appropriateness of the relation between the turn and the clarification depends on the

similarity between the situations: the more the prior turn is subjected to changes, the lower the appropriateness of the relation. The appropriateness relation is thus only defined in terms of similarity and does not involve the communicative value a clarification sequence may have. I stated that category (i) sequences show an appropriate relation, whereas category (iii) sequences are not appropriate in terms of similarity. Category (ii) sequences are in the middle, showing a less appropriateness relation.

In clarification sequences of category (i) the recipient of a turn in this type of sequences has not properly heard or understood (part of) the turn. As a consequence, the perlocution of the turn gets lost. To ascertain or establish understanding the recipient applies a recipient strategy, a necessary action in the light of the communication flow, as argued by Hale (2004). Turn and clarification are similar to a great extent: similarity is only affected at the pragmatic level, i.e. the perlocution of the turn is restored after applying the recipient strategy. Given the minimal change, the relation between turn and clarification is considered appropriate in case of clarification sequences of category (i).

In category (ii) sequences the clarification points to information that is only implicitly present or assumed in the turn. This changes the informational value of the original turn, leading to a less appropriate relation between turn and clarification.

Category (iii) sequences show even less similarity between turn and clarification: the clarification adds new information to the turn, changing the turn's informational value to a larger extent. Consequently, there is no appropriateness relation between turn and clarification. The fact that category (iii) sequences do occur in spite of the absence of an appropriateness relation indicates that the relation between turn and clarification is not the only factor determining whether a strategy may be applied; improving communication is another factor.

5.4.2. Limitations set by the discourse scenario

In institutional discourse, communication is supported by a discourse scenario. The discourse participants all fulfil a particular role within the discourse. The scenario and the roles provide the discourse participants with information concerning the discourse; their expectations about the course of the interview are fed by the discourse scenario and the participant roles. Under certain circumstances, the application of recipient strategies is not in accordance with the discourse scenario and the recipient's role in discourse. This does not apply to clarification sequences of category (i). In these cases the recipient strategy is even applied in order for the recipient to be able to perform his discourse role properly. We can relate the variation we find in category (i) sequence with respect to the initiating recipient to the professionalism of the speaker. The asylum seeker is not used to telling his story in an institutional environment. His 'unpolished' way of speaking is likely to be a greater source for trouble than the turns by the officer and the interpreter, who both are familiar with the content and context of second interviews in the asylum procedure.

The frequency of the clarification sequences of category (ii) and (iii) do show variation following from the discourse role of the initiating discourse participant. First of all, the

asylum seeker never initiated clarification sequences of category (iii). Apart from the fact that the aim of the interview is to get information *from* the asylum seeker, his role in discourse is also relevant. The imbalance of power between the officer and the asylum seeker, characteristic for institutional discourse, has the consequence that the asylum seeker is not expected to outstretch his discourse role to ask for additional information, such as happens in category (iii) sequences (cf. Hale 2004 for a similar situation in court interpreting). The situation is different with respect to category (ii) sequences: for communicative purposes the asylum seeker has been responsible for the initiation of a number of category (ii) sequences.

The interpreter's role is to provide renditions of the primary speakers' turns. Initiating a category (ii) or (iii) sequence interferes with the interpreter's role in discourse. He has to shift from his default role of animator to an author's or even a principal's role (cf. Nakane (2009), Wadensjö (1998) and Berk-Seligson (2002) for interpreters taking a principal role in similar problem-solving sequences). To keep this interference to a minimum, the interpreter limits the initiation of category (ii) and (iii) sequences. The severe impact of a category (iii) sequence in comparison to that of a category (ii) sequence, explains why the former is the least frequent.

The officer only initiates clarification sequences of category (ii) and (iii) during the narratives. In this part of the interview he is bound by an instruction that allows the asylum seeker to speak freely, thus with as little interruptions as possible. Initiating clarification sequences count as interruptions. The necessity of category (i) sequences combined with their small impact make them acceptable interruptions.

5.4.3. Communicative factors in initiating clarification sequences

Communicative factors play a role in initiating clarification sequences, even in cases in which an appropriateness relation is absent or less obvious, and in which applying a recipient strategy goes against the recipient's prescribed role in discourse.

Clarification sequences of category (i) still possess an appropriateness relation and take place in order for the recipient to be able to perform his discourse role properly. Language comprehension is an essential factor in the occurrence of category (i) sequences. If the language variety of the hearer diverges from that of the speaker, trouble sources are more likely to appear (cf. Blommaert 2001). Problems occurred at a phonetic, lexical and syntactical level, between either the asylum seeker and the interpreter or the officer and the interpreter. Nevertheless, the data are not conclusive with regard to a significant correlation between diverging language varieties and the occurrence of clarification sequences. Only in one interview a difference in language variety led to an exceptional high number of initiated clarification sequences. Other reasons for the occurrence of category (i) sequences are unclear or softly speaking speakers, distraction on the part of the hearer, and memory problems on the part of the hearer because of long turns. To prevent the latter, an interpreter can choose to translate smaller chunks. However, as seen in interview 15, extensive chunking may lead to a loss of coherence and, consequently, understanding (cf. Jääskeläinen 2009),

increasing the need for clarification, on the part of either the interpreter or a primary speaker.

For clarification sequences of category (ii) and (iii) the appropriateness relation is more or less violated. Furthermore, it applies to all participants that their role in discourse limits the acceptance of initiating a clarification of category (ii) and (iii). The occurrence of these clarification sequences under such circumstances can be explained in terms of perspicuity and relevance of the provided information and the need for perspicuous and relevant information in the given time frame.

The data show the occurrence of clarification sequences of category (ii) initiated by the asylum seeker. The initiation of these sequences is a response to ambiguous questions, i.e. questions in which certain information has been left implicit. Since the asylum seeker is responsible for making his statements consistent and credible, it is important for him to exclude any ambiguity from the question, so that his answer to the question cannot be misinterpreted. As a consequence, we do find category (ii) sequences initiated by the asylum seeker.

As mentioned above, an officer has to comply with the guideline for not interrupting the asylum seeker. The data show that he does comply with this guideline, unless there is a legitimate reason not to do so, from his viewpoint. The interviews indicate that a too elaborate narrative or – exactly the opposite – a too short narrative are such reasons. In these situations the officer may use the initiation of clarification sequences of category (ii) and (iii) as a tool to get the relevant information within the given time frame of the interview.

By initiating clarification sequences of category (ii) and (iii) an interpreter causes a change of information: information is either explicated (category (ii)) or added (category (iii)). Doing so, he outstretches his role in discourse in favour of more perspicuous and/or relevant information. This will save the officer from asking for clarification at a later moment. Although the interpreter's action leads to an optimised – more efficient – communication, it makes the boundary between his role and the officer's fuzzier.

6. Non-translated turns

The IND's code of conduct for interpreters does not mention the coordinating, constructive actions that an interpreter performs in his mediating role. Coordinating actions are an essential part of the interpreter's task in dialogue interpreting, as a consequence of the communication norm, as explained in section 2.2.2. The interpreter needs to manage the interaction (meeting the communication norm) and the information flow (meeting the relation norm) at the same time. Non-translated turns – i.e. turns by the interpreter not being renditions of a prior turn by a primary speaker, and turns remaining without a rendition – often concern the coordination of participation in the discourse (Wadensjö 1998:103-151). They typically involve interaction between only two discourse participants, either in the client language or in the institutional language, excluding the other discourse participant from the discourse (Hale 2004:194-205). This chapter investigates to what extent the non-translated turns in the asylum interviews contribute to discourse management and coordination. For an interpreter the coordinating contributions should be in balance with the translating task (Wadensjö 1998:150; Russell 2002:124). The analysis will show under what circumstances coordination dominates translation and what the influence is of the coordinating devices or strategies on the participation frameworks in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. Finally, the analysis of the non-translated turns will shed light on the relation between devices and strategies for coordination, their use and the overarching framework of norms.

Although this chapter focuses on non-translated turns, coordinating contributions are not exclusively found among the non-translated turns. As shown in chapter 4, renditions may have a coordinating function, apart from their translation function. Furthermore, other discourse participants than the interpreter, most likely the officer, produce coordinating turns as well. An example is provided in (6.1), in which the officer produced a continuer to encourage the asylum seeker to continue her story. The next turn is the interpreter's rendition of the continuer. The continuer in (6.1) is not a non-translated turn, since the turn-rendition pairs and the non-translated turns are mutual exclusive.

(6.1)	OF	gaat u verder. <i>please continue.</i>	[14.1]
	IN/en	continue.	

The set of non-translated turns discussed in this chapter contains 684 items, from the 14 interviews' introductions, narratives and parts with questions about the narrative.¹³³ The non-translated turns can be captured in the two groups of devices for coordinating participation discussed in section 2.2.3, devices for turn-taking and devices for

¹³³ Excluding the non-translated clarifications sequences, which are part of chapter 5.

optimising communication. The turn-taking devices are discussed in section 6.1. and consist of non-translated turns for continuing and keeping turns (section 6.1.1), stoppers (section 6.1.2) and left out renditions (section 6.1.3). In section 6.2, devices for optimising communication are discussed. These comprise in the first place sequences similar to clarification sequences: repairs, repetitions and reformulations of turns and sequences discussing the meaning of a turn (section 6.2.1). Furthermore, I will discuss participation frameworks diverging from the default participation frameworks (section 6.2.2) and meta-comments optimising communication (6.2.3).

The tables below show the frequency of the non-translated turns in the introductions (table 6.1), the narratives (table 6.2) and the parts with questions about the narrative (table 6.3), divided by the different categories of non-translated turns (referred to by the section numbers 6.1.1. to 6.2.2).

int	lng	length	turn-taking				optimising communication			
			6.1.1	6.1.2	6.1.3	6.1	6.2.1	6.2.2	6.2.3	6.2
1	en	00:02:06	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	fr	00:14:04	1	0	5	6	0	10	4	14
3	fr	00:12:55	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	5
4	fr	00:03:47	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	5
5	fr	00:01:58	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
6	sw	00:07:48	0	0	0	0	1	7	2	10
7	sw	00:15:16	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
8	so	00:04:08	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	2
9	sw	00:03:48	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
10	en	00:39:07	3	7	2	12	3	8	2	13
12	sw	00:11:38	0	0	0	0	0	10	5	15
13	sw	00:14:48	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	8
14	en	00:20:55	1	3	1	5	0	8	0	8
15	en	00:05:02	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
tot		02:37:20	5	11	10	26	7	66	15	88

Table 6.1: Non-translated turns in the introductions, divided by topic.

The introductions are relatively short and contain the least number of non-translated turns. Most instances involve a divergent participation framework, either due to direct communication between the primary speakers or due to requests from the officer to the interpreter. The latter only occurred in the introductions, as explained in section 6.2.2.4.

Most non-translated turns during the narratives occurred in the two longest interviews, 10 and 15. With respect to the latter interview, chapter 5 showed that the communication in this interview was hampered by the interpreter's limited

understanding of the asylum seeker's variety of English. In chapter 5 I also mentioned that the asylum seeker in interview 10 had an elaborate way of speaking. These issues may have been contributed to the high frequency of non-translated turns in these interviews. In the narratives the asylum seeker is invited to tell about his motives for asking asylum, during which he should be interrupted as little as possible (see also section 1.3.3). The high frequency of the continuers and the low frequency of the stoppers not only suggest that little interruptions occurred but also that the asylum seekers were regularly encouraged to continue talking.

int	lng	length	turn-taking				optimising communication			
			6.1.1	6.1.2	6.1.3	6.1	6.2.1	6.2.2	6.2.3	6.2
1	en	00:58:29	3	2	4	9	0	1	3	4
2	fr	00:21:06	5	0	0	5	1	2	3	6
3	fr	00:03:59	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
4	fr	01:09:56	4	2	5	11	1	2	5	8
5	fr	00:50:36	10	0	0	10	1	0	1	2
6	sw	00:24:42	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
7	sw	00:20:14	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
8	so	00:04:17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	sw	00:07:35	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	3
10	en	02:00:26	10	7	19	36	9	13	14	36
12	sw	00:19:14	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
13	sw	00:16:26	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
14	en	00:07:34	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	2
15	en	03:31:06	16	3	14	33	13	21	17	51
tot		10:35:40	60	14	43	117	26	41	47	114

Table 6.2: Non-translated turns in the narratives, divided by topic.

In the parts with questions about the narrative two categories of non-translated turns stand out. In the first place, the number of turns remaining without a rendition is relatively high (occurring in all interviews). This suggests more competition in turn-taking than in the other interview parts, related to the more complex turn-taking pattern (question and answer sequences instead of primarily one primary speaker talking). Second, interview 14 shows a high number of instances of a deviating participation framework, all concerning direct communication between the primary speakers.

int	lng	length	turn-taking				optimising communication			
			6.1.1	6.1.2	6.1.3	6.1	6.2.1	6.2.2	6.2.3	6.2
1	en	00:14:23	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	2
2	fr	01:48:27	4	0	9	13	3	3	8	14
3	fr	00:37:49	3	0	2	5	1	0	0	1
4	fr	00:43:56	0	6	9	15	1	1	1	3
5	fr	00:21:07	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
6	sw	00:51:53	0	0	1	1	0	8	3	11
7	sw	01:31:58	0	1	1	2	0	4	0	4
8	so	01:49:12	5	9	10	24	5	2	1	8
9	sw	01:19:18	3	3	2	8	1	1	2	4
10	en	02:26:56	5	12	14	31	5	17	13	35
12	sw	02:36:20	9	0	4	13	10	1	17	28
13	sw	00:58:44	1	4	5	10	5	2	1	8
14	en	02:00:43	3	1	22	26	13	43	3	59
15	en	00:45:28	0	2	0	2	0	5	3	8
tot		18:06:14	33	38	81	152	45	90	52	187

Table 6.3: *Non-translated turns in the parts with questions about the narrative, divided by topic.*

6.1. Turn-taking

Among the non-translated turns we find 295 instances involving turn-taking, in all 14 interviews, in varying forms. Turn-taking or turn allocation is strongly connected to the roles that participants carry in the discourse and to the specific discourse scenario (see also section 2.2.2). Among the non-translated turns we find two different kinds of turn allocation, either allocation to another discourse participant or self-allocation. Below I will discuss varying strategies for keeping or getting a turn, and relate them to the discourse scenario and the participants' roles in discourse.

6.1.1. Continuing and keeping the turn

Below I will discuss continuers and fillers and relate their occurrence to the discourse scenario and the participants' roles in discourse. Continuers are used to encourage another discourse participant to continue speaking. In the asylum interviews continuers are produced by officers and interpreters.

Fillers are exclusively produced by officers in our data set. They fill a pause in discourse and indicate that the officer self-allocates the turn following the pause.

In general, what we see is that the discourse participants using continuers and fillers act according to their roles: the officer in a proactive role as leader of the interview, the

interpreter proactive when necessary for his role as mediator, and the asylum seeker in a more reactive role as client.

6.1.1.1. *Continuers*

A continuer is a turn that encourages another discourse participant to continue speaking. Continuers may take the form of vocalisations such as ‘uhuhm’, gaze or gestures such as nods (cf. Schegloff 1982; Gavioli 2012; Mason 2012). In the asylum interviews the officer and the interpreter are the discourse participants using continuers. This is related to their roles in discourse. Both officers and interpreters have a responsibility in keeping the discourse going: for an officer this is a part of conducting the interview and for the interpreter this responsibility follows from his role as mediator. An asylum seeker, on the other hand, is not in a position to encourage other discourse participants to continue speaking, because of the imbalanced relation between the officer and the interpreter on the one side and the asylum seeker on the other (see also section 1.5.2). Furthermore, the purpose of the interview is to get information from the asylum seeker. Consequently, there is more reason for the other discourse participants to encourage the asylum seeker to continue speaking than the other way around.

Among the non-translated turns I found 71 instances of continuers, in 12 interviews, most of them uttered by the interpreter, to encourage the asylum seeker to continue speaking. Continuers are found in almost every interview, mainly in the narrative. As mentioned above, in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse a specific discourse scenario is present. The discourse scenario contains a number of turn-taking patterns that dominate the discourse (see also section 2.2.2). During the narrative the dominant turn-taking pattern is AS-IN_L. However, the interpreter’s rendition is not necessarily directly followed by a new turn from the asylum seeker. After the rendition has been provided, the officer is often still busy with processing the rendition for the report. This causes a break during which the following turn has not yet been allocated. When the officer is ready for the next turn this will show from either a non-verbal signal, like a gaze, or a verbal continuer, such as in (6.2).

- (6.2) IN/en [...] toen werden wij allemaal in een pick-up een auto vervoerd naar de bush.
 → OF [...] *then we were all transported in a pick-up a car to the bush.*
 AS uhuhm.
 AS so when we reached the place so we met a lot of people in the village there. [...] [1.1]

Given the dominant turn-taking pattern this signal can be interpreted as an action to allocate the next turn to the asylum seeker, as we see in (6.2). However, the asylum seeker may not interpret the signal as such, for different reasons. First of all, because of the asylum seeker’s position in discourse he may need a more explicit instruction to feel permitted to take the next turn. Second, and maybe even more important, since the communication during the entire interview runs through the interpreter, the asylum seeker might wait for a signal from the interpreter before taking the next turn. Again,

this may be a gaze – the interpreter turning his head from the officer to the asylum seeker at the other side of the table – or a more explicit signal, as in (6.3) and (6.4).

- (6.3) IN humn baadaye?
humn and after that? [6.1]
- (6.4) IN/fr continue.
continue. [5.1]

Some continuers have another function as well. This is illustrated by (6.5), in which the interpreter paraphrases the last part of the asylum seeker's previous turn. This works as a continuer: the repetition encourages the asylum seeker to continue his story at the point where he stopped. In addition to this function the turn is a way for the interpreter to check whether he has received the asylum seeker's turn properly.

- (6.5) IN/en that you were wanted because you attempted to kill a policeman.
AS yeah that is that is it but my intention was not to kill a policeman. I didn't have that in mind. I was fighting on self-defence. in Zzz.
[10.2]

6.1.1.2. Fillers

Pauses in the discourse created by the officer writing down a rendition are frequent in the interviews. In 27 cases, in 6 interviews, we see an officer filling this pause by repeating the rendition out loud. This is illustrated by (6.6):

- (6.6) IN/nl het ging mij vooral
for me this was mainly
OF wacht even wacht even.
just wait just wait.
IN/nl om het opzetten van demonstraties.
about setting up demonstrations.
→ OF (*pause 8 seconds while typing*) het ging mij vooral... demonstratie op te zetten.
for me this was mainly... to set up demonstration.
IN/nl uhuhm. of te organiseren. dat is beter.
uhuhm. or to organise. that is better. [10.4]

The officer's second turn in the sequence started with a pause of eight seconds, during which the officer wrote down the rendition. In the last part of the turn he said out loud what he was writing down. This repetition of the rendition has different functions. In the first place, the repetition is used as a filler, i.e. it filled the pause in discourse and indicated that the turn continued to be allocated to the officer (cf. Hale 2004:105).¹³⁴ Furthermore, it showed to the interpreter that the officer was almost done with writing down the rendition. And last, by repeating the rendition out loud the interpreter opens the possibility to check whether his rendition has been properly received by the officer

¹³⁴ The typing activity itself is also utilised to maintain the turn (Van Charldorp 2011:217). The repetition of the rendition is likely to reinforce this function.

(Gavioli 2012:206; cf. Sliedrecht (2013:128) and Komter (2002/2003:206-207) for a similar phenomenon in police interrogations). In this case the interpreter proposed an alternative for the original rendition, following the officer's repetition. Another example is given in (6.7).

