Strategies in public service interpreting

A roleplay study of Chinese–Spanish/Catalan interactions

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Strategies have been far more widely researched in conference interpreting than in the interactional setting of public service interpreting (PSI), although studies of the latter by Wadensjö and other authors suggest a strategic rationale for certain types of rendition (especially *non-renditions*). The present article describes an exploratory, qualitative study, based on roleplay, to identify strategies in PSI: the roleplays were designed to incorporate a variety of 'rich points', coinciding with peak demands on the interpreter's problem-solving capacities and therefore particularly relevant to empirical study of interpreting strategies. Five interpreter-mediators with the Chinese–Spanish/Catalan language combination were each asked to interpret three different dialogues, in which the primary participants' input was a re-enactment of real situations. Analysis of the transcribed video recordings was complemented by a preliminary questionnaire and by retrospective interviews with the interpreters. Their strategies, classified according to whether the problems concerned were essentially linguistic or involved the dynamics of interaction, in some cases reflect priorities typically associated with intercultural mediation. The advantages and limitations of using 'rich points' and roleplays in the study of interpreting strategies are briefly discussed

Keywords: Public service interpreting, intercultural mediation, educational context, interpreting 'rich points', interpreting strategies

1.   Introduction[1]

Public service interpreting (PSI) plays a key role in ensuring that service users who do not know the official language(s) are able not only to communicate with the staff assisting them, but – above all – to do so effectively. This is a specialist role, with its own specific features, which requires distinct skills from other types of translation and interpreting (see, for example, Abril Martí 2006).

In the Catalan context, as in other Southern European countries, it is difficult to establish anything approaching a standard profile for those who play a role in mediated communication for public services. Baraldi and Gavioli (2012: 2), for instance, advocate the use of the term 'interpreter-mediator' to refer to "anyone who has been given or takes on the role of translating the ongoing talk […], whether or not s/he is professionally qualified".

The Catalan government has published several strategic plans on immigration. All these plans recognise the need to seek solutions to language barriers in public services, but they do not specify a well-defined professional profile for those who should take on this task. The texts concerned refer only to "communication facilitators", with the sole exception of the healthcare context, where the involvement of intercultural mediators is suggested. This has led in recent years to the emergence of several different profiles (both professional and *ad hoc*), for individuals entrusted with the task of facilitating communication: translators and interpreters, public service interpreters, intercultural mediators, language mediators, interlinguistic mediators, settlement professionals, linguistic 'chaperones', etc. The level of professionalism and training ranges from a general degree in Translation and Interpreting, but no specific qualification in PSI, to extensive training in intercultural mediation with hardly any emphasis on dialogue interpreting. When studying the situation in Catalonia, this variability cannot be overlooked.

The two most studied profiles from an academic point of view are those of the public service interpreter and the intercultural mediator, particularly in the