- (6.7) IN/nl eh. ze hebben mij gevraagd de eigendoms papieren van onze huis. ze hebben mij gevraagd waar de gouden sieraden van mijn moeder verborg zouden zijn. verborgen zou zijn. en mijn stam. en zij zeiden voordat jij dat allemaal vertelt word jij nooit vrijgelaten en daarom werd ik mishandeld. en vastgehouden.
eh. they have asked me the property documents of our house. they have asked me where my mother's golden jewellery would be hid. would be hidden. and my tribe. and they said before you tell everything you will not be released and that is why I was mistreated. and detained.
- OF [*whispering, slowly speaking*] ik zou niet eerder worden vrijgelaten als dat ik antwoord zou hebben gegeven op deze vragen. [*normal speed and volume*] en kon u op deze vragen antwoord geven?
I would not be released before I would have given an answer to these questions. and could you give an answer to these questions?
- [8.1]

Again, apart from keeping the turn, the officer's intention may also be to check the correctness of the rendition. In this case the officer has reformulated the rendition, and saying it out loud may also be a subtle way of repairing the interpreter's Dutch.

6.1.2. Stoppers

The opposite of a continuer is an utterance to stop another discourse participant from continuing to speak, to which I will refer as a stopper.¹³⁵ Below I will first discuss explicit stoppers: turns without relevant information, uttered solely for the purpose of stopping the speaker. Second, I will discuss (content relevant) interruptions. Interrupting a speaker by allocating the turn to oneself to continue the discourse is a more frequent way to stop a speaker from continuing than producing explicit stoppers.

6.1.2.1. Explicit stoppers

Two examples of explicit stopper are provided below. The officer put a hold on the turn by the interpreter in (6.8), who stopped speaking after finishing his sentence. As a consequence of the stopping action the turn is allocated to the officer himself.

- (6.8) IN/nl het ging mij vooral
for me this was mainly
- OF wacht even wacht even.
just wait just wait.

¹³⁵ There is no unequivocal terminology for stopping a speaker. Requests or strategies to stop a speaker from talking are other ways of referring to this type of coordinating contributions (Wadensjö 1998:110; Roy 2000:85).

- IN/nl om het opzetten van demonstraties.
about setting up demonstrations.
- OF (pause 8 seconds while typing) het ging mij vooral... demonstratie op te zetten.
for me this was mainly... to set up demonstration.
- IN/nl uhuhm. of te organiseren. dat is beter.
uhuhm. or to organise. that is better. [10.4]

In (6.9) the officer put a hold on the asylum seeker's turn to allocate the turn to the interpreter, who then started the rendition of the asylum seeker's turn. Although it is usually the interpreter who decides when it is time for a rendition, the officer is allowed of course to perform this type of action too, as the participant in charge of leading the interview.

- (6.9) AS on war broke out people started running. people started running xxx.
 (we are also) started running too.
- OF momentje alstublieft.
one moment please.
- IN/nl eh 18 september
- OF uhuhm.
 [...] [14.1]

In the data we also find explicit stoppers uttered by the interpreter, as in example (6.10). For the interpreter this is an action that falls within the boundaries of his role in discourse too: in order to provide good renditions it may be necessary for the interpreter to prevent a primary speaker from making a turn too long.

- (6.10) AS habeenkii ayaga na soo dhuumsiyay.
that night they smuggled us out.
- IN/so suug suug.
wait wait. [8.1]

This kind of explicit stoppers is not frequently found among the non-translated turns.¹³⁶ I found eight occurrences in four interviews for the officer and two occurrences in two interviews for the interpreter. This suggests that explicit stoppers are a last resort device, that is applied in case less intrusive ways of stopping a speaker, such as the use of minimal responses (Gavioli 2012), do not seem to suffice.

6.1.2.2. Interruptions

A more frequent way – 51 occurrences in eight interviews – to try to make an end to a participant's turn is to interrupt this turn by starting a new turn. Interruptions always concern self-allocation for the interrupting discourse participant. An example is given in (6.11). Because of the officer's interruption the asylum seeker's turn remains untranslated. The interruption itself does get a rendition.

¹³⁶ The use of a minimal response such as *okay* is a common way to indicate that a speaker has to stop talking (Gavioli 2012:208). The low frequency of explicit stoppers suggests that these are only used when a less invasive approach does not suffice.

- (6.11) AS nikakimbiria kwa...
 I fled to...
 → OF hij zag dat?
 did he see that?
 IN/sw umewaona?
 have you seen them? [13.1]

In (6.12) we find another interruption, only now the asylum seeker is the interrupting discourse participant. Again, the interrupting turn got a rendition.

- (6.12) OF maar even terug. die...
 but let's go back. that...
 AS so I was really in stress. when they give me the interview I explain to
 the the IND man that I had a lot of stress. a lot of tears that...
 IN/nl nou ik was toen onder een hoop stress. een heleboel dingen die...
 well I was under a lot of stress then. many things that... [10.1]

Almost all occurrences of interruptions led to an unfinished interrupted turns with no rendition, leaving them inaccessible to the other discourse participant. The asylum seeker was the most interrupted discourse participant: in 25 cases, in five interviews, the turn was taken over by the officer and in eleven cases, in seven interviews, by the interpreter. The officer was interrupted 12 times: nine times by the asylum seeker, in five interviews, and three times by the interpreter, in three interviews. Interruptions by the interpreter mainly concerned renditions. The fact that the asylum seeker was interrupted more often is likely to be a consequence of the asylum seeker's role in the discourse as prescribed by the discourse scenario: the asylum seeker has to provide information and, therefore, he produces many turns which are often long turns. His chance of being interrupted is consequently already greater than for the officer and the interpreter. Furthermore, if a turn gets too long, producing a rendition may become problematic for the interpreter. Interrupting the asylum seeker can prevent this problem. The occurrences of the asylum seeker interrupting the officer suggest that the imbalance between the officer and the asylum seeker (as discussed in section 1.4.3. in chapter 1) does not play a decisive role in the interruptions.

Interruptions are not always successful, i.e. the turn is not always allocated to the interrupting discourse participant. The non-translated turns comprise a few of these unsuccessful interruptions, of which (6.13) is one. The asylum seeker in this sequence took a turn while the interpreter had not yet finished his rendition. The interpreter ignored the interruption and continued his turn. After he finished the asylum seeker still did not get the opportunity to take the turn because at that moment the officer took over.

- (6.13) IN/nl ja omdat de rebellen onze wijk waren binnengekomen. en wij werden
 ervan verdacht hun onderdak te hebben geboden. dus eh de moslims
 werden verdacht dus
 *yes because the rebels had entered our district. and we were suspected
 of offering them a place to stay. so eh the Muslims were suspected thus*

- IN/nl dus nou dus mijn intentie eh
so well so my intention eh
- AS intentions a+ are different from eh eh the actual candidature.
 OF ja.
yes.
- AS huhm.
- IN/nl die waren al bekend.
these were already known. [15.3]

In (6.16) the asylum seeker and the officer spoke simultaneously. The asylum seeker's turn is an answer to a question posed by the officer, preceding this sequence. The officer's turn is to indicate that he wanted to rephrase his question. The interpreter provided the asylum seeker's answer with a rendition, leaving the officer's turn untranslated.

- (6.16) AS yeah. they were looking
 → OF laat ik het anders vragen.
let me put it differently.
- AS for me.
 OF ok.
- IN/nl ja ze ze waren op zoek
yes they they were looking
- OF ja?
yes?
- IN/nl naar me.
for me. [14.2]

Which turn remains without a rendition in this kind of cases is primarily determined by the position of the turns in relation to the turn-taking pattern. The interpreter prefers to follow (one of) the prescribed turn-taking patterns. So, in (6.15) the interpreter's rendition of the asylum seeker's turn in the first line overlapped with a subsequent turn by the asylum seeker. The asylum seeker's turn overlapping with the rendition does not fit in the turn-taking pattern and is consequently discarded. In (6.16), the officer's and the asylum seeker's overlapped each other but the turn-taking pattern asked for an answer to the question that preceded the sequence. Therefore, the interpreter ignored the officer's turn and continued with the asylum seeker's answer.

The examples show that the turns remaining without a rendition are not (always) unfinished sentences. The fact that they remained untranslated, means that the turns remained inaccessible for the discourse participants for whom the turn was meant. No evidence was found that the discourse participants experienced this routine as problematic.

6.1.3.2. Successive turns

A similar situation may occur when two turns do not overlap, but are successive, leaving again a turn inaccessible to the discourse participant to whom the turn is targeted, and

- AS so when somebody complain that he can't be there because of transport. I hire car. I hire truck.
 OF ok. maar die 15 mensen. vrienden. ook nog anderen?
ok. but these 15 people. friends. others as well?
 IN/en so apart from these eh 15 M+ MND members eh and these friends did you send emails to others? [10.3]

A number of untranslated turns concern (partial) repetitions of prior – and already translated – turns, and therefore the absence of a rendition does not lead to an information loss for the other discourse participant. This may not be transparent, though, for the other discourse participant: he may have noticed the turn without being aware it concerns a repetition of information. As such, the non-translated turns still exclude him from the interaction.

The omission of repetitions is something that occurred in turn-rendition pairs as well (see section 4.1.1.2). In (6.20) the asylum seeker's second turn follows the interpreter's rendition, where a turn by the officer is expected on the basis of the dominant turn-taking pattern OF-IN_{CL}-AS-IN_{IL}. The asylum seeker's addition is an exact repetition of his preceding turn. This additional turn remained untranslated.

- (6.20) AS que j'ai peur j'ai peur.
that I am afraid I am afraid.
 IN/nl uit angst.
out of fear.
 IN uhuhm.
 → AS j'ai peur.
I am afraid. [3.1]

The officer, as the one leading the interview, may overrule the default turn-taking pattern. This is what happened in the sequence in (6.21), taken from the narrative of interview 4. The prescribed turn-taking pattern of the narrative is AS-IN_{IL}. Consequently, the asylum seeker's turn was in the right position, following the interpreter's rendition. However, the officer decided that it was time for a break and ignored the asylum seeker's turn. The interpreter conformed to the officer's divergence from the turn-taking pattern and only provided a rendition of the last turn, conforming to the officer's authority (cf. Hale 2004:208).

- (6.21) IN/nl ja ik was een alleenstaande moeder dus ze konden eigenlijk doen wat wat zij wilden met mij. het was heel erg onveilig.
yes I was a single mother so they could actually do whatever whatever whatever they wanted with me. it was highly unsafe.
 OF xxx
 → AS xxx là de partir parce que mon bel oncle lui aussi avait maintenant peur xxx des menaces donc j'étais seulement obligée de rester là avec les enfants.
xxx to leave there because my uncle in law he was also afraid now xxx threats so I was only obliged to stay there with my children.

OF ok.
 AS when my sister (die). [14.1]

The question posed by the officer in (6.24) is either unfinished or too short to give a proper interpretation of its intention. The interpreter did not provide a rendition and the asylum seeker took the turn and continued his story.

(6.24) IN/nl ze hebben mij toen niet verteld eh dat ik moest verschijnen voor een
 asielpcedure.
*they haven't told me then eh that I had to appear for an asylum
 procedure.*
 OF uhuhm. ok. maar?
uhuhm. ok. but?
 AS so when they give me the document I was helpless and hopeless
 again. [10.1]

6.2. Optimising communication

Among the non-translated turns we find 389 instances involving the optimization of communication, occurring in all 14 interviews, in varying forms. A prominent way of optimising communication is the initiation of a clarification sequence, as discussed in chapter 5. Apart from clarification questions we find other kinds of requests among the non-translated turns aiming at optimising communications. These requests are discussed in section 6.2.1. Section 6.2.2. discusses turns in which a discourse participant relates to the other participants in a diverging way. This divergent participation framework selects a non-default turn-taking pattern. Finally, in section 6.2.3, I will look into the meta-comments found among the non-translated turns.

6.2.1. Optimization of a prior turn or rendition

A part of the non-translated turns concerns turns aiming at optimising a previous turn or the response to a previous turn. These involve repairing mistakes (section 6.2.1.1), repeating, reformulating and explaining questions (section 6.2.1.2) and discussing the meaning of a turn (section 6.2.1.3). The non-translated turns show the use of recipient strategies, similar to initiating clarification sequences (see chapter 5). The requests discussed in this section differ from the requests for clarification discussed in chapter 5 either with respect to the trouble source or to the clarification. The trouble source differs in the case of repairs, in which the trouble source contains a mistake. Furthermore, the repeated, reformulated or explained questions are a response to an answer not fitting the original question. In case the meaning of a turn is discussed, the difference lies in the clarification: instead of one participant providing a clarification, clarification is established by means of discussion, which involved different participants.

6.2.1.1. *Repairing mistakes*

Among the non-translated turns I encountered 20 repairs, in seven interviews, initiated to clear up a mistake. These repairs can be characterised as one of the repair types introduced by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977): there are other-initiated self-repairs, other-initiated other-repairs, self-initiated self-repairs, and self-initiated other-repairs.¹³⁷ The latter are in form equal to clarification sequences: there is a trouble source (containing the mistake), the initiation of the repair sequence and the clarification of the mistake. The difference is that the trouble source in a repair does not concern a troubled reception but a troubled production. An example of an other-initiated self-repair is given in (6.25). In this sequence the officer, who has a fair command of the client language, suspected a mistake in the rendition, and initiated a repair.

(6.25)	AS	(it's not) every day.	
ts	IN/nl	het is e+ elke dag. <i>it is e+ every day.</i>	
ini	OF	niet elke dag? [...] <u>wel elke dag?</u> <i>not every day? [...] indeed every day?</i>	
	AS	<u>not every day.</u>	
	IN	huhm?	
	AS	not every day (they give).	
clar	IN/nl	niet niet elke dag. <i>not not every day.</i>	[14.1]

In other-initiated other-repairs and self-initiated self-repairs the initiation of the repair often co-occurs with the clarification of the mistake. The rendition in the first line in the other-initiated other-repair in (6.26) contained a mistake in Dutch, probably caused by the fact that the interpreter was not a native speaker of the language. The officer initiated the repair by providing the correct rendition, which was acknowledged by the interpreter.

(6.26)	IN/nl	[...] wij hebben de hele nacht gereden. en wij kwamen aan bij mijn grootste zus. <i>we have driven all night. and we arrived at my biggest sister.</i>	
ts			
ini+clar	OF	oudste? <i>eldest?</i>	
	IN/nl	oudste zus. <i>eldest sister.</i>	[4.2]

In the self-initiated self-repair in (6.27) the trouble source is not included: the interpreter referred to a mistake in a previous rendition.

¹³⁷ Clarification sequences as defined in chapter 5 can be characterised as other-initiated self-repairs. However, only a small number of the clarification sequences concerned the repair of a mistake.

- (6.27) IN/nl ik heb trouwens een fout gemaakt. [in English] *mosquito* moet mug zijn. dat is een malariamug.
by the way, I have made a mistake. [in English] mosquito should be mosquito. that is a malaria mosquito.
 [...]
 OF oh dat wou ik vragen. ik heb het ook gewoon opgetypt hoor maar. ok ja.
oh that's what I wanted to ask. I have just typed it down like that. ok yes.
 IN/nl ja.
yes. [10.2]

In (6.28) we find the last repair type: a self-initiated other-repair. In this sequence the trouble source co-occurs with the initiation of the repair: the interpreter, not a native speaker of Dutch, is looking for the correct rendition for taking blood. A clarification is provided by the officer.

- (6.28) IN/nl nou eh verder hebben zij mijn bloed eh hoe noem je dat? afgedampt of zo? of hoe noem je dat?
well eh furthermore they have my blood eh how do you call that? damped or something? or how do you call that?
 OF ze hebben bloed afgetapt.
they have drawn blood. [8.1]

The participant initiating a repair does not necessarily have to address the participant responsible for the mistake. The interpreter in the following example provided an incorrect rendition preceding the sequence below, because she misheard the word *loss* for *laws*. The officer, who noticed the mistake, did not ask the interpreter but instead the asylum seeker what the correct version should be. Note that the sequence originates from interview 15, the interview in which the interpreter had great difficulties understanding the asylum seeker's English.

- (6.29) OF mag ik even wat vragen tussendoor?
can I ask you a small question in between?
 IN/en may I ask you a question?
 OF zei u nu uw vader had... vader had geen mogelijkheid om om met de wet om te gaan? of met het verl+... om... mijn vader had geen mogelijkheid om met het verlies om te gaan? w+ wat...
did you just say your father had... father did not have a possibility to to deal with the law? or with the lo+... to... my father did not have a possibility to deal with the loss? wh+ what...
 IN/en what did you say? did you say that your father had no capacity to cope with the loss or to cope with the law?
 AS the loss.
 IN/en the laws of the country?
 AS the loss that he has suffered as an individual.
 IN/en the loss?

AS huhm. loss.
 IN/en ok. loss. allright. [15.1]

Directing his question to the asylum seeker may have been an attempt to save the interpreter's face, leaving it open who was to blame for the mistake, the asylum seeker or the interpreter. In order to save her own face, the interpreter explained to the asylum seeker why the officer asked the specific question, acknowledging her misinterpretation, leading to the following non-translated sequence. Similar face-saving activities in the context of asylum interviews are observed by Pöllabauer (2007:48-50).

(6.30) IN/en it was not very clear because I understood law.
 AS loss loss loss.
 IN/en with laws.
 AS no loss.
 IN/en allright loss. [15.1]

Another special repair is (6.31). The interpreter, hearing the officer's question, suspected that the officer had misinterpreted the earlier information. She did not translate the question but interfered, in an attempt to solve the presumed misunderstanding. When the officer did not agree that she misinterpreted the earlier information, the interpreter started the rendition anyway. However, she only translated the officer's first sentence, which contained the asylum seeker's information. This way she checked the information with the asylum seeker. He denied the statement, and then the issue was solved.

(6.31) OF ok. maar u v+ maar u zei toch ook van dat er ook douan+ of
 ts militairen op de douanepost werkten? dus wat was er dan anders? er
 waren altijd al militairen en nu waren er ook weer militairen. dus wat
 was er dan anders als normaal?
*ok. but you t+ but you did also say like that cust+ or militaries also
 worked at the customs post? so what was different then? there always
 had been militaries and now there were militaries again. so what was
 different than normal?*

ini IN/nl eh. eh dat heb ik ook niet gehoord heh dat er militairen bij de douane
 werkten.
*eh. eh well I did not hear that heh, that militaries worked at the
 customs.*

OF jawel dat heb ik gevraagd.
yes indeed that is what I asked.

IN/nl ja? ok.
 yes? ok.

IN/sw umesema kwamba wale wajeshi walikuwa wanatumika kwa kwa
 douane.
you have said that the militaries worked at the customs.

AS hawatumiki kwa douane.
 clar *they don't work at the customs.*

IN/nl ja. ze werken niet daar.
yes. they did not work there. [13.1]

The interpreter's intervention in (6.31) was not necessary in order for her to produce a rendition. However, pointing out the apparent mistake to the officer can be considered an action to save the officer's face (Hale 2004:204-205; Pöllabauer 2007:47-48). This does not work out, since the officer is convinced she is correct, and the interpreter has to convey the question to the asylum seeker after all.

The repair sequences in (6.29) and (6.31) show that not all repairs are – as a whole – part of the non-translated turns. However, the majority concerns sequences between either the officer and the interpreter or the asylum seeker and the interpreter. Consequently, mistakes remain generally unnoticed by the discourse participant who is not included in the sequence.

6.2.1.2. Repetition, reformulation and explanation of questions

Minimal responses, such as 'uhuhm' or 'ok', may be used to encourage a speaker to continue talking (Gavioli 2012:214; see also section 6.1.1.1). In a number of non-translated turns the interpreter made more effort to encourage the asylum seeker to elaborate on a specific answer, in order to come up with a satisfactory answer to an officer's question (cf. Baraldi 2012:301-306 for similar actions in medical encounters). The non-translated turns show that the interpreter frequently tried to get a better answer from the asylum seeker, in the parts with questions about the narrative and in some narratives as well. He does this by repeating, reformulating or explaining the officer's question.

The non-translated turns comprise 34 repetitions, reformulations and explanations of officers' questions, in 10 interviews. In the sequence below, the question in the first line – a rendition of the officer's question – was not answered satisfactorily. By repeating the question the interpreter directed the asylum seeker to give an additional answer.

- (6.32) IN/sw kuna maulizo mengine mengi wamekuuliza?
did they ask you many other questions?
 AS ni juu tu balikuwa banataka kujua.
it is only because they wanted to know.
 → IN/sw anakuuliza kuna maswali mengine wamekuuliza?
he asks you whether they have asked you other questions.
 [12.1]

The asylum seeker in (6.33) misunderstood the question. As a consequence his answer did not fit the officer's question. The interpreter reformulated the question in order to get a correct answer.

- (6.33) OF waar was die controlepost of die douanepost waar u altijd naartoe
 ging?
where was that checkpoint or that border post where you used to go to?
 IN/sw eeh hapo ku douane ni fasi gani?
at the customs which place is that?
 AS ni fasi ya mzigo.
it is a place for goods.

- IN/sw fasi fasi mji au ni nini fasi gani?
a place in the city or what kind of place is it?
 AS eeh Zzz.
 IN/nl dat is... dat is in Zzz.
that is... that is in Zzz. [13.1]

The interpreter in (6.34) interrupted the asylum seeker the moment she suspected the answer would not fit the question. She explained the context of the question and repeated the question.

- (6.34) OF wie woonde er toen?
who lived there then?
 IN/en who was staying there? in the house?
 AS I'm not living there. people...
 → IN/en no no. eh the house where eh the auntie was staying with your
 daughter. you say you went there. you didn't find them there.
 AS yeah.
 IN/en but who was staying there in the house? [14.2]

By repeating, reformulating or explaining the question the interpreter wants to optimise the asylum seeker's contribution. This aim is similar to what the interpreter tries to accomplish in the category ii and iii sequences from chapter 5. Asking a question again instead of providing a rendition of the non-fitting answer can be seen as an act in the interest of both the asylum seeker and the officer, justified from the viewpoint of communication and the higher aim of the interview, to get sufficient information about the asylum seeker's motives for asking asylum. It saves the officer an extra question and gives the asylum seeker the opportunity to reformulate his answer without interference from the officer. Nevertheless, by doing so the interpreter formally acts beyond his role as mediator. Furthermore, the exact nature of the interpreter's action remains inaccessible for the officer, which causes loss of control, but there is no evidence that this is considered problematic by the participants, a finding corroborated by Hale (2004:204-208).

This applies to the following example as well, in which the interpreter elaborated on a question from the officer, not with the aim to get a better answer from the asylum seeker but in order to make the asylum seeker understand what the officer explained to her. Preceding to (6.35), the officer had told the asylum seeker that the IND would check whether the asylum seeker's fingerprints were present at another European authority. If so, the asylum procedure would be proceeded in that other country. (6.35) starts with the next turn in which the officer asked if that was understood.

- (6.35) OF begrijpt mevrouw wat ik daarmee bedoel?
does Madam understand what I mean by that?
 IN/fr est-ce que vous comprenez un tout petit peu ce que je...
do you understand a bit what I...
 AS vous dites que j'ai déjà déposé les empreintes dans un autre pays.
you are saying that I already have registered my fingerprints in another country.

- IN/fr non c'est-à-dire... admettons que l'on...que lors de recherches
no that is to say... suppose that we... that during research
- AS uuhm.
- IN/fr on retrouve on retrouve que vous ayez été d'abord été dans un autre
 pays. que vous ayez déjà fait une demande d'asile dans un autre pays.
we find we find that you have been abroad been in another country.
that you have already requested asylum in another country.

[4.2]

From the asylum seeker's response the interpreter read that she had not completely understood what the officer meant. Instead of providing a rendition of the asylum seeker's response the interpreter explained this step of the procedure herself, on the basis of the officer's prior explanation and her own knowledge about the topic. This is similar to the situation in which a clarification question by the asylum seeker is answered by the interpreter instead of conveyed to the officer. In such cases the interpreter responds in the role of principal, instead of remaining in his default role of animator (cf. Nakane 2009:11-14; Hale 2004:194-198).

The non-translated turns also comprise two examples, in two interviews, of the interpreter asking the officer for permission to ask an additional question. By doing so, he explicitly respects his role as mediator and the officer as a representative of the organisation providing the interpreting assignments. This is illustrated by (6.36), in which the interpreter wants a better explanation from the asylum seeker.

- (6.36) IN/nl mag ik even vragen om het nog beter uit te leggen want ik kom er niet
 helemaal uit.
may I just ask to explain it even better because I don't get it all.

[9.1]

6.2.1.3. Discussing the meaning of a turn

Among the non-translated turns I found 22 sequences, in six interviews, in which the interpreter and the primary speakers discuss the meaning of (a part of) a turn produced by one of the primary speakers. In the sequence in (6.37), for instance, the interpreter and the officer talked about the previous turn by the asylum seeker.

- (6.37) IN/nl ik denk dat hij bedoelt..
I think that he means...
- OF bij het centrum moest melden ja.
had to report at the center yes.
- IN/nl bij het centrum moest melden.
had to report at the center.
- OF uuhm uuhm. [10.1]

Such sequences are similar to clarification sequences in the sense that there is a trouble source for which a clarification is offered, with the aim to come to a better understanding. But unlike clarification sequences, the clarification is not provided by one discourse participant but rather the result of a discussion by more than one

participant. Most of the time two participants are involved, either the interpreter and the asylum seeker or the interpreter and the officer. In some cases, however, all participants, are involved, as in the sequence in (6.38). In this example the asylum seeker used a word of which the interpreter did not know what kind of object was meant by it. The meaning was mainly discussed by the asylum seeker and the interpreter, but the officer also contributed.

- (6.38) AS but this security officer made a report that they stole a cooking gas.
 cooking gas. you know cooking gas?
 IN/en cooking gas?
 AS the gas you use to cook. the the c+ xxx where you cook.
 OF gasfles mischien.
gas bottle maybe.
 AS you put it on. you strike a match.
 IN/en yes.
 AS yeah. so in you know xxx
 IN/nl een gascomfort?
a gas stove?
 IN/en so this is the thing that you put your pots and pans on?
 AS yeah. yeah.
 IN/en a cook.
 IN/nl ja gascomfort zouden wij denk ik zeggen.
yes gas stove we would say I guess.
 AS yeah cooker. you can also call it cooker.
 IN/en a cooker?
 AS yes.
 IN/en a gas cooker.
 AS gas cooker. [10.2]

Discussing a turn does not always lead to a clarification. The following sequence is another example from the problematic interview 15. The interpreter did not know how to provide a rendition for a certain court. The officer, who had a good understanding of English, followed the discussion between asylum seeker and interpreter and decided to use the English version.

- (6.39) AS military general court martial.
 IN/nl ze hadden hen eh beschuldigd voor de interne eh...
they had accused them eh in the internal eh...
 IN/en the internal military court?
 AS eh military general court martial.
 IN/en martial?
 AS eh they call it... it's a it's a military court.
 IN/en and martial is the name?
 AS eh general military court martial. general.
 IN/en internal?
 AS mili+ military. court.

- IN/nl de algemene militaire
the general military
- AS court. martial.
- IN/nl rechtbank.
court.
- OF ja ik neem het gewoon in het Engels over.
yes I just leave it in English.
[...]
- IN/nl dat is het beste.
that the best thing to do. [15.2]

The officers' involvement in sequences such as (6.38) and (6.39) is possible because of their understanding of English (see also sections 6.2.2.2. and 6.2.2.3). In these cases none of the participants were excluded from the discourse.

Not only asylum seekers' turns are in need of discussion. In the following sequence, for instance, the interpreter tried to find out whether the asylum seeker had understood the officer's question correctly. The topic at this point in discourse are the circumstances of the murder on the asylum seeker's father. The asylum seeker seemed to have been contradicting himself, first telling that there was light during the murder, then saying that the light was not on. His answer to the officer's follow-up question whether there was electric light in the house had been unclear too. The interpreter wanted to make sure that the asylum seeker understood what electricity was and took the liberty to explain the subject. The dialogue in (6.40) is only part of the explanation. Eventually, the explanation led to a statement of the asylum seeker, saying that the lamp in question used petrol and did not burn during the murder.¹³⁸ Following the sequence with the asylum seeker in the interpreter informed the officer in short about the content of the sequence, involving him in the discourse again.

- (6.40) AS siyo umeme wa hivi.
not this kind of electricity.
- AM xxx.
- IN/sw ni nini Kiswahili tunachozungumza kiko tofauti sijui.
is the Swahili that we are speaking different? I don't know.
- AS nakuelewa juu...
I understand you...
- IN/sw ume+ umeme ni huyu taa ni taa ya mafuta unasikia?
elec+ electricity is this. a lamp is a lamp that uses oil you understand?
- AS ya kumwangaza.
it gives light.
- IN/sw ya kumwangaza.
to brighten.

¹³⁸ One may wonder whether the explanation about electricity was really necessary. The asylum seeker does not make the impression of being ignorant. His contradictory statements may very well be a consequence of a gap in his asylum narrative.

- AS ndiyo.
yes.
- IN/sw lakini ukisema umeme umeme ni huu. ni [in French] *courant*.
but if you say electricity, this is the electricity. it is [in French]
electricity.
- AS ndiyo.
yes.
[...]
- IN/nl ok ik vertel hem is verschil tussen lampenolie heh
ok I'm telling him there is a difference between lamp oil heh
- OF uhuhm.
- IN/nl met olie. en stroom.
with oil. and electricity.
- OF uhuhm.
- IN/nl en ik heb stroom duidelijk gezegd.
and I said electricity clearly. [12.2]

6.2.2. Divergent participation frameworks

Among the non-translated turns we find actions leading to a deviation from the default turn-taking patterns. Such a deviation is initiated by one participant relating to another participant in a different way, i.e. choosing a different participation framework. This is the case in the instances of direct communication, in which the primary speakers respond to each other without the interpreter's mediation. This is possible when words are used of a (more or less) language neutral character, like names and small words such as *ok*. Language neutral utterances are discussed in section 6.2.2.1. Another possibility occurs when at least one of the primary speakers has (partial) command over the other primary speaker's language, as discussed in sections 6.2.2.2. and 6.2.2.3. Furthermore, we find instances of the officer relating in a different way to the interpreter, by requesting actions from the interpreter other than translating. These concern, for instance, requests for explaining the interpreter's role to the asylum seeker. The officer's requests for such actions are discussed in section 6.2.2.4.

6.2.2.1. Understanding language neutral content

In this section I will discuss the occurrences of (more or less) language neutral content such as proper names and small words like 'ok' and 'yes' contributing to the content of the discourse, part of the non-translated turns.

The small words discussed here should be distinguished from backchannels, i.e. minimal responses to acknowledge the content of another participant's turn (Gavioli 2012:205; Duncan & Fiske 1977:202-203). The following examples show how I distinguished the small words contributing to the content of the discourse from backchannels. In (6.41) 'ok' is used as a backchannel. By saying *ni sawa* the asylum seeker expressed that he received the officer's information through the interpreter.

- (6.41) IN/sw na wakafika kupata mwanga kidogo wakasema ya kuwa wewe hautoki Burundi. wanapata shaka.
and once they reached some kind of conclusion they thought that you do not come from Burundi. they are doubting.
- AS ni sawa.
ok. [12.1]

In their other function small words contribute to the content of the discourse, as a confirmative or negative response to a turn. This is illustrated by (6.42).

- (6.42) OF tijdens de afwezigheid van uw vader zijn mensen bij u thuis geweest die naar uw vader vroegen.
during your father's absence there have been people at your home who asked for your father.
- IN/sw alafu kuna watu walifika nyumbani kumufata baba yako?
after that people came to your home to look for your father?
- AS ni sawa.
that's right. [12.1]

In this sequence *ni sawa* is not an acknowledgement of the previous turn, but rather a confirmation of the content: the asylum seeker tells the officer that the information is correct.

The two functions of the small words can be distinguished by replacing the expression by a negation. In (6.41) this is not possible, showing that we are dealing with a discourse management item. In (6.42), however, using a negation leads to a denial of the information instead of a confirmation. *Ni sawa* in this example contributes to the content of the discourse.

The non-translated turns comprise 109 instances, in all 14 interviews, of small words contributing to the content of the discourse, occurring in all interviews. Small words are often understood without rendition (Englund Dimitrova 1997:151/158; Gavioli 2012:218). Indeed, I did not find any evidence that the small words were not understood without rendition, regardless the language they originated from. The following example illustrates that the officer has understood the asylum seeker's response in Swahili.

- (6.43) IN/sw [...] wamekufanyizia rapoti hii rapoti umesomewa umeisomewa na mtu na mtu anakusaidia kuisoma?
vert [...] they have prepared your report. has anyone read it for you or has anybody helped you to read it?
- AS hapana.
no.
- OF nee? ik heb wel een correctie en aanvulling gekregen. [...] *no? I did receive a correction and an addition. [...]* [13.1]

The question is why this kind of words can be understood without a rendition, even in exotic languages such as Swahili. This can be explained as follows. First, because of the high frequency of the small words and their distinctive use (at the start of a sentence or

as an independent turn), discourse participants are likely to be able to recognise them. Furthermore, participants will be able to deduct the meaning of the small words by making use of the intonation or other paralinguistic cues, and from the participant's non-verbal behaviour, such as gestures and facial expression. When, for instance, the asylum seeker's response in a discourse situation such as (6.43) above is accompanied by an increased volume and frowned eyebrows, one can assume that he disagrees with the content of the turn he responds to, even without understanding the actual words.¹³⁹

In the data I have found some discourse parts that show that non-verbal behaviour does not only *support* the discourse but is also used *instead of* verbal communication in some cases. Two examples are given in (6.44) and (6.45).

- (6.44) OF van het eerste gesprek dat u heeft gehad heh is een gehoor heh een rapport gemaakt. dat heeft u gekregen. is dat met u doorgenomen?
of the first interview that you have had heh a hearing heh a report has been made. you have received that. did you go through it with someone?
- IN/fr bon ça c'est le premier interrogatoire que tu as fait à Ter Apel. est-ce que quelqu'un t'a traduit on t'a dit ce qui est écrit dedans?
well that is the first interview that you have had in Ter Apel. did someone translate for you did they tell you was has been written inside?
- IN/nl nee.
no. [5.1]
- (6.45) OF en hoeveel moesten uw ouders voor huur betalen?
and how much did your parents have to pay for rent?
- IN/fr combien c'était le loyer que vous payiez xxx?
how much was the rent that you pay xxx?
- IN/nl weet ik niet.
I don't know. [5.1]

In these examples there was no verbal turn by the asylum seeker. However, the interpreter came up with a response to the officer's question. This suggests that the asylum seeker's response was non-verbal. He may have shaken his head in (6.44) and shrugged his shoulders in (6.45). The non-verbal behaviour is translated into a verbal response by the interpreter.

The occurrence of small words without a rendition is a common phenomenon in discourse. In the non-translated turns the discourse participants were able to handle the occurring cases without problems. For the interpreter, providing a rendition for the primary speakers' small words was unnecessary in these cases.

Proper names are another instance of language neutral content. This is illustrated by (6.46), in which the asylum seeker addressed the officer directly, responding to the

¹³⁹ We cannot presume that paralinguistic cues and non-verbal behaviour are equal in all languages. In some cultures, for instance, head shaking is used as a gesture for affirmation. The officers, however, may have experienced the responses of different nationalities in the different interviews they have taken.

incorrect name of a seminar mentioned by the officer. The interpreter repeated the asylum seeker's turn.

- (6.46) OF Pan-American seminar.
 AS Pan-African.
 IN/en Pan-African.
 OF so+ ach sorry. [*laughing*] [15.3]

Leaving out a rendition for the small words does not exclude any of the discourse participants from the discourse.

6.2.2.2. *Passive knowledge of the other language*

The non-translated turns contain more turns that remain without a rendition because the turns (appear to) have been understood in the original language by the other primary speaker. For instance, in example (6.47) the interaction between the asylum seeker and the officer goes without intervention of the interpreter. The interpreter only joins the discourse again after the second turn of the asylum seeker.

- (6.47) AS that's that's the only thing which is was lacking.
 OF maar het kind staat er wel in.
but the child is indeed included.
 AS ok that is it. that's it. I was thinking it was not there that day. xxx
 shortly xxx. so.
 IN/nl eh nou ik dacht dat het er niet in stond maar het blijkt er nu wel in te
 staan.
*eh well I thought that it was not included but now it turns out to be
 there after all.* [10.1]

In the interview from which this example is taken, the officer has a good knowledge of English and the asylum seeker seems to have at least some knowledge of Dutch, which made direct communication possible. I have found 63 instances of direct communication, in six interviews, of which the majority was found in the English language interviews. The occurrence of direct communication follows from an initiative of one of the primary speakers to respond directly to a turn by another primary speaker without an interpreter's intervention. Such a direct response is possible in case the responding primary speaker has at least a partial command of the other speaker's language.

The cases of direct communication showed that some of the asylum seekers had at least a passive knowledge of Dutch. This did not only concern English speaking asylum seekers – Dutch and English are relatively close related languages – but also a French and a Somali speaking asylum seeker. Relevant examples are provided in (6.48), (6.49) and (6.50).

- (6.48) OF gaat het goed?
are you doing fine?
 AS yeah. [14.2]

- (6.49) IN/nl en dus ja mijn man werkte voor de president Lissouba. hij was [in French] *chef de la garde*. ja dus dat is een...
and so yes my husband worked for the president Lissouba. he was [in French] chef de la garde. yes so that is a...
- AS chef de l'escadron de protection du président l'escarg+ hmm
 l'escadron de protection disons leur grade de de patrouille... c'est lui qui gardait... la garde rapprochée du président c'était le chef de la garde
protection commandant of the president squad+ hmm the protection squadron, let's say their rank of of patrol... it is him who guarded... the guard close to the president, that was the head of the guard.
- IN/nl oh ja. oh ja. ja. hij was dus de chef van de eh beveiligingsdienst van de president.
oh yes. oh yes. yes. so he was the head of the eh security service of the president. [4.2]
- (6.50) OF en die andere?
and the other one?
- AS kuwa kale na waxaa la dhahaayay Zzz.
the other one was called Zzz.
- IN/nl nou Zzz. die andere heet Zzz.
well Zzz. the other one is called Zzz. [8.1]

Command of the other language in the interview can help to detect mistakes. This is illustrated by the officers in (6.51) and (6.52). (6.51) concerns a self-correction: the officer mentioned an incorrect year in his question. He noticed his mistake while listening to the asylum seeker's answer. It is not likely that he understood every word she was saying, since he indicated that he could understand less than 50 per cent of the French spoken during the interview. However, he probably picked up some of the words and the paralinguistic cues accompanying the words, and on the basis of this he corrected himself.

- (6.51) OF eh. u bent eind 99 teruggekeerd naar Zzz. bij wie verbleef u toen?
eh. you returned to Zzz at the end of 99. who were you staying with at that time?
- IN/fr fin 99 vous êtes retournés à Zzz n'est-ce pas?
at the end of 99 you have returned to Zzz, didn't you?
- AS non j'étais déjà à Zzz.
no I already was in Zzz.
- IN/nl ik was...
 I was...
- AS quand on avait fui à Yyy c'est là dans Zzz.
when we had fled to Yyy, that is there in Zzz.
- IN huhm.
- AS quand j'étais... quand mon mari...
when I was... when my husband...

OF of eind eh 97.
or at the end of eh 97. [4.3]

In (6.52), already discussed in section 6.2.1, the interpreter made a mistake in the rendition of a turn by the asylum seeker: she missed the negation. The officer's question following the rendition shows that he must have heard the original turn correctly. His question leads to a correction of the rendition.

(6.52) AS (it's not) every day.
 ts IN/nl het is e+ elke dag.
it is e+ every day.
 ini OF niet elke dag?
not every day?
 AS yeah.
 OF wel elke dag?
indeed every day?
 AS not every day.
 IN huhm?
 AS not every day (they give).
 clar IN/nl niet niet elke dag.
not not every day. [14.1]

In interview 15 the communication between the asylum seeker and the interpreter is troubled, because of the interpreter's problems with the asylum seeker's Ugandese accent in English (see also section 5.2.3). In this interview the officer applied his command of the English language to improve the progress of the interview. This is illustrated by the sequence in (6.53). The sequence starts with a clarification sequence initiated by the interpreter. The officer's response to the clarification is a signal for the interpreter that he understood what had been said. Consequently, the interpreter did not provide a rendition.

(6.53) IN/en so he ask you to withdraw
 AS yeah.
 IN/en from the contest.
 AS from the contest.
 IN/nl yeah.
 AS huhm.
 IN/en from becoming eh
 AS area member of parliament.
 IN/en a member... yeah. a member of parliament.
 AS wonderful.
 → OF ok.
 IN ok.
 → OF ja. duidelijk ja.
yes. clear yes. [15.1]

Later in the same interview the interpreter explicitly made use of the officer's command of English. In (6.54) she did not provide a rendition of the previous turn by the asylum seeker. Instead, she asked the officer what he had come up with himself.

- (6.54) IN/nl ok nou in goed Nederlands. eh ok w+ wat heb je er al van opgeschreven?
ok well in good Dutch. eh ok wh+ what did you already write down?
- OF ik heb om jonge leiders als ik komma die prominent waren geworden komma zo af te schilderen en te associëren met de PRA
I have: depicting young leaders like me who had become prominent in such a way and associating them with the PRA
- IN/nl ja.
yes.
- OF werd ook doctor Besigye in diskrediet gebracht.
did also bring discredit upon doctor Besigye.
- IN/nl ja.
yes.
- OF zeg maar.
like that.
- IN/nl die werd nu gezien...
he was now seen...
- OF zo...
that's how...
- IN/nl ja?
yes?
- OF zo zouden de mensen hem nu zien. die mensen zouden hem nu zien als een foute persoon die mensen die jonge mensen tot rebellie bracht.
that's how the people would see him now. those people would see him now as a bad person who would bring people young people to rebellion.
- IN/nl ja.
yes. [15.2]

In this sequence the roles are reversed: the officer provides the rendition and the interpreter acknowledges the rendition by providing some feedback signals. I did not find any occurrences of such an inversion of roles in other interviews. In interview 10 I did find cases in which the officer provided a rendition before the interpreter did, as illustrated by (6.55), and in which the interpreter explicitly made use of the officer's knowledge of the client language, as in (6.56). In the latter sequence, the interpreter asked the officer to approve the rendition of his own turn. Although this is not an example of direct communication between the primary speakers, it does show the officer's command of the client language.

- (6.55) AS I'm living like a desolated person in the street. some people will help me.
- OF desolaat persoon heb ik er even van gemaakt.
desolate person, that's what I made of it for now.

- IN/nl ja ja.
yes yes.
- OF xxx.
- IN/nl of wanhopig. nou...
or desperate. well... [10.4]
- (6.56) IN/nl zo mag ik het toch zeggen heh?
I can put it like that, right? [10.1]

With few exceptions, the interpreter is not the instigator of direct communication. In general, instances of direct communication are caused by a primary speaker with a (partial) command of the other primary speaker's language. The fact that an interpreter does not fulfil his prescribed role as mediator does not seem to have consequences for the course of the discourse in the observed cases. However, there is a risk – greater than in the cases concerning small words (discussed in section 6.3.1) – that a primary speaker does not fully catch the meaning or intention of an untranslated turn, due to a too limited command of the other language.

6.2.2.3. Use of the client language by the officer

The previous section already showed how an officer can make use of his knowledge of the client language. In three English language interviews, interviews 10, 14 and 15, the officers went one step further. Among the non-translated turns I have found 11 instances of the officer speaking English. An example from all three interviews is provided below.

- (6.57) OF ja vertel maar
yes. tell me.
- IN ok.
- OF wat er gebeurde of hoe ging het of wat dan ook.
what happened or how did it go or whatever.
- IN/en can you tell him eh how this
- OF of [in English] continue.
or [in English] continue.
- IN/en went about? [10.1]
- (6.58) AS it was not every day.
- OF [in English] every week?
- AS yeah.
- OF [in English] every week.
- AS yeah. [14.2]
- (6.59) OF ik heb het hoor. ik heb het.
I have got it you know. I have got it.
- IN/en I have...
- OF [in English] I have it.
- AS you have it. Makerere University.
- IN xxx. Makerere. [15.1]

In general, in the cases in which the officer spoke English, the interpreter did not have to provide a rendition for the asylum seeker. However, in some cases it was still necessary for the interpreter to intervene. Not to provide a rendition in Dutch, but to repeat or reformulate the officer's turn in the right variety of English to make the asylum seeker understand. In (6.60) we see an example in which the asylum seeker only responded to officer's question after the interpreter had reformulated it.

- (6.60) OF ok. [in English] did you have the card after 2001 in your own possession?
 IN/en in 2001
 AS uhuhm.
 IN/en did you have the card on you? [14.2]

The officer is supposed to speak the institutional language and not the client language (see section 1.3.3). When the officer, however, masters the client language, it is not unexpected that he now and then – consciously or unconsciously – switches to the other language. As a consequence, he sidelines the interpreter in such cases. What the interpreter can do is to monitor the discourse between the asylum seeker and the officer and to intervene when necessary.

6.2.2.4. Officer giving instructions to the interpreter

It is not uncommon that during the introduction the officer orders the interpreter to go through some data from the first interview with the asylum seeker. In two of the 14 interviews this situation occurred. Furthermore, the officer might request other things, such as to explain about the interpreter's role. By transferring these tasks, the officer puts part of his own responsibility in the hands of the interpreter. Among the non-translated turns I found 13 sequences relating to such situations, all occurring in the introductions – the part of the interview in which the course of the interview is explained to the asylum seeker – illustrated by the two examples below. In (6.61) the officer lets the interpreter get the personal information concerning a certain family member from the asylum seeker.

- (6.61) OF geboor+. ja u heeft het uitgelegd? de geboorte+.
bir+. yes did you explain it? the birth+.
 IN/nl ja.
yes.
 OF ja? de geboortedatum xxx.
yes? the date of birth xxx.
 IN/fr date de naissance ou année de naissance dans la mesure où tu sais eeh et les lieux de naissance.
date of birth or year of birth insofar as you know eh and the places of birth.
 OF als u het weet.
if you know it.
 IN hm.

- IN/nl wat staat er nog meer bij?
what else is there?
- OF uhm. geboortedatum geboorteplaats geboorteland nationaliteit
 religie. dat is het zo'n beetje.
*uhm. date of birth place of birth land of birth nationality religion. that's
 about it.* [2.1]

In (6.62) the officer asked the interpreter to explain about her role in the interview.

- (6.62) OF ok. uhm. zou u uw eigen rol als tolk willen uitleggen alstublieft?
ok. uhm. could you please explain your own role as an interpreter?
- IN/sw mimi ni mtafsiriaji wa lugha. mimi siyo mtu wa serikali sina uhusiano
 na serikali. nakuja tu kwa ajili ya kutafsiri. sina nguvu ya kuamua kitu
 chochote uhn.
*I am an interpreter. I am not somebody from the authorities. I am not
 related to the authorities. I only come to interpret. I do not have the
 power to take decisions.* [9.1]

The examples above show a collaborative action of the officer and the interpreter, initiated by the officer to achieve coordination (Baraldi & Gavioli 2012:7; Wadensjö 1998:282): instead of taking action himself, the officer asks the interpreter to take action, diverging from the default participation framework, and willingly causing a shift in responsibility. Consequently, the interpreter, coerced in taking a part of the officer's role, goes beyond his role of mediator.

6.2.3. Meta-comments

The non-translated turns include meta-comments on different aspects of the discourse. In section 6.2.3.1, we find comments directly related to the course of the communication, discussing, for instance, turn-taking or language issues. Furthermore, there are meta-comments related to practical and social aspects of the discourse situation, such as comments on note-taking, and getting coffee. These are discussed in section 6.2.3.2. As other non-translated turns, the majority of the meta-comments remained inaccessible for the discourse participant excluded from the discourse, although in a number of cases their content could be more or less inferred from the context.

6.2.3.1. *The course of the communication*

45 turns and sequences of the non-translated turns, in 12 interviews, have a function in making (possible) impediments visible in the course of the communication. This kind of meta-talk frequently occurs in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse (Böser 2013:123-125). In the majority of the cases this type of turns and sequences are produced by the interpreter and/or the officer. They comment, for instance, on the alternation in turn-taking, as in example (6.63).

- (6.63) IN/nl ja maar ik ben... ik was nog niet klaar met dat dat vorige stuk.
yes but I am... I was not ready yet with that that last part.
 OF nou ja ik wacht even. u stopte dus ik denk nou eh nou kan ik het rustig
 zeggen.
*well yes I just wait. you stopped so I think well eh now I have the chance
 to say it.* [1.1]

In (6.64) we see an example of the interpreter adding to the officer's explanation concerning the course of the interview, during the interview's introduction. The interpreter added an extra instruction concerning her own role, which was not mentioned by the officer. The use of *me*, referring to the interpreter, indicates a changed participation framework.

- (6.64) IN/fr et tu me laisses traduire aussi entretemps pour que ça soit noté eeh.
and meanwhile you also let me translate so that it will be written down.
 AS bien sûr.
of course. [2.1]

As mentioned before, a limited language comprehension can stand in the way of a good communication (see section 5.2). Addressing a language issue may help to solve it, or at least has the function of making the issue noticed. In (6.65) we see the interpreter exploring the asylum seeker's knowledge of languages to come to an optimal understanding between the two of them.

- (6.65) IN/sw unasikia Kiswaili vizuri unazungumza Kingereza au Kifaransa?
do you understand Swahili well? do you speak English or French?
 AS Kifaransa ni kidogo sana.
very little French.
 IN/sw Kifaransa kidogo? nizungumze kidogo Kifaransa?
a little French? may I speak French?
 AS kidogo sana.
a very little bit.
 IN/sw kidogo.
a bit. [12.2]

In (6.66) the interpreter made a comment on the asylum seeker's comprehension of English. She felt it was necessary to note that sometimes Liberian English was used, because of the recording of the interview.

- (6.66) IN/nl eh soms als ik Engels spreek dan verstaat zij niet dus
eh sometimes when I speak English then she does not understand so
 OF nee.
no.
 IN/nl je moet de Liberiaanse Engelse zeggen.
you have to say Liberian English.
 OF ja.
yes.

- IN/nl weet u. voor de opname.
you know. for the recording.
- OF was tijdens het vorige gehoor is daar ook al eh een opmerking over
gemaakt.
was already noted during the previous interview.
- IN/nl ja.
yes. [14.1]

During the discourse something may happen outside the context of the interview, which is of influence on the course of the communication. In the interview I found several occasions in which the interpreter's phone started ringing.¹⁴⁰ This led to sequences such as (6.67), in which the interpreter apologised for the interruption.

- (6.67) IN/sw samahani
I'm sorry
- IN/nl ik zal hem wel even uit+... ik xxx. kijken of ik het geluid uit kan zetten
en alleen de trilton. dat is misschien xxx...
*I will just put it o+... I xxx. let's see if I can put off the sound and only the
vibrating alert. that is maybe xxx...*
- OF huhm.
- IN/sw samahani inatusumbua sana xxx endelea samahani.
I'm sorry it is very disturbing for us xxx continue. I'm sorry. [9.1]

We also find turns in which the interpreter informs one of the discourse participants what has been said between the interpreter and the other discourse participant. In such cases a prior coordinating contribution is made transparent for the discourse participant not involved in the preceding sequence. This is illustrated by (6.68). Most coordinating contributions, however, remain opaque for the not involved participant.

- (6.68) IN/nl ok. ik zeg je tegen meneer. ik vroeg of eh of hij dat niet erg vindt want
ja
ok. I say 'you'¹⁴¹ to Mister. I asked if eh if he wouldn't mind because yes
- OF ok ja.
ok yes.
- IN/nl dat is een beetje gebruikelijk...
that is kind of custom... [2.1]

In three cases, in two interviews, the interpreter commented on the content of a turn from the asylum seekers. This is illustrated by the two sequences below. In both turns the interpreter let the officer know that the asylum seeker had come to a point in his narrative that was no longer relevant for the interview's purpose. In (6.69) the officer

¹⁴⁰ Interpreters are allowed to keep their phones on during the interview, so that they can be reached for other assignments (IND's *Code of conduct interpreters*, see section 1.2.3).

¹⁴¹ In French and Dutch a distinction is made between an informal second person single pronoun (*tu* in French and *je* in Dutch) and a formal second person single pronoun (*vous* in French and *u* in Dutch).

left the comment for what it was and asked for the rendition. In (6.70) on the other hand, the officer acted in response to the comment and interrupted the asylum seeker's narrative. These examples show that not all officers respond to initiatives by the interpreter in the same way.

- (6.69) IN/nl hij gaat nu naar de reis. dus die man kwam. hij heeft mij eh
now he continues with the journey. so that man came. he has eh
 OF uhuhm.
 IN/nl gevraagd om met hem te te gaan. ik zei dat misschien moet je dat
 melden. (dus dat) de reis is niet meer de reden.
*asked me to go with him. I said that maybe you have to report that. (so
 that) the journey is no longer the reason.*
 OF nou goed maar het is wel goed eh. vertaalt u het alstublieft.
well alright but it is just fine eh. will you please translate?
 [12.1]
- (6.70) IN/nl ja hij vertelt nu het eerste gehoor. ik weet niet of je dat eh...
yes now he tells the first interview. I do not know whether you eh...
 OF ja. nee. nee. sorry dat ik u even onderbreek.
yes. no. no. sorry that I interrupt you.
 [5.1]

6.2.3.2. Practical and social comments

The 69 remaining instances, from eight interviews, concern practical and social aspects of communication which had a more general function in optimising the discourse: they make the communication run more smoothly. These comments include, for instance, turns in which the discourse participants express thanks, such as in (6.71), in which the interpreter had handed over a list of names to the officer:

- (6.71) OF Zzz. dank u wel.
Zzz. thank you.
 IN/nl alstublieft.
you're welcome.
 [12.3]

A number of practical meta-comments follow from the need to make notes. They primarily contain requests by the interpreter for writing down something, as in the following example:

- (6.72) IN/en when you say a name you write that. [1.1]

Another practical matter discussed in the non-translated turns is the time that the interview is taking. In (6.73) the interpreter comments on the fact that the interview is taking too long. This kind of comments illustrates the time pressure participants may experience in the interviews.

- (6.73) IN/nl ik heb het 5 voor 4. want ik kom echt in de problemen straks.
my watch tells me it's 5 to 4. because I'm really going to get in trouble.
 OF ja ok. momentje hoor.
yes ok. just a moment.

IN/nl	omdat mijn oppas die moet weg. <i>because of my babysit who has to leave.</i>	
OF	ja momentje hoor. ik zal het zo afsluiten. <i>yes. just a moment. I will finish right away.</i>	[15.4]

6.3. Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the occurrence of the 684 instances of non-translated turns. The non-translated turns showed the interpreters' active presence in the discourse as a discourse participant rather than as an interpreter. As expected on the basis of the studies discussed in chapter 2, most non-translated turns could be characterised as coordinating activities. Coordinating activities aim at optimising communication. By definition, coordinating activities do not show a balance between the relation and the communication norm: by using the devices and strategies discussed in this chapter an interpreter primarily conforms to the communication norm, whereas the influence of the relation norm is less prominent.

The interpreters and the officers were most active in coordinating, the asylum seekers were of little influence in the occurrence of non-translated turns due to their position in the discourse: they do not have a leading or mediating role in the interview, like the officers and the interpreters (.

The analysis showed that the interpreters' coordinating contributions cannot be considered successful in all cases. The balance between the interpreters' translating activities and his discourse coordinating activities (Wadensjö 1998; Russell 2002) was not always at equilibrium: coordination took place in a number of cases at the expense of providing renditions. This especially applies to coordinating activities leading to a loss of information for the discourse participant not involved in the activity. In such coordinating activities the absence of a rendition may streamline the discourse but at the same time disadvantages a primary speaker. I argued that an interpreter may decide to leave out a rendition for different reasons. In the first place, the turn's position in the turn-taking pattern plays a role: if the turn does not fit in the active turn-taking pattern, a rendition is likely to be discarded. Furthermore, an interpreter takes the relevance of a turn into consideration: a part of the turns left without a rendition concerned repetitions information or information considered redundant or irrelevant otherwise.

In general, officers' turns remain just as easily without a rendition as asylum seekers' turns. There is little evidence that the officer's authority as representative of the institution influences an interpreter's decision to leave out an asylum seeker's turn in favour of an officer's turn.

As pointed out by Hale (2004), the absence of renditions creates the problem that the receiving primary speaker is disadvantaged since turns without a rendition remain inaccessible to him. The other primary speaker cannot judge the relevance of a turn for himself, but instead has to rely on the interpreter's judgement. The interviews, though, did not show any evidence that the primary speakers experienced the absence of a rendition in the occurring cases as a problem, an observation also made by Hale (2004).

This could be an indication that either the absence remained unnoticed or the primary speakers indeed trusted the interpreters' judgement. A third possibility is that the primary speakers did experience the absence of a rendition as a disadvantage, but did not object during the interview, for instance, in case the primary speaker is an asylum seeker, because of his position in the discourse.

Coordinating activities have shown to be unsuccessful for other reasons. In case of interview 15, which is – as discussed extensively in chapter 5 – an exceptional interview with regard to the hampered communication between the interpreter and the asylum seeker, we have seen non-translated turns in which the interpreter commented on a misunderstanding – for which the interpreter was responsible and which was solved by a repair initiated by the officer. Although commenting on turns can certainly contribute to the understanding of what has been said, this specific comment rather aimed at saving the interpreter's face than contributed to an optimised discourse. Similar face-saving strategies have been observed by Pöllabauer (2007).

Two main categories have been distinguished in the non-translated turns: coordinating activities contributing to turn-taking and to optimising communication. Although non-translated turns occurred in all interviews and in every part of the interviews, some categories of the non-translated turns were more prominently present in specific interviews or interview parts. Officers' requests to interpreters concerning explaining the asylum seeker procedural aspects of the interview are only found in the introductions. The narratives showed the highest number of continuers, directed towards the asylum seeker, which is in line with the character of this interview part, in which the asylum seeker is the main primary speaker. The parts with questions about the narrative contain relatively many left out renditions following from overlapping and successive turns. This can be related to the turn-taking pattern: in the parts with questions about the narrative, consisting of question and answer sequences, the dominating turn-taking pattern is more complex – i.e. involving more discourse participants – than in the other interview parts, showing a pattern with primarily one primary speaker talking. A more complex turn-taking pattern gives rise to more competition in turn-taking (Sacks et al. 1974:712-713), which is reflected in a relatively high number of overlapping and successive turns.

The analysis of the non-translated turns showed that the interviews that were already marked in the introduction of this chapter on the basis of the data in tables 6.1. to 6.3, indeed were special, for different reasons. In the first place interview 10. In this lengthy interview, the asylum seeker was an elaborate speaker, who easily got carried away telling his story. The relatively many coordinating activities helped him to stay focussed, especially in the interview's narrative. Interview 14 contained an extensive number of instances of direct communication. Not only the officer showed a both passive and active command of the client language, but also contributed to direct communication showing a passive command of the institutional language. In interview 15 the communication was hampered by the interpreter's limited understanding of the asylum seeker's variety of English. The many clarification sequences, discussed in chapter 5, made the interview less coherent. The high number of coordinating activities in this interview supports the observation that the communication needed improvement. The three interviews are all

lengthy interviews. However, not in all lengthy interviews an increased number of coordinating activities were found.

6.3.1. Turn-taking

In interpreter-mediated institutional discourse turn-taking and turn allocation is strongly connected to the roles that participants carry in the discourse and to the specific discourse scenario. Among the non-translated turns we find various ways of turn allocation, either allocation to another discourse participant or self-allocation. For both the officer and the interpreter coordinating turn-taking is part of their task: for the officer as leader of the interview, and for the interpreter as mediator. Turn-taking is as such an action that falls within the reach of their roles in discourse. The asylum seeker on the other side is not in the position to encourage other participants to speak or to interrupt them, because of the imbalanced relation between the officer and the interpreter on the one side and the asylum seeker on the other. In case of the continuers the interview's aim also plays a role: the aim is to get information *from* the asylum seeker. As a consequence, most continuers are directed at the asylum seeker.

Continuers and explicit stoppers are applied by officers and interpreters, mainly to coerce the discourse according into the dominant turn-taking pattern. Producing a filler is a special form of turn allocation: the speaker uses a filler to keep his speaker role. Among the non-translated turns we only find fillers in the officers' turns: they concern a repetition of the rendition that the officer is typing down simultaneously. Apart from being able to continue the discourse right away after finishing typing, the filler may serve other functions as well: it indicates how long the typing pause will last and it is a way to check whether the officer has correctly received the rendition (both functions are directed at the interpreter, who can understand what the officer is saying) (Gavioli 2012:206; cf. Sliedrecht (2013:128) and Komter (2002/2003:206-207) for a similar phenomenon in police interrogations). The fillers are often pronounced softly and slowly (adjusted to the officer's typing speed).

The function of continuers, explicit stoppers and fillers is mainly communicative. Their content is as such not relevant for the interview. Consequently, there is no need for a similarity relation to be established. Interruptions, overlapping turns and successive turns are different in that respect. These instances of non-translated turns leave turns without a rendition, excluding one of the discourse participants from the discourse, while the turns' content is potentially relevant for the excluded participant. The absence of a rendition is a consequence of the dominance of the communication norm, which blocks the relation norm in establishing a similarity relation. The evidence found in the data for the dominance of the communication norm involved the (preservation of the) turn-taking pattern and the relevance of the omitted turns.

Stoppers in the form of interruptions are applied to force the establishment of a different participation framework. The majority of the interrupted turns among the non-translated turns remained unfinished. They were produced by both officers and asylum seekers, although the asylum seekers' turns were more often interrupted than the officers'. Except for a few interruptions, the interpreter followed in these cases the turn-

taking pattern introduced by the new participation framework, leaving the interrupted turn untranslated. Only a few interruptions were unsuccessful. In these cases the interrupting turn was discarded and the participation framework of the interrupted turn remained intact.

In the case of overlapping and successive turns in which one of the turns remains without a rendition, the coordination activity is actually a lack of activity: the interpreter makes a choice in what to translate. The untranslated turns remain inaccessible and exclude one of the discourse participants from the discourse. As mentioned above, the data did not show any evidence that this created a problem for the discourse participants. In the cases of overlapping and successive turns, the turn-taking pattern plays an important role in the choice to leave a turn without a rendition: the interpreter goes along with the participant who should get the turn according to the dominant turn-taking pattern. However, relevance may also play a role: the instances of non-translated turns are often incomplete turns or repetitions, similar to the omission of unfinished sentences and repetitions in a rendition, as seen in chapter 4. This might be related to the occurrence of 'false starts' that serve the function of attracting attention in the interaction to achieve turn transfer, rather than contributing to the discourse (Bot 2005:123). This would justify the absence of a rendition.

6.3.2. Optimising communication

The second main category distinguished in the non-translated turns involves devices for optimising communication. First of all, there are strategies used in the non-translated turns to optimise turns or renditions in a way similar to the recipient strategies yielding clarification sequences (see chapter 5). In these recipient strategies the recipient relates the received turn or rendition with his expectations about the turn or rendition. The application of a recipient strategy is the outcome of a weighing process in which a balance is to be found between conforming to the relation norm and to the communication norm. The strategies concern repairing mistakes, repetition, reformulating and explanation of officers' questions and discussing the meaning of a turn.

All sorts of repairs are found among the non-translated turns: self-initiated and other-initiated self-repairs and self-initiated and other-initiated other-repairs. The occurrence of self-initiated repairs – in which the initiating discourse participant applies a recipient strategy to his own turn – shows that discourse participants are recipients of their own turns as well. An interpreter initiating a repair for a mistake made by one of the primary speakers saves the face of the primary speaker (Hale 2004; Pöllabauer 2007).

By repeating, reformulating or explaining the question the interpreter wants to improve the asylum seeker's turn. This aim is similar to what the interpreter tries to accomplish in the category (ii) and (iii) sequences by using the strategies SPECIFY and ADD, as discussed in chapter 5. Asking a question again instead of providing a rendition of the non-fitting answer can be seen as an act in the interest of both the asylum seeker and the officer, justified from the viewpoint of communication. It saves the officer an extra question and gives the asylum seeker the opportunity to reformulate his answer without

interference from the officer. Nevertheless, by doing so the interpreter formally acts beyond his role as mediator, shifting from his default role as animator.

In some cases discourse participants discussed the meaning of a turn. The participants in such sequences are mainly the interpreter and the officer, discussing a turn by the asylum seeker, sometimes supported by the asylum seeker himself. Different than in clarification sequences, the clarification is provided by multiple discourse participants.

The contributing activities aimed at the optimization of previous turns and renditions show the interpreter shifting from his default role as animator to an author's or even principal's role. The latter applies to situations in which an interpreter adds information, on the basis of their own knowledge and experience regarding the asylum context. Such shifts in roles have been observed by Hale (2004) and Nakane (2009) as well, and considered problematic in the context of court and police interrogations.

A substantial part of the coordinating contributions related to optimising the discourse concerns a discourse participant initiating a divergent participation framework. In these cases a change of footing occurs and the expected participation framework is discarded. In the newly established participation framework the interpreter cannot act as a mediator: there is no room for a rendition. In these cases the relation norm is sidelined by the communication norm. This part of the coordinating contributions comprised the occurrence of direct communication between the primary speakers, the occurrence of a situation in which an officer coerced the interpreter to go beyond his role as mediator and the occurrence of meta-comments.

Most of the instances showing divergent participation frameworks concern direct communication: primary speakers responding directly to each other without the interpreter's mediation. The understanding of small words and other turns on the basis of – at least – a passive command of the other language changes the recipient role of the other primary speaker: channel-linkage is present. In these cases it is not the speaker's intention to change the participation framework. This is different in the case in which the officer used the client language. There, the officer introduced a change of footing: he addressed the asylum seeker instead of the interpreter. Consequently, the asylum seeker's recipient role has changed and can be described as [+ADDRESS, +TARGET, +CHANNEL-LINK] instead of the default [-ADDRESS, +TARGET, -CHANNEL-LINK]. In the cases of direct communication the interaction between the discourse participants makes them aware of the changed participation framework. The interpreter acts according to the introduced participation framework, which does not provide for a rendition as the next turn.

In general, instances of direct communication and use of the client language are instigated by a primary speaker with a (partial) command of the other primary speaker's language. Direct communication is different from other instances of non-translated turns with regard to the accessibility of the turns: due to the presence of channel-linkage no participant is excluded from the discourse. The fact that an interpreter was not able to perform his role as mediator in the occurring cases, did not have any apparent consequences for the original turns nor for the understanding and course of the communication, similar to the situation of small words without rendition.

However, such cases have a bigger risk of raising a misunderstanding than the use of small words: the receiving primary speaker may not fully understand the turn, because of a limited understanding of the other language in the interview or – in case the officer is using the client language – because of the officer's accent. It is the task of the interpreter as mediator and the officer as leader of the interview to be aware of signals that indicate misinterpretations, and to intervene if necessary. Such interventions did indeed take place.

Apart from the instances of direct communication there are divergent participation frameworks in sequences initiated by the officer to make a request to the interpreter, for instance, to ask the interpreter to explain his own role in the interview to the asylum seeker. By transferring certain tasks, the officer puts part of his own responsibility in the hands of the interpreter. In the context of interpreter-mediated discourse such actions by an officer's action are not uncommon, they are seen as actions of coordination, achieving collaboration (Baraldi & Gavioli 2012:7-8; Wadensjö 1998:282). Nevertheless, these actions force the interpreter into a role of co-officer. This weakens the distinction between the interpreter's and officer's role, in the eyes of the asylum seeker.

The last group of non-translated turns related to optimising the communication comprises meta-comments on different aspects of the discourse. The meta-comments also involve a divergent participation framework: the producer of a meta-comment addresses and targets one discourse participant, excluding the other participant from the discourse. There are meta-comments directly related to the course of the communication, discussing, for instance, turn-taking or language issues. This mostly concerns the interpreters and/or officers as speakers – similar to the findings of Böser (2013) – which is in line with their roles in discourse: the interpreter as mediator, establishing communication between the primary speakers and the officer being in charge and, therefore, responsible for the overall course of the interview. Furthermore, there are meta-comments related to practical and social aspects of the discourse situation contributing to a smooth communication in general, such as comments on note-taking, and the expression of thanks, in case something is handed over, for instance.

7. Conclusion and discussion

In this corpus study I provided a description and an analysis of the interaction in 14 asylum interviews. These interviews are all instances of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. Three discourse participants are acting in this type of interview: the officer, conducting the interview as a representative of the IND in our case, the asylum seeker, explaining his motives for asking asylum, and the interpreter, speaking both the client language and the institutional language to establish the communication between the two primary speakers. As discussed in chapter 1, the communication in asylum interviews has received much attention from interpreting scholars as well as legal scholars. I referred earlier to studies by Doornbos (2003, 2006), Wadensjö (1992, 1998), Pöllabauer (2003) and Maryns (2006).

Asylum interviews follow a fixed, prescribed scenario that defines the course of the interview and the default roles of the discourse participants. This scenario is part of the IND's legal framework to which officers and interpreters have to conform. An essential characteristic of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse is the difference in experience between the officers and the interpreters on the one hand, and the asylum seekers on the other: for the latter the asylum interview is, at best, an occasional event, whereas interviews are routine activities for the interpreters and officers in the corpus. They are the professionals.

For the corpus I used 14 carefully selected specimens of asylum interviews, as explained in chapter 3. In chapter 2 I explained why I analysed three key components that typically occur in interpreter-mediated discourse, using findings from five important studies in the field of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse: Berk-Seligson (2002), Bot (2005), Hale (2004), Maryns (2006) and Wadensjö (1992). The first component is the turn-rendition pair. This is a key component because the majority of the utterances in interpreter-mediated discourse are part of a turn-rendition pair. Turn-rendition pairs comprise the main flow of information between the officer and the asylum seeker. The second key component is the clarification sequence. Clarification sequences are widespread in discourse in general and can be initiated by either of the discourse participants to clarify a communication problem in a prior turn, in order to maintain or improve communication and to keep track of the information exchange. The third key component comprises the turns that remain after taking all the turn-rendition pairs from the discourse: turns lacking a rendition, produced by the officer and the client, and turns produced by the interpreter, not being renditions. I called this component the non-translated turns. Non-translated turns can often be related to devices or strategies used by interpreters for discourse coordination.

The analysis of the key components convincingly shows that interpreters in asylum interviews are actively involved discourse participants, not only to facilitate the communication between the primary speakers by providing renditions, but also to co-construct the discourse to maintain the information flow and to optimise the

communicative exchanges. This general conclusion, discussed below in more detail, fits in with the outcomes of the five studies mentioned above.

The analysis of the key components used the notion of similarity to express the relation between source and target. For the context of asylum interviews, similarity is defined at four levels: the information level, the pragmatic level, the form level and the speaker level. Furthermore, general communicative and social principles – the co-operative principle (Grice 1975), footing and participation frameworks (Goffman 1979) – play an important role in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. In the analysis these elements were combined in a theoretical framework of norms, presented in chapter 2. This framework is based on the framework of norms developed by Chesterman (1993, 1997) for translation. The central components of the framework are the relation norm, covering similarity between source and translation, and the communication norm, using communicative and social principles to establish communication in discourse. The relation norm and the communication norm are joined together by means of the accountability norm that necessitates discourse participants to conform to both the relation and communication norm.

Below I will summarise the study and discuss the results. Furthermore, I will discuss the theoretical and practical implications of this study.

7.1. Outcomes

7.1.1. The key components

The main part of this study comprised the analyses of the three key components selected from the 14 interviews: the turn-rendition pairs, the clarification sequences and the non-translated turns. A summary of the main outcomes of these analyses follows.

7.1.1.1. Turn-rendition pairs

For the analysis of the turn-rendition pairs I selected four pairs from each interview: one from the interviews' introductions, one from the narratives, and two – a question and an answer – from the parts with questions about the narrative, leading to a sample of 56 turn-rendition pairs. I compared the renditions to the turns they relate to, in order to judge the similarity between turn and rendition. The turns and renditions were divided into smaller units, based on the approach developed by Van Leuven-Zwart (1989, 1990). These smaller units were called parts and for every part in a turn I determined whether there was a similar (matching) part in the rendition. Parts showed a similarity relationship when similar content words were present in both parts. The parts that remained after establishing the parts showing a similarity relationship were the so-called mutations: turn parts that were not conveyed in the rendition and rendition parts that did not originate from a turn, or, in short, parts omitted from and added to a rendition by the interpreter. The parts with a similarity relationship were checked for so-called modifications: changes with respect to their position in the part order, changes

in form of address and remaining changes that prevented the parts from being completely synonym.

Distinguishing the mutations and modifications was the first step in determining the shifts occurring in the turn-rendition pairs, i.e. the choices (consciously or unconsciously) made by the interpreters in the production process of renditions. Every shift comprised of one or more mutations or modifications.

The method chosen to compare the turns and their related renditions proved to be successful in systematically recognising the vast amount of changes and adaptations occurring in the turn-rendition pairs. Although the sample of turn-rendition pairs was small in comparison to the total number of turn-rendition pairs in the corpus, my impression, based on my familiarity with each interview, is that the changes and adaptations occurring in the sample are representative for the complete set of pairs, and that the sample shows the richness of the data. In the 56 turn-rendition pairs 152 shifts occurred, i.e. changes occurring in the process of translating (Bakker et al. 2009), leading to a dissimilarity between source text and target text. A shift is caused by a (conscious or unconscious) choice of the interpreter in the translation process (Van Leuven-Zwart 1989:155). The 152 shifts indicated an affected similarity relationship, at the information level, the pragmatic level, the form level and/or the speaker level. Only four turn-rendition pairs turned out to have a complete synonymy relationship between all parts of the turn and the rendition, i.e. the turn and rendition showed complete similarity at the four levels of similarity.

The shifts were related to different production strategies, like creating more coherence by moving parts or avoiding – from the interpreter’s viewpoint – superfluous information by omitting repeated information. The strategies applied by the interpreter can be seen as changes for the benefit of the communication, outstretching his role as prescribed by the discourse scenario and supporting the view that the interpreter’s mediation is not limited to translating but is also to coordinate discourse (Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012b). With regard to the asylum seekers’ turns we can conclude that the renditions are overall more suitable for the officer to include them in the interview report than the original turns, confirming Wadensjö’s (1992) and Doornbos’ (2006) findings, though this does not necessarily mean that interpreters apply strategies with the aim to provide texts suitable for the written report, as argued by Maryns (2006). The increased perspicuity in the renditions of the officers’ turns facilitates the asylum seekers’ understanding of the discourse, potentially giving rise to more relevant responses from the asylum seeker (cf. Baraldi 2012).

7.1.1.2. Clarification sequences

The analysis of the clarification sequences was based on sequences from the narratives and the parts with questions about the narrative. Corresponding to the findings in Berk-Seligson (2002), Hale (2004) and Wadensjö (1992, 1998), clarification sequences are frequently occurring discourse coordinating activities used by participants to improve understanding and to optimise communication. In the 14 narratives and parts with questions about the narrative 1231 clarification sequences were found, initiated by

either the interpreter, the officer or the asylum seeker, indicating that it is a frequently occurring phenomenon.

The clarification sequences occurred in all interviews, although they were not evenly distributed. The interpreter is the discourse participant initiating most clarification sequences, whereas the asylum seeker initiated the lowest number. This outcome follows from the fact that the interview's aim is to get information from the asylum seeker and therefore he is the participant doing most of the talking, particularly in the narrative. The interpreters encountered more trouble sources in the asylum seekers' turns than in the officers' turns, and more frequently during the narratives than during the parts with question about the narrative. This is partly related to the greater amount and length of the asylum seekers' turns, and partly to the difference in professionalism between the asylum seekers and the officers: the 'unpolished' turns by the asylum seekers – not adjusted to the institutional context – are more likely to contain trouble sources than the turns produced by the experienced officers.

I related the occurrence of the clarification sequences to three so-called recipient strategies, applied by either of the three discourse participants encountering a problem in a received turn, the trouble source. All three strategies were driven by either pragmatic considerations or by informational needs. The strategy REPEAT/CONFIRM aimed at improving understanding by resolving a trouble source that had not been properly heard or understood (category (i) sequences). The occurrences of this category indicated that trouble sources are more likely to appear if the language variety of the hearer diverges from that of the speaker, similar to what Blommaert (2001) stated. The strategy SPECIFY was applied to explicate information in order to resolve a trouble source that lacked specificity of information implicitly present in the turn (category (ii) sequences). The strategy ADD aimed at adding information to a turn that triggered the recipient's need for additional information (category (iii) sequences).

The three distinguished recipient strategies differed in frequency: REPEAT/CONFIRM was by far the most frequently applied strategy, followed by SPECIFY. An extreme low frequency of occurrences was found for ADD. I argued that the strategies' frequency was related to the extent of similarity existing between the turn containing the trouble source and the clarification: the more the turn had been subjected to changes by the information from the clarification, the lower the appropriateness of the relation between turn and clarification and, consequently, the lower the frequency. I stated that category (i) sequences show an appropriate relation, whereas category (iii) sequences are not appropriate in terms of similarity. Category (ii) sequences are in the middle, showing a less appropriateness relation. Nevertheless, a less or non-appropriateness relation does not prevent SPECIFY and ADD from being applied. From a communicative point of view the recipient may consider these strategies as an improvement, outweighing the lack of appropriateness.

The asylum seekers did not apply ADD, in the first place because there is little room for the asylum seekers to initiate clarification questions, especially in the narratives, as explained above. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the officers' turns trigger the asylum seekers to ask a counter question to get additional information, taking into account the imbalanced relation between officer and asylum seeker. Applying SPECIFY, on the other

hand, can be a necessity for the asylum seekers: information left implicit in a question may lead to ambiguity. Since the asylum seekers are responsible for making their statements consistent and credible, it is important for them to exclude any ambiguity from the questions, to prevent that their answers cannot be misinterpreted.

Because of their experience in asylum interviews interpreters know which information is relevant in the interviews and consequently they will notice when information remains implicit or absent (Doornbos 2006). Applying SPECIFY and ADD are means to improve an original turn, similar to the production strategies applied in turn-remediation pairs that lead to an improved rendition in comparison to the original turn but it shows at the same time that the interpreter is outstretching his role as prescribed in the discourse scenario. With respect to this last point we have concluded that the interpreters' use of ADD is less acceptable than their use of SPECIFY, hence the low frequency of category (iii) sequences.

As explained in chapter 5, we only find the officers applying SPECIFY and ADD in the narratives and not in the parts with questions about the narrative, due to the definition of clarification sequences and the character of these interview parts. During the narratives the officers have to comply with the guideline of not interrupting the asylum seeker. Category (ii) and (iii) sequences count as interruptions but nevertheless occur in the data. These occurrences, having low frequencies, indicate that officers complied to this guideline unless there was an obvious reason not to do so. A too elaborate narrative or – exactly the opposite – a too short narrative define such reasons. In these situations the officers turn out to initiate clarification sequences of category (ii) and (iii) as a tool to speed up or prolong the narrative.

7.1.1.3. *Non-translated turns*

Non-translated turns comprise single turns or sequences of turns that remained untranslated, spoken either in the client language or the institutional language. All turns in the introductions, the narratives and parts with questions about the narrative that did not form part of a turn-remediation pair were identified as non-translated turns. 684 instances of non-translated turns were analysed. Although non-translated turns occurred in all interviews and in every analysed part of the interviews, some categories of the non-translated turns were more prominently present in specific interviews or interview parts.

Most non-translated turns could be characterised as discourse coordinating activities. The interpreters and the officers were most active in coordinating, the asylum seekers were of little influence in the occurrence of non-translated turns due to their discourse position: they do not have a leading or mediating role in the interview, like the officers and the interpreters. The substantial presence of coordinating activities in the interviews confirms that coordination is a fundamental characteristic in interactions in general and in interpreter-mediated discourse in particular (Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012).

On the basis of the findings by Berk-Seligson (2002), Bot (2005), Hale (2004) and Wadensjö (1992, 1998) two main categories were distinguished: coordinating activities

contributing to turn-taking and those contributing to optimising communication. Turn-taking devices were applied to encourage another participant to continue speaking, to keep a turn at the current speaker, or to stop another participant from continuing to speak. The latter was done by using an explicit stopper, but more often by interrupting the speaker. The occurrence of interrupting turns, and also overlapping and successive turns, had the consequence that one of the turns remained without a rendition.

The coordinating activities contributing to optimising communication concerned strategies comparable to the recipient strategies leading to clarification sequences. Furthermore, I found instances of direct communication between the primary speakers, of officers requesting an interpreter to act in a different way than prescribed by the discourse scenario, and of meta-comments about the course of the communication and practical and social aspects of the discourse. The interpreters in these coordinating activities sometimes outstretched their role as prescribed by the discourse scenario. For instance, the contributing activities aimed at the optimization of previous turns and renditions showed situations in which interpreters added information, on the basis of their own knowledge and experience regarding the asylum context, and as such shifting from their default role in the discourse – similar to what occurred in specific turn-rendition pairs and clarification sequences. Such shifts in roles have been observed by Hale (2004) and Nakane (2009) as well, and considered problematic in the context of court and police interrogations.

The analysis of the non-translated turns showed the interpreters' essential role in the coordination of participation in the discourse, similar to what was found by Wadensjö (1992, 1998) and Baraldi & Gavioli (2012). However, the interpreters' coordination activities could not be considered successful in all cases. The balance between the interpreters' translating activities and his discourse coordinating activities (Wadensjö 1998; Russell 2002) was not always at equilibrium: coordination took place in a number of cases at the expense of providing renditions. This especially applied to coordinating activities leading to a loss of information for the discourse participant not involved in the activity, for instance in the situation in which two turns overlap and the interpreter chooses to provide only one rendition, following the dominant turn-taking pattern. In such coordinating activities the absence of a rendition may have streamlined the discourse but at the same time disadvantaged a primary speaker. However, as observed by Hale (2004) as well, the data showed no evidence that the primary speakers experienced the absence of a rendition in such situations as problematic.

7.1.2. The 14 interviews

All interviews were involved in the analysis of the key components but some of them figured more prominent in the analysis than others, depending often on the topic of study and the kind of problem figuring in the discourse. How do the 14 different interviews relate to the overall outcomes of this study, what are their particular characteristics, and which problems seem to be incidental only or more structural? Below I present the details and aspects from each interview that stood out most. In general we see that proficiency differences both in the assumed client language and the

institutional language frequently occur – either between the interpreter and the officers or between the interpreter and the asylum seeker – being an important source for communication problems. The individual characteristics of the interviews also reflect a general tendency in the interpreters' renditions to be briefer than the asylum seekers – in particular in case of lengthy turns – and to be more perspicuous than the officers (see also section 7.2).

In interview 1 the West African asylum seeker's English differed from the non-West African interpreter's variety. The asylum seeker used many creole English elements, which were a problem for the interpreter, especially when the asylum seeker spoke fast. Consequently, the interpreter frequently applied the recipient strategy REPEAT/CONFIRM, resulting into a regular occurrence of clarification sequences. Furthermore, the asylum seeker had an elaborate way of speaking and often repeated information in his turns. The analysed turn-rendition pair from the narrative illustrated how the interpreter tended to reformulate the asylum seeker's long turns and to omit repetitive elements in the rendition (see section 4.1.1.1. and 4.1.1.2). The interpreter's and officer's meta-comments among the non-translated turns showed that the officer sometimes did not give the interpreter sufficient time to finish her renditions, leading to competition in turn-taking.

The number of clarification sequences of category (i) in interview 2 showed that the interpreter frequently repeated part of the asylum seeker's turn, to make sure she had understood him well. Furthermore, in a few cases the asylum seeker used a word that he needed to explain in order for the interpreter to understand him (see section 5.2.4). The non-translated turns show that meta-comments were frequently uttered by the interpreter and the officer, either related to the course of the communication or to practical and social comments, which seemed to have a positive influence on the atmosphere in the interview. The interpreter addressed the asylum seeker with *tu*, the informal way of address, whereas the officer used the formal way of address in Dutch. By doing so, the interpreter acted in a way that she thought was more appropriate, rather than strictly conveying the officer's words.

The same interpreter acting in interview 2, was present in interview 3, the shortest of all 14 interviews, due to its nature (as explained in chapter 3, the asylum seeker applied for asylum before, using a different name). In this interview, the analysed turn-rendition pairs showed how the interpreter added parts to the officer's turns, making the rendition more perspicuous than the original turn (see the introduction to section 4.1). The asylum seeker's long turn from the narrative was adapted to a more to the point rendition in which repetitions were left out. Just like in interview 2, the interpreter used the informal way of addressing the asylum seeker.

In interview 4 the officer had sometimes difficulty in understanding the interpreter's French accent in Dutch, leading to a series of clarification sequences. The officer's succinct way of speaking was often conveyed by the interpreter in a more elegant way, as illustrated by the turn-rendition pair from the introduction (see section 4.2.3.2). From the asylum seeker's long turns quite some information was omitted in the renditions.

The omission of information occurred in the rendition of the asylum seeker's turns in interview 5 as well. The interpreter let the asylum seeker speak long turns before producing a rendition (see section 4.1.2.2). The turns often contained repetitions, which were left out of the renditions. A small number of clarification sequences and non-translated turns occurred in this interview.

The interpreter present in both interviews 6 and 7 had a Swahili accent in Dutch and spoke softly, which frequently led to the use of REPEAT/CONFIRM on the part of the officers in these interviews. The interpreter's attitude suggested that he was not fully dedicated to performing his task. The analysed turn-rendition pairs illustrated that the interpreter summarised long turns in the renditions, leading to the omission of information (see sections 4.1.1.1. and 4.2.1.3). The officers' turns, on the other hand, were formulated more perspicuous and/or extended in their rendition (see section 4.1.2.3).

The non-translated turns in interview 8 showed that the Somali asylum seeker's turns were frequently interrupted or left without a rendition otherwise, by a successive or overlapping turn, by either the officer or the interpreter. The interpreter's Dutch is grammatically and lexically rather poor (see section 6.2.1.1). This did, however, not lead to a large number of clarification sequences on the part of the officer. The question is whether the poor renditions were conveyed to a proper representation of the asylum seeker's story in the report produced by the officer.

In comparison to other interviews in the corpus interview 9 is an inconspicuous interview. What stands out is a relatively high number of clarification sequences of category (i), initiated by the interpreter in response to the asylum seeker. The data showed that the East African asylum seeker sometimes used non-standard Swahili words, for which the Dutch interpreter – speaking standard Swahili – needed clarification (see section 5.2.4).

Interview 10, in which the asylum seeker showed an elaborate and sometimes agitated way of speaking, was one of the two longest interviews in the corpus. Most remarkable are the non-translated turns and the many clarification sequences. Almost one fourth of the instances of non-translated turns, of all categories, take place in this interview. The many coordinating activities of both the interpreter and the officer help the asylum seeker to stay focussed. In addition, a considerable number of non-translated turns concerned direct communication, interview 10 being one of the interviews in which the officer had a (partial) command of the client language. Furthermore, not only the Dutch interpreter initiated clarification sequences to check understanding of the West African asylum seeker's turns, but also the officer and the asylum seeker were active in applying recipient strategies.

Interview 12 contained relatively many meta-comments concerning the course of communication (see section 6.2.3.1). This was related to the fact that the asylum seeker did not provide satisfactory answers when asked about inconsistencies in his story. It remained unclear whether this was the result of misunderstanding on the part of the asylum seeker or whether the asylum seeker only pretended not to understand what the officer meant. The analysed turn-rendition pairs illustrated the interpreter's

summarising way of translation when providing renditions for the asylum seeker's turns (see pair 4.33 in the introduction to section 4.2.1).

Interview 13 was another inconspicuous interview. The fact that the asylum seeker spoke softly did not lead to an extended number of clarification sequences initiated by the interpreter. Neither did the interpreter's non-native and somewhat hesitating Dutch lead to an increased number of clarification questions on the part of the officer.

The asylum seeker in interview 14 had problems in understanding the questions, because of a limited understanding of the interpreter's English and/or because of her absent-mindedness. She initiated relatively many clarification sequences (see section 5.1.1). The interpreter did her best to adjust her English to make the asylum seeker understand the questions better. The interview exhibited many occurrences of direct communication. Not only the officer understood the client language – and used it actively –, the asylum seeker also showed some understanding of Dutch (see sections 6.2.2.2. and 6.2.2.3).

Throughout this study, interview 15 was characterised as an exceptional interview, due to the Dutch interpreter's limited understanding of the asylum seeker's East African accent in English. This seriously hampered the communication in the interview (see section 5.2.3). In the first place the interpreter initiated an extensive number of clarification sequences, recurrently shifting attention to the interpreter rather than to the asylum seeker. The data showed that the asylum seeker made effort to adjust his language to make the interpreter understand better. The high number of clarification sequences also resulted in a fragmented representation of the asylum seeker's narrative. The way the renditions of the asylum seeker's turns were produced added to this fragmentation: the interpreter did not wait until the end of a sentence before starting a rendition, but gave a rendition at every (natural) pause in a sentence. As a consequence, the renditions lacked cohesion, triggering clarification sequences initiated by the officer. The officer also used these recipient strategies as a quality check on the interpreter's renditions.

7.1.3. Framework of norms

The data in this study was analysed in a theoretical framework based on norms originating from translation studies (Chesterman 1993, 1997), and adapted by me for analysing interpreter-mediated discourse. The framework combines the notions of relation and communication, both essential elements in dialogue interpreting. In the data I distinguished production and recipient strategies in order to get information about the working of the norms. Production strategies are applied by interpreters to solve a translation problem (Chesterman 1997). Applying a production strategy causes changes in the rendition in comparison to the original turn. The analysis of the turn-rendition pairs revealed a number of different production strategies, such as creating more coherence, avoiding repetitive information and adding or restructuring information to be more perspicuous.

Apart from production strategies I argued that recipient strategies are applied in the context of interpreter-mediated discourse. This type of strategy – not included in

Chesterman's framework because of his focus on written translation – is applied by interpreters and other discourse participants carrying a recipient role with the aim to change an original turn in case the turn does not meet the recipient's expectations. The recipient strategies discussed in this study explain the existence of the different categories of clarification sequences and the part of the non-translated turns aimed at the optimization of a prior turn or rendition.

On the basis of the analysis of the data I concluded that the use of production and recipient strategies results in information that tend to be more to the point – more relevant – and more perspicuous than the original information packaged in a turn, at the cost of similarity with the original turn. This is in line with a general finding in translation studies that translations tend to be more explicit than the original texts (Chesterman 1997).

The production and recipient strategies can be observed from the data, and reveal and uncover how norms operate. Central in the framework of norms are the production norms and the expectancy norms, which are in fact two sides of the same coin. Expectancy norms are based on the recipients' expectations of renditions, regarding the relation between original turns and renditions and communicative aspects of the rendition. Production norms are determined on the basis of the expectancy norms and guide an interpreter through the production process of a rendition. Three production norms are distinguished: the relation norm, the communication norm and the overarching accountability norm, as explained earlier in this chapter. The analysis of the data showed that conforming to more norms at the same time poses an interpreter in conflicting situations, since the norms may contradict each other: conforming to the relation norm may imply violating the communication norm and vice versa. The outcome of the rendition process is therefore often a compromise, in which an interpreter, by meeting both norms, has to establish a new balance between relation and communication, and, consequently, a balance between his translation task and his discourse coordinating activities (cf. Wadensjö 1998; Russell 2002).

7.1.3.1. Relation

Following Chesterman (1993, 1997) I defined the relation between an original turn and the rendition of this turn in terms of similarity. Four levels of similarity were distinguished as being relevant in the context of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse: the information level, the pragmatic level, the form level and the speaker level.

In terms of the framework of norms, determining the relevant similarity relation is essential for investigating how the relation norm operates. The relation norm obviously plays a role in the production of renditions. The distinction of the four levels of similarity was useful in determining the similarity relationship in the turn-rendition pairs. The analysis of the shifts occurring in the sample of turn-rendition pairs focussed on the level of similarity primarily affected. The information level was the level of similarity that was most often affected in the sample, in 63 shifts, which mainly concerned the omission and addition of parts. The speaker and the pragmatic levels were primarily affected in 40 and 36 shifts. The speaker level was mainly affected by

omissions. The data confirmed the findings of Wadensjö (1992), Berk-Seligson (2002) and Hale (2004) that speaker characteristics in the turns, such as hesitations and repetitions, do generally not return in the renditions. The pragmatic level was mainly affected by additions, changes in part order and changes in form of address. In only nine shifts the primarily affected level of similarity was the form level. These shifts mainly concerned changes in part order. However, for the form changes, it is difficult to determine whether a change is the result of a (conscious or unconscious) choice by an interpreter, or rather a consequence of the grammatical or cultural differences between the source and the target language. This applies to changes in information order, but possibly to other changes as well.

The relation norm also plays a role in the decision to initiate a clarification sequence (as discussed in chapter 5) or another recipient strategy aiming at optimising a prior turn (as discussed in chapter 6). In case of a recipient strategy the relation norm is applicable to the relation between the turn containing a trouble source and the expectations of the interpreter – or another discourse participant carrying a recipient role – concerning the well-formedness of a turn. In these cases the analysis concentrated on the information level, as the most relevant level of similarity, leaving out the other levels from the discussion. The relation norm does not play a role in turn-taking devices and devices involving diverging participation frameworks and meta-comments, as discussed in chapter 6.

7.1.3.2. *Communication*

In case of interpreter-mediated discourse, an interpreter (and any other discourse participant) has to express himself in such a way that the other discourse participants can understand what he intends to say. In order for this to happen, the communication norm urges the discourse participants to conform to general communication and social principles. First of all, the discourse participants' acceptance of or reliance on Grice's co-operative principle is essential for successful discourse. The production and recipient strategies indicate the link to Grice's maxims of relation and manner: their use seems to aim at more relevant and more perspicuous information.

Furthermore, the allocation of production and recipient roles determines the relationships between the discourse participants, which, in turn, are relevant for the turn-taking pattern. For the context of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse Goffman's (1979) distinction of production roles between animator, author and principal is useful in defining the participants' roles prescribed by the discourse scenario. An interpreter is, ideally speaking, solely a candidate for the role of animator: repeating the information from another speaker with the only difference being the language (Wadensjö 1992). It is often the default role expected from interpreters in institutional settings, as imposed by a code of conduct (cf. Nakane 2009). In terms of similarity, a rendition produced by an interpreter in the role of animator is similar to the original turn at all four levels of similarity. The analysis showed that the interpreters' default production role of animator – when producing a rendition – is more often than not conflated with the role of author. Furthermore, the clarification sequences and the non-translated turns showed evidence of the interpreter extending his role to the

principal in some cases, which confirmed the findings by Hale (2004) and Nakane (2009).

Two other notions from Goffman (1979), footing and participation framework, concern the way a speaker relates to the other discourse participants during an utterance event and the specific distribution of production and recipient roles. These notions played a role in the analysis of the turn-rendition pairs and the non-translated discourse. The analysis of the turn-rendition pairs showed that interpreters in some cases do not convey the references to other discourse participants as originally uttered in a primary speaker's turn, although they are supposed to speak as if being the primary speaker – using 'I' when the original turn contains a first person pronoun, etc. A reporting verb is sometimes added, such as 'he says', which emphasises the production roles in the participation framework: the reporting verb indicates the involvement of the primary speaker, making clear that the interpreter is not the principal of the rendition's information.

In the analysis of non-translated turns we found speakers introducing a divergent participation framework, and, consequently, a different turn-taking pattern, which (temporarily) changes the dynamics of the discourse. A small number concerned officers making a request to the interpreter, for instance, to ask the interpreter to explain his own role in the interview to the asylum seeker, instead of explaining the interpreter's role himself and let the interpreter provide a rendition. A frequent occurrence of a divergent participation framework concerned direct communication: primary speakers responding directly to each other without the interpreter's mediation. This is possible when a primary speaker has a (passive) understanding of the other language or when words are used of a (more or less) language neutral character, like names and small words such as *ok*.

As illustrated above, the communication norm plays a role in all three components of discourse analysed in this study. More generally, the communication norm is responsible in turn-rendition pairs for an affected similarity relation. In the decision to initiate a clarification sequence or to apply another recipient strategy, it is the communication norm that determines whether there is enough reason to interrupt the main line of discourse and the active turn-taking pattern. Furthermore, the communication norm is responsible for applying turn taking devices.

7.2. Theoretical implications

The analysis of corpus revealed a significant number of communicative acts carried out by the interpreter, supporting the view that an interpreter's tasks comprises both translation and coordination, as argued by Wadensjö (1992, 1998) and Baraldi & Gavioli (2012b). In terms of the framework of norms, the communication norm seems to be responsible for the occurrence of such acts. What does this tell us about the way the framework of norms operates and what is the impact of the norms on the balance between translation and coordination?

7.2.1. The working of the norms

The working of norms cannot be directly observed from the data. However, their working can be inferred from observing the production and recipient strategies applied in the discourse (cf. Chesterman 1997). These strategies are mostly driven by communicative considerations, aimed at increasing perspicuity and relevance in the discourse, supporting the view that the interpreters' mediation is not limited to translating but also serve a function in coordinating the participation in discourse (Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012b).

In the analysis of the turn-rendition pairs we have seen that only four of the 56 pairs showed a strict similarity relation of synonymy. The majority of the pairs the rendition had been subject to production strategies, affecting one or more levels of similarity, mostly with the aim to make the renditions more relevant and/or more perspicuous in comparison to the turn.

In the clarification sequences we have seen three recipient strategies at work: REPEAT/CONFIRM, SPECIFY and ADD. A recipient can apply REPEAT/CONFIRM when a turn contains a trouble source that has not been properly heard or understood by the recipient. In this situation the perlocution of the turn threatens to be lost in receiving or understanding the turn. The strategy's aim is to relate to the turn's perlocution. SPECIFY is applied when the turn's trouble source needs specification, for instance, when a date is mentioned without the specific year. This strategy aims at increasing perspicuity at the informational level. A recipient perspective applies to the last strategy, ADD, as well, because in this situation a trouble source triggers the recipient to ask for additional information, with the aim to increase the relevance of the information.

The non-translated turns comprise different communicative devices aiming at maintaining or optimising communication. These also include recipient strategies similar to the ones involved in the initiation of clarification sequences. They concern repairing mistakes, repeating, reformulating or explaining question with the aim to get an improved answer, and discussing the meaning of a turn.

The remaining devices used in non-translated turns differ from the strategies mentioned so far, in that the relation norm is not involved, i.e. there is no situation in which a specific turn is related to a representation of the turn or sequence of turns in question. This applies to the coordinating devices in handling turn-taking in discourse, to the devices to optimise communication involving the establishment of a participation framework diverging from the active turn-taking pattern and to the production of meta-comments. An interpreter in the decision process of applying these coordinating devices is led by the communication norm only.

7.2.2. The impact of the communication norm

The analysis of the corpus data showed that the communication norm appears to account for a considerable and significant number of communicative acts carried out by the interpreters. Part of these acts or actions are necessary and acceptable in the light of the interpreter's (and the other discourse participants') role in the interview. The

application of the recipient strategy REPEAT/CONFIRM is necessary for the recipient in order to obtain a complete and correct reception of a troubled turn. Turn-taking devices such as continuers and stoppers are necessary for discourse participants to act and direct the discourse at the right moment. Furthermore, the occurrence of meta-comments on the course of the communication and on practical and social matters is in general inevitable. Modifications in the turn-rendition pairs improving the coherence of a turn can be considered relevant and therefore acceptable as well.

The necessity and acceptability of many other actions is questionable. Part of the mutations in the turn-rendition pairs severely affected the information level, especially through omitting information, but also by adding information. This is problematic for both the recipient of the rendition and the producer of the original turn, because it is most of the times out of their direct control, as pointed out by Hale (2004). Both the recipient and the producer do not know that information has been left out or has been added. They assume that all information, not more and not less, has been transmitted to the other primary speaker. In case of omitted information, neither the producer nor the recipient can somehow judge the relevance of the missing information.

Other cases in which information meant for the other primary speaker was omitted, concerned non-translated turns involving turn-taking: overlapping and successive turns of which one of the turns remains without a rendition. Consequently, the non-translated turns remain inaccessible for the intended recipient, although, different from the mutations in turn-rendition pairs, the producer and the recipient are able to observe the absence of the rendition. No evidence was found in the interviews, though, that primary speakers experienced the absence of renditions as problematic, an observation also made by Hale (2004). This could be an indication that either the primary speakers did not pay attention to the absence of renditions or the primary speakers indeed trusted the interpreters' judgement. A third possibility is that the primary speakers did experience the absence of a rendition as a disadvantage, but did not object during the interview, for instance, in case the primary speaker is an asylum seeker, because of his position in the discourse.

Also the application of recipient strategies may lead to a situation in which the communication norm prevails. An interpreter applying ADD poses a question that would rather be expected from the side of the officer. Furthermore, an interpreter makes a decision for the officer when he does not convey an answer from the asylum seeker directly, but instead tries to get an improved or more relevant answer by reformulating or elaborating on the officer's question preceding the answer. The interpreter's turn in these recipient strategies remains opaque to the non-addressed primary speaker.

Although the necessity and acceptability of the actions described above can be questioned, the interpreter's behaviour can nevertheless be understood as an act of optimising the discourse: in case of omissions irrelevant or redundant information – from the interpreter's point of view – has been left out, in case of recipient strategies, the interpreter saves the officer some trouble, by acting on his behalf, emphasising the interpreter's role of communicator (cf. Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012b). A small number of actions do not seem to aim at optimising the discourse. In interview 15, a problematic interview because of the interpreter's limited understanding of the

asylum seeker's variety of English, contains some clear examples of comments by the interpreter seem to have the purpose of saving the interpreter's face rather than to coordinate the discourse in one way or another. Face-saving strategies in interpreter-mediated institutional discourse have been observed by Hale (2004) and Pöllabauer (2007) as well.

7.2.3. Balancing translating and coordinating tasks

Between the coordinating actions clearly justified in the light of the interpreter's role in the discourse and those that are really questionable or doubtful, there is a wide grey area of act or actions, raising several questions concerning the interpreter's role in asylum interviews:

- Is it part of the interpreter's task to apply production strategies in turn-remediation pairs in order to improve or optimise the original turn? If so, does this only apply to production strategies that do not affect the information level – or only affect the information level in the sense that implicit information is explicating?
- Is it part of the interpreter's task to perform recipient strategies such as SPECIFY, and to repeat the officer's questions if a provided answer is not satisfactory?
- Is it acceptable for an interpreter to withdraw temporarily from the discourse the moment the primary speakers are communicating directly?
- Is it acceptable for an officer to address an interpreter directly and to give him an assignment, such as explaining to the asylum seeker the interpreter's role in the interview, even if this forces the interpreter to step out of his default role in discourse?

Though there is agreement that all of these actions occur as a part of dialogue interpreting, as argued in chapter 2 on the basis of Berk-Seligson (2002), Bot (2005), Hale (2004), Maryns (2006) and Wadensjö (1992/1998), the literature on interpreter-mediated institutional discourse does not provide a conclusive answer with respect to these questions for a specific context like asylum interviews, given the discussion about the interpreter's role, as mentioned in chapter 1 (cf. Schäffner et al. 2013; Pöchlacker & Shlesinger 2002; Jacobsen 2009).

The outcome of this study showed that interpreter's actions did not radically jeopardise the communication in the interviews, in the sense that the asylum seeker was not able to put forward his motives for asking asylum, or was hampered in doing so. An impressive number of these actions even aimed at helping the asylum seeker through the interview, for instance, by explicating information from the officer and by encouraging the asylum seeker to expand his answers, confirming what Doornbos (2006) describes for the Dutch asylum context. I conclude, therefore, that the interpreters, by performing these actions, did not let the communication norm dominate their translating task in a rejectable way. The analyses did not show evidence whether such actions interfered with the supposed neutral position of the interpreter in the discourse: depending on the actions, either the asylum seeker or the officer may get the impression that the

interpreter is siding with the other primary speaker. Further research in the area of asylum interviews, may provide more insight in this issue.

7.2.4. Suggestions for further research

This study left several issues related to asylum interviews as an instance of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse unaddressed. Below I suggest some topics to be explored in future studies, given the outcomes of my own study.

Maryns (2005) suggested that asylum seekers' narratives are altered to fit the institution's format of written representations of the narrative. Research in the field of police interrogations also showed a considerable difference between the actual verbal answers and the written representation of these answers (Komter 2002/2003; Van Charldorp 2011). In the analysis of the 14 asylum interviews the renditions were often an improved version of the turn, from the viewpoint of the interpreter, fitting the officer's report better than the original turn. However, I did not check how the asylum seeker contributions eventually appeared in the written report. This is an important topic for further research, not only from a discourse theoretical perspective, but also from a concrete perspective of understanding what kind of information actually may or might be lost.

The analysis of the data evidenced the existence of production and recipient strategies. Further research should prove whether these strategies are extendable to other forms of interpreter-mediated institutional discourse. Research is necessary to prove whether the observed strategies in my study are evidence for the existence of translation laws (Chesterman 1993, 1997).

In this study I have suggested at some point that long turns asks a lot of the interpreters' memory. However, I did not look into the role of this kind of cognitive aspects influencing the discourse. Gile (1998) and Shlesinger (1999) already noted the relevance of distinguishing between norm-governed characteristics of interpreter-mediated discourse and characteristics resulting from cognitive constraints. The combination of the two topics has not been extensively studied so far.

7.3. Practical implications and recommendations

The interpreter's actions, which are understandable and explainable on the basis of the communication norm, often have a severe impact on the discourse, although they are formally not allowed, since the interpreters' room for manoeuvring is limited according to the IND's code of conduct to which interpreters have to adhere. Nevertheless, these formal violations occur, repeatedly and systematically. What may this imply, both for the code of conduct and for evaluating the interpreters' performance?

7.3.1. Consequences for the code of conduct

The analysis exhibited obvious and returning discrepancies between the IND's legal framework that prescribes the interpreter's role and performance and the interpreters' actual behaviour in the 14 asylum interviews of the corpus, confirming the findings of Doornbos (2006) in Dutch asylum interviews and of Hale (2007) for the situation in nine other countries. The IND does not (formally) recognise the structural nature of these discrepancies, and assumes that everyday practice is in accordance with the legal framework provided for the interviews, and the same conclusion can be drawn for codes of conducts of other organisations in other countries (Hale 2007:134-135). This tells us two things. A strict code of conduct is not helpful in solving issues related to the use of an interpreter and will by itself not lead to the high standards expected from an interpreter.

A strong reliance on a strict code of conduct is a risk, for which asylum seekers are most likely to pay the price (cf. Hale 2007:26). It is, for instance, difficult for asylum seekers to complain about the performance and quality of interpreters. An interpreter can deny such an accusation and is likely to be backed up by the IND: if the officer during the interview did not notice any divergences or problems in the interpreter's performance, he in fact judges the performance as compliant with the code of conduct. This seriously weakens the legal position of the asylum seeker, although the 14 interviews make clear that interpreters most of the time deliver good work.

The discrepancy between the legal framework and the interpreters' actual performance reveals, above all, that interpreting is an extremely complex matter and that it is unrealistic to expect that all aspects of the interpreters' tasks can be caught by a code of conduct (Wadensjö 1992: 271-273; Hale 2007:113). The stricter the code of conduct, the more situations will occur in which interpreters will or cannot adhere to it. A code of conduct cannot offer more than general guidance to interpreters performing in asylum interviews. That does not necessarily mean that the interpreters' performance is less bound: a code of conduct should be part of a package, together with training and extensive institutional support (Hale 2007:105). However, to define the limits within which an interpreter is allowed to operate, it is essential for the IND to find a solution for the issues we encountered in this study in order to get a better grip on the interpreters' performance in the asylum interviews. The questions raised in section 7.2.3, summarising these issues, can serve as a starting point in rethinking the interpreter's role in everyday practice.

7.3.2. Evaluating the performance

Precise evaluative measures seem to be necessary tools to get a grip on the interpreters' performance. As explained in chapter 1, according to the IND, the quality of interpreting is guaranteed by the opportunity for the asylum seeker to file a complaint about an interpreter and to make additions and corrections to the report of the interview, by the officer's questions during the interview that invite the asylum seeker to comment about the communication between himself and the interpreter and about the course of the interview, and by the (occasional) evaluation of the interpreters by the officers by

means of an evaluation form (NO 2012/142). Only a limited number of formal complaints reach the *Klachtencommissie Wbtv* ('Sworn Interpreters and Translators Complaints Committee'), which may be interpreted in a positive way as pointing to the high quality of performance of the interpreters, but it may also indicate that this committee is functioning at a suboptimal level (Onderzoeksraad voor Veiligheid 2014). In this respect it is relevant to note that complaints often cannot be judged due to lack of evidence. For this reason both the former and the new complaint committee advised the IND to start recording the second interviews in the asylum procedure. The same advice was given in the past by the National Ombudsman and the Advisory Committee for Migration Affairs (KACT 2009; Klachtencommissie Wbtv 2009, 2010, 2012; NO 2012/142; ACVZ 2007). These repetitive advices did not change the practice of the interviews.

Nevertheless, recording second interviews might also be a valuable addition to the evaluative measures that the IND has at its disposal. Recordings may not only be useful in case of complaints, but can also be used proactively to carry out random evaluations by experts of interpreters' performances and to act on suggestions to improve the performance of interpreters. Not recording interviews so vital for the asylum seekers involved cannot be justified by an appeal to additional juridical caveats and the assumed high quality of the interviews.

The officers' evaluation of interpreters' performances is probably the most valuable one of the evaluative measures employed by the IND. An officer can make an assessment of the course of communication and the interpreter's (non-verbal) attitude in the interview. For instance, an officer will note whether an interpreter makes an uninterested impression, such as the interpreter in interviews 6 and 7 of the corpus. Language comprehension is another important issue. An officer is able to assess the interpreter's command of the institutional language. Poor renditions in Dutch may lead to an increased number of mistakes in the report, certainly if an officer does not check the renditions frequently by initiating clarification sequences, as was the case in interview 8. Furthermore, an officer can assess the communication between the asylum seeker and the interpreter. The analysis shows that language varieties of the client languages may cause communication problems between the asylum seeker and the interpreter (cf. Blommaert 2001). The corpus contained, for instance, two interviews in which the interpreters were native speakers of Dutch who studied English as a second language. The asylum seekers in these interviews originated from West Africa and East Africa. As discussed before, especially the combination of the East African asylum seeker and the interpreter, in interview 15, turned out to a mismatch: the interpreter had serious problems in understanding the asylum seeker's variety of English. If an officer has (some) command of the client language, as was the case in this interview, he can employ this for assessing the interpreter's command of this language. But even if an officer has no command of the client language, it is possible for him to check the understanding between the asylum seeker and the interpreter on a regular basis, by (re)asking questions. This is likely to bring communication problems to the surface (cf. Bot 2005:202).

To decrease the chance of a mismatch in language varieties of the asylum seeker and the interpreter, it could be helpful to create more awareness of the existence of language varieties when interpreters are selected for specific interviews. Mismatches cannot be prevented always, though, since the language selection will have to be based on the asylum seeker's information about the languages he commands, which may not always be correct (Doornbos 2006:252). His command of a second language like English may, for instance, not be sufficient for him to use as client language in the interview or the language he claims to speak is related to the claimed country of origin, which may not be his real origin.

The least effective measure seems to be asking an asylum seeker during the interview whether he has understood the interpreter. As argued by Doornbos (2006) asylum seekers tend to confirm understanding the interpreter even if that was not the case, showing how cooperative they are. I found some evidence in the analysis of the interviews that the question whether an asylum seeker has something to comment on the course of the interview is just as ineffective. With regard to interview 15, I was surprised that neither the asylum seeker nor the volunteer of VVN commented on the poor performance of the interpreter, at the end of the interview when the asylum seeker was asked for comments on the course of the interview. Furthermore, I noted, in chapter 6, that asylum seekers made no comments regarding turns remaining without a rendition. This raises the question to what extent asylum seekers actually feel to be in a position to give comments on the performance of the professional discourse participants, and whether there is a better way of getting a response than asking for comments during the interview.

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Samenvatting

Inleiding

Deze studie onderzoekt de rol van de tolk in asielgehoren bij de Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst (IND). Tolken zijn onmisbaar in asielgehoren maar dragen tegelijkertijd ook bij aan de complexiteit van de institutionele interactie met asielzoekers. De tolken werken aan de hand van een gedragscode die is opgesteld door de IND. Deze gedragscode beschrijft de rol van de tolk en heeft als doel een eenduidige werkwijze onder de tolken te garanderen. Het gebruik van de gedragscode heeft echter niet kunnen voorkomen dat er in het verleden klachten zijn ingediend over het optreden van tolken in asielgehoren. Ook eerdere studies over institutionele gesprekken met een tolk wijzen op een discrepantie tussen de rol van de tolk zoals deze geformuleerd is in de gedragscode en zijn daadwerkelijke rol in de dagelijkse praktijk bij de IND. Het doel van mijn onderzoek is om de daadwerkelijke interactie in asielgehoren in detail te onderzoeken, waarbij het onderzoek naar het optreden en de rol van de tolk een centrale positie inneemt. Zijn er cruciale, terugkerende problemen in de complexe interactie tussen asielzoeker, tolk en IND-ambtenaar? Welke rol(len) nemen tolken in asielgehoren?

Communicatie in asielgehoren heeft sinds de jaren negentig van de vorige eeuw veel wetenschappelijke belangstelling gekregen, vanuit de tolkwetenschap maar ook vanuit de rechtswetenschap. In dit onderzoek verwijs ik veelvuldig naar de studies van Doornbos (2003, 2006), Wadensjö (1992, 1998), Pöllabauer (2003) en Maryns (2006). De rol van de tolk in institutionele gesprekken is een kernonderwerp in de tolkwetenschap. Hoewel er consensus is over het feit dat een tolk nooit als 'vertaalmachine' kan fungeren, blijft de vraag in hoeverre een tolk betrokken moet zijn in een gesprek en er sturing aan mag geven (cf. Schäffner et al. 2013; Pöchhacker & Shlesinger 2002; Jacobsen 2009). Dit onderzoek draagt bij aan deze discussie. De uitkomsten van dit onderzoek zijn relevant voor zowel tolk- als vertaalwetenschap. Daarnaast zijn de uitkomsten ook relevant voor (overheids)organisaties die werken met tolken in een institutionele setting.

Asielgehoren

De asielgehoren die in dit onderzoek geanalyseerd zijn, betreffen zogenoemde nader gehoren. Het nader gehoor is het onderdeel van de asielprocedure waarin een asielzoeker vertelt over zijn redenen om asiel aan te vragen. De asielgehoren volgen een vast, voorgeschreven scenario dat het verloop van het gehoor en de standaardrollen van de gespreksdeelnemers bepaalt. Het scenario maakt deel uit van het juridische kader dat de IND heeft opgesteld, bestaande uit werkinstructies voor de ambtenaren en een gedragscode voor de tolken. Vaste onderdelen in het gehoor zijn de introductie door de ambtenaar, het relaas, waarin de asielzoeker zoveel mogelijk ongehinderd vertelt over zijn asielmotieven, en het deel met vragen over het relaas, waarin de ambtenaar de asielzoeker vragen stelt. Kenmerkend voor institutionele gesprekken met behulp van

een tolk is het verschil in ervaring tussen de ambtenaren en tolken aan de ene kant en de asielzoekers aan de andere. Voor de asielzoekers in het onderzochte corpus is het gehoor een incidentele, maar zeer bepalende gebeurtenis, terwijl de tolken en ambtenaren professionals zijn: voor hen zijn de asielgehoren de dagelijkse praktijk.

Theoretisch kader

De analyse van de asielgehoren is uitgevoerd binnen een theoretisch kader over normen, ontwikkeld door Chesterman (1993, 1997) voor (schriftelijke) vertalingen en in dit onderzoek aangepast voor de context van institutionele gesprekken met een tolk. In hoofdstuk 2 wordt het theoretisch kader uiteengezet. Het uitgangspunt van het kader is de aanwezigheid van een vorm van gelijkheid tussen bron- en doelttekst,¹⁴² gedefinieerd op vier niveaus: het informatieniveau, het pragmatische niveau, het vormniveau en het sprekerniveau. Naast gelijkheid spelen algemene communicatieve en sociale principes een rol in het optreden van de tolk: het *co-operative principle* (Grice 1975), *footing* en *participation frameworks* (Goffman 1979). Het theoretisch kader verbindt de niveaus van gelijkheid met de communicatieve en sociale principes door middel van normen. In de eerste plaats zijn er de relatienorm – die gelijkheid tussen bron- en doelttekst vereist – en de communicatienorm – die gericht is op een optimaal verloop van de communicatie. De relatie- en communicatienorm worden verenigd door een derde norm, de verantwoordingsnorm (*accountability norm*), die eist dat gespreksdeelnemers zich committeren aan zowel de relatie- als de communicatienorm.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft verder de drie sleutelcomponenten die centraal staan in de analyse en kenmerkend zijn voor gesprekken met een tolk. De eerste component is het vertaalpaar (*turn-rendition pair*), bestaande uit een uiting van een primaire spreker en de bijbehorende vertolking door de tolk. Het vertaalpaar is een sleutelcomponent omdat het merendeel van de uitingen in gesprekken met een tolk tot een vertaalpaar behoren. Vertaalparen zijn bepalend voor de informatiestroom tussen de primaire sprekers. De tweede sleutelcomponent is de verhelderingssequentie (*clarification sequence*). Verhelderingssequenties komen veelvuldig voor in gesprekken in het algemeen en kunnen worden geïnitieerd door elke gespreksdeelnemer, ongeacht zijn rol, om een communicatieprobleem op te helderen. Op die manier probeert een gespreksdeelnemer de communicatie in stand te houden of te verbeteren en grip te houden op de informatie-uitwisseling. De derde sleutelcomponent bestaat uit alle beurten die *niet* behoren tot een vertaalpaar. Dat zijn beurten zonder vertaling, geproduceerd door de ambtenaar of de asielzoeker, en beurten geproduceerd door de tolk die geen vertalingen zijn. Deze component heb ik niet-vertaalde beurten (*non-translated turns*) genoemd. Niet-vertaalde beurten zijn vaak gerelateerd aan mechanismen of strategieën die tolken gebruiken voor gesprekscoördinatie.

Corpus

Voor het onderzoek is een corpus van 14 asielgehoren samengesteld en geanalyseerd. Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft hoe het corpus is samengesteld en geeft de belangrijkste eigenschappen van de 14 asielgehoren in het corpus. Daarnaast verschaft het hoofdstuk

¹⁴² Het woord 'tekst' verwijst in deze context naar de verbale uiting van de primaire spreker (brontekst) en de vertolking van deze uiting door de tolk (doelttekst).

informatie over de belangrijkste gesprekselementen: de beurten (*turns*) geproduceerd door de primaire sprekers (voornamelijk de asielzoeker en de ambtenaar), en de vertolkingen (*renditions*) door de tolk, behorende bij de beurten. Ook wordt de manier beschreven waarop de gesprekken zijn getranscribeerd. Het laatste deel van het hoofdstuk gaat in op de selectie van de voorkomens van de drie sleutelcomponenten, die de basis vormen voor de analyse in de hoofdstukken 4, 5 en 6.

Vertaalparen

Hoofdstuk 4 concentreert zich op de vergelijking van bronteksten en hun vertalingen aan de hand van 56 vertaalparen uit het corpus. Uit elke interview zijn vier vertaalparen geselecteerd: één uit de introductie, één uit het relaas en twee – een vraag en een antwoord – uit het deel met vragen over het relaas. Van elk paar is de beurt vergeleken met de bijbehorende vertolking. Voor de vergelijking zijn de beurten en de vertolkingen opgedeeld in kleinere onderdelen (*parts*). Voor elk onderdeel van een beurt is bepaald of er een vergelijkbaar onderdeel in de bijbehorende vertolking aanwezig was. Wanneer in beide onderdelen dezelfde inhoudswoorden voorkwamen, werd een gelijkheidsrelatie vastgesteld tussen het onderdeel van de beurt en van de vertolking. De overige onderdelen, waarvoor geen gelijkheidsrelatie kon worden vastgesteld, zijn de zogenoemde mutaties: onderdelen van beurten zonder equivalent in de vertolking, en onderdelen van vertolkingen die niet voorkomen in de oorspronkelijke beurt. De onderdelen met een gelijkheidsrelatie zijn gecheckt op zogenoemde modificaties: veranderingen in de vertolking ten opzichte van de beurt ten aanzien van de volgorde van de onderdelen, veranderingen in aanspreekvorm en andere veranderingen die maken dat de onderdelen van beurt en vertolking niet volledig synoniem zijn.

Het onderscheiden van de mutaties en de modificaties is de eerste stap in het bepalen van de verschuivingen (*shifts*) die optreden in vertaalparen, dat wil zeggen, de keuzes die tolken – bewust of onbewust – maken in het productieproces van vertolkingen. In de 56 vertaalparen komen 152 verschuivingen voor die leiden tot een ongelijkheid tussen bron- en doeltekst. De analyse laat zien dat tolken productiestrategieën toepassen, zoals het creëren van een grotere coherentie door onderdelen te verplaatsen of het vermijden van – in de ogen van de tolk – overbodige informatie door het weglaten van herhaalde informatie. Het doel van het toepassen van de strategieën is te komen tot een verbeterde versie van de beurt van de primaire spreker te creëren, ten koste van de gelijkheid tussen de beurt en de vertolking ervan, op een of meerdere van de vier onderscheiden niveaus van gelijkheid. Slechts in vier gevallen was de gelijkheidsrelatie tussen beurt en vertolking volledig synoniem, wat wil zeggen dat de beurt en de vertolking volledig gelijk waren op alle niveaus.

Verhelderingssequenties

In de 14 interviews zijn in het relaas en het deel met vragen over het relaas 1231 verhelderingssequenties aangetroffen, geïnitieerd door de tolk, de ambtenaar of de asielzoeker. In hoofdstuk 5 zijn de omstandigheden onderzocht onder welke omstandigheden deze verhelderingssequenties voorkomen en welke zogenoemde ontvangersstrategieën (*recipient strategies*) de gespreksdeelnemers toepassen om een verhelderingssequentie te initiëren.

De verhelderingssequenties komen voor in alle interviews, maar niet in elk interview even veel. De tolk is de gespreksdeelnemer die de meeste verhelderingssequenties initieert, de asielzoeker initieert het minste aantal. Dit laatste is te verklaren door het feit dat het doel van het interview is informatie van de asielzoeker te verkrijgen. Zodoende is de asielzoeker degene die het meeste spreekt, met name gedurende het relaas. De tolk is degene die de meeste beurten ontvangt, namelijk die van zowel de asielzoeker als de ambtenaar. De beurten van de asielzoeker geven meer aanleiding tot het initiëren van verhelderingssequenties dan die van de ambtenaar. Dit heeft deels te maken met het grotere aandeel van beurten van de asielzoeker en de lengte van deze beurten, en deels met het verschil in professionaliteit tussen de asielzoeker en de ambtenaar: de 'ruwe' beurten van de asielzoeker – niet aangepast aan de institutionele context – zullen vaker aanleiding geven tot een communicatieprobleem dan de beurten van de ervaren ambtenaren.

Het optreden van verhelderingssequenties heb ik gerelateerd aan drie ontvangersstrategieën. Deze ontvangersstrategieën komen voort uit pragmatische overwegingen of uit een bepaalde informatiebehoefte. De strategie HERHAAL/BEVESTIG heeft als doel het begrip te verbeteren door een probleem op te lossen ontstaan doordat een beurt niet goed verstaan of begrepen is (categorie (i)-sequenties). Deze categorie is verreweg het meest frequent. De strategie SPECIFICEER wordt toegepast om bepaalde informatie te expliciteren, als deze in de ontvangen beurt impliciet is gebleven (categorie (ii)-sequenties). Deze categorie komt veel minder voor dan categorie (i). De laatste strategie is TOEVOEGEN, en heeft informatie toevoegen als doel, wanneer een beurt bij de ontvanger leidt tot de behoefte aan aanvullende informatie (categorie (iii)-sequenties). Deze categorie komt het minste voor. Ik heb beargumenteerd dat het verschil in frequenties samenhangt met de mate van gelijkheid die bestaat tussen de informatie in de ontvangen beurt en die in de uiteindelijke verklaring. Als de gelijkheid groot is, zoals in het geval van categorie (i)-sequenties is het toepassen van de ontvangersstrategie geaccepteerd. Wanneer de gelijkheid klein(er) is, is het toepassen van de ontvangersstrategie minder of niet geaccepteerd (respectievelijk categorie (ii)- en (iii)-sequenties). Desalniettemin worden SPECIFICEER en TOEVOEGEN toch toegepast. In de voorkomende gevallen bewerkstelligt het toepassen van deze strategieën voor de ontvanger van een beurt een verbetering die van groter belang is dan het feit dat het toepassen van de strategie niet of minder geaccepteerd is.

Niet-vertaalde beurten

Niet-vertaalde beurten betreffen vaak coördinerende ingrepen. In hoofdstuk 6 zijn 684 voorkomens van niet-vertaalde beurten geanalyseerd, uit de introductie, het relaas of het deel met vragen over het relaas van de 14 asielgehoren. De tolken en de ambtenaren zijn het meest actief in het toepassen van coördinerende ingrepen, terwijl de asielzoekers het minste bijdragen aan de coördinatie. Dit laatste hangt samen met hun positie in het gesprek: zij dragen geen leidende of intermediaire rol, zoals de ambtenaar en de tolk. De analyse laat zien dat het coördineren van gespreksdeelname door de tolk essentieel is maar tegelijkertijd kan leiden tot een onbalans tussen coördinerende bijdragen van de tolk en zijn vertaaltaak, die ten koste gaat van de vertolkingen.

Twee hoofdcategorieën kunnen worden onderscheiden onder de niet-vertaalde beurten: coördinerende handelingen die bijdragen aan beurttoekenning (*turn-taking*) and coördinerende handelingen die bijdragen aan optimalisatie van de communicatie. Mechanismes voor beurttoekenning worden toegepast om andere gespreksdeelnemers aan te moedigen om verder te spreken, om de beurt bij de huidige spreker te houden en om een andere deelnemer op te laten houden met spreken. Bij het laatste kan een expliciete stopper worden gebruikt, maar vaker gebeurt het door middel van interruptie. Het voorkomen van geïnterrumpeerde, maar ook overlappende en opvolgende beurten, leidt ertoe dat een van de beurten zonder vertolking blijft. Uit de data is overigens niet gebleken dat de primaire sprekers het uitblijven van een vertolking als probleem ervaren.

De coördinerende handelingen die bijdragen aan optimalisatie van de communicatie betreffen in de eerste plaats strategieën vergelijkbaar met de ontvangersstrategieën die tot verhelderingssequenties leiden. Verder is er in deze hoofdcategorie sprake van directe communicatie tussen de primaire sprekers, van ambtenaren die een tolk een bepaald verzoek doen, waardoor een tolk een andere rol dan zijn voorgeschreven rol dient aan te nemen, en van meta-commentaar over het verloop van de communicatie en over sociale en praktische zaken gerelateerd aan het gesprek.

Conclusie

De analyse van het corpus van asielgehoren toont de tolk in een aanzienlijk aantal coördinerende handelingen. De hoge frequentie van deze activiteiten ondersteunt het standpunt dat de taken van een tolk niet alleen zien op vertalen maar ook op coördineren, zoals beargumenteerd door Wadensjö (1992, 1998) en Baraldi & Gavioli (2012b). Coördinerende ingrepen zijn in elk asielgehoor waar te nemen, hoewel sommige factoren ervoor zorgen dat het ene asielgehoor er meer vertoont dan het andere. Verschillen in de beheersing van de vreemde taal, door de tolk en de asielzoeker, of van de institutionele taal, door de tolk en de ambtenaar, blijken regelmatig voor te komen en dergelijke verschillen leiden noodzakelijkerwijs tot coördinerende ingrepen om communicatieproblemen op te lossen. De analyse van de asielgehoren laat ook zien dat er in het optreden van de tolk een algemene tendens is waar te nemen om de vertolkingen van de – met name lange – beurten van de asielzoeker beknopter te doen zijn dan de oorspronkelijke beurten, terwijl de vertolkingen van bondige beurten van de ambtenaar weer duidelijker en explicieter kunnen zijn dan de beurten zelf.

Vanuit het theoretisch kader van normen lijkt de communicatienorm verantwoordelijk voor het voorkomen van coördinerende ingrepen, die vaak van grote invloed zijn op het verloop en de inhoud van het gesprek. We vinden hier een discrepantie tussen de praktijk en het juridische perspectief. Een tolk heeft, naar de letter van de gedragscode van de IND waaraan de tolken zich committeren, niet de ruimte om coördinerende ingrepen uit te voeren. De vraag is vervolgens welke coördinerende ingrepen als noodzakelijk of onontkoombaar beschouwd mogen worden en om die reden aanvaardbaar zijn. Het bestaande juridisch kader geeft daar geen uitsluitel over.

Een deel van de coördinerende ingrepen is noodzakelijk en aanvaardbaar in het licht van de voorgeschreven rol van de tolk en van de andere gespreksdeelnemers in de

asielgehoren. Zo is het toepassen van de ontvangersstrategie HERHAAL/BEVESTIG nodig voor de ontvanger om een compleet en correct beeld van een beurt te krijgen. Middelen voor beurttoekenning, zoals continueerders en stoppers, zijn nodig voor gespreksdeelnemers om het verloop van een gesprek te kunnen beïnvloeden. Ook het optreden van meta-commentaar over het verloop van een gesprek en over praktische en sociale aspecten zijn in het algemeen onvermijdelijk. Ten slotte zijn modificaties in vertaalparen die de coherentie van een beurt verbeteren als relevant te beschouwen en daarom aanvaardbaar.

De noodzaak en aanvaardbaarheid van veel ingrepen of handelingen is twijfelachtig. Een deel van de mutaties in de vertaalparen tast de informatie uit de beurt aanzienlijk aan, vooral door het weglaten van informatie, maar ook door het toevoegen ervan. Hale (2004) wijst erop dat dit problematisch is voor zowel de ontvanger van de vertolking als de producent van de oorspronkelijke beurt, omdat zij beiden geen invloed hebben op het productieproces van de vertolking. Zowel de ontvanger als de producent weten niet of er informatie is weggelaten of toegevoegd. Ze moeten aannemen dat alle informatie, niet meer en niet minder, in de vertolking meegenomen is. In het geval van weggelaten informatie kan noch de producent, noch de ontvanger de relevantie van de weggelaten informatie beoordelen.

Andere gevallen waarin bepaalde informatie wegvalt, betreffen niet-vertaalde beurten zoals overlappende of opeenvolgende beurten waarvan een van de beurten zonder vertolking blijft. Als gevolg hiervan blijft de niet-vertaalde informatie ontoegankelijk voor de gespreksdeelnemer voor wie de beurt bedoeld is. Anders dan in het bovengenoemde geval van een mutatie is het uitblijven van de vertolking bij overlappen en opeenvolgende beurten wel waar te nemen voor de ontvanger en de producent. Uit de interviews blijkt evenwel nergens dat de primaire sprekers het achterwege blijven van vertolkingen als een probleem ervaren, iets wat Hale (2004) ook al observeerde. Dit kan erop wijzen dat de primaire sprekers ofwel niet letten op niet-vertaalde beurten, ofwel voldoende vertrouwen hebben in het oordeel van de tolk. Een derde mogelijkheid is dat de primaire sprekers het uitblijven van een vertolking wel ervaren als een nadeel, maar dat zij hiertegen in het gesprek geen bezwaar maken. Dat zou het meest voor de hand liggen voor de asielzoeker, vanwege zijn positie in het gesprek.

Ook het toepassen van ontvangersstrategieën kan leiden tot een situatie waarin de communicatienorm de overhand heeft. Een tolk die TOEVOEGEN toepast, stelt een vraag die eerder verwacht zou worden van de ambtenaar. Ook wanneer een tolk een vraag van de ambtenaar herformuleert of uitbreidt na een, in zijn ogen, onvoldoende antwoord, maakt hij een beslissing in plaats van de ambtenaar. Dit soort beurten van een tolk zijn ontoegankelijk voor de niet-geadresseerde primaire spreker.

Hoewel de noodzaak en aanvaardbaarheid van bovengenoemde ingrepen betwijfeld kan worden, kan het optreden van de tolk wel opgevat worden als zijnde gericht op optimalisatie van het gesprek. In het geval van omissies laat de tolk – in zijn ogen – irrelevante of overbodige informatie weg en in het geval van ontvangersstrategieën bespaart de tolk de ambtenaar moeite door namens hem in te grijpen. Hiermee wordt de rol van de tolk als communicator benadrukt (cf. Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Baraldi & Gavioli 2012b). Een klein deel van de ingrepen lijkt niet het optimaliseren van het gesprek tot

doel te hebben. Interview 15, een problematisch asielgehoor vanwege het beperkte begrip dat de tolk heeft van de taalvariëteit van de asielzoeker, bevat een aantal duidelijke voorbeelden van commentaar door de tolk, die vooral de functie lijken te hebben het gezicht van de tolk te redden. Dat dit vaker voorkomt blijkt uit observaties van Hale (2004) en Pöllabauer (2007).

Tussen de coördinerende ingrepen die duidelijk gerechtvaardigd zijn in het licht van de rol van de tolk en meer twijfelachtige ingrepen, ligt een groot, grijs gebied van handelingen waarvan men zich kan afvragen of het voorkomen ervan wel of niet gerechtvaardigd is. In de literatuur over institutionele gesprekken met een tolk bestaat wel consensus over het feit dat al deze soorten handelingen voorkomen in dit soort gesprekken (cf. Berk-Seligson 2002, Bot 2005, Hale 2004, Maryns 2006 en Wadensjö 1992/1998), maar de literatuur geeft geen sluitend antwoord op de vraag welke ingrepen gerechtvaardigd zijn in specifieke contexten als asielgehoren.

De uitkomsten van dit onderzoek laten zien dat de ingrepen van de tolken de communicatie in de asielgehoren niet op zo'n manier ondermijnen dat de asielzoeker niet in staat is zijn asielmotieven naar voren te brengen of daarin ernstig gehinderd wordt. Een indrukwekkend aantal ingrepen was er zelfs op gericht de asielzoeker te helpen, bijvoorbeeld door informatie van de ambtenaar te expliciteren of door de asielzoeker aan te moedigen een uitgebreider antwoord te geven. Dat werd al eerder geobserveerd werd door Doornbos (2006) in haar beschrijving van de Nederlandse asielcontext. Ik concludeer daarom dat de tolken hun vertaaltaak niet op een discutabele manier laten beïnvloeden door de communicatienorm wanneer zij dergelijke ingrepen uitvoeren. Uit de analyse blijkt niet of dergelijke ingrepen interfereren met de neutrale positie die de tolk hoort te hebben in het gesprek.

Curriculum Vitae

Susanne van der Kleij was born on 7 August 1975 in Voorburg. She started her higher education in 1994 at the Royal Academy of Arts in The Hague, but switched to Dutch linguistics and literature at the University Leiden after a year, to become a linguist instead of a graphic designer. As part of her study she spent six months at the University of Stellenbosch to participate in an MA-programme for general linguistics. She graduated in 1999 in Leiden, after finishing her MA-thesis on the topic of tense and aspect in Afrikaans. From 2000 until 2002 she worked as a researcher at the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam, studying Dutch dialects in the SAND-project (*Syntactic atlas of Dutch dialects*). In 2002 she left the academic work environment and entered the public sector, working as a linguist at the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND). This is where she got the inspiration to start a PhD-project about the interpreter's role in asylum interviews. She continued to work full time and carried out the PhD-project as an external PhD-candidate at the Radboud University Nijmegen. In 2010 she changed the IND for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where her main job was to write country reports about Somalia and Iraq. She started to work as an advisor for the Directorate General for Immigration at the Ministry of Security and Justice in 2012. In addition, she freelances as a photographer.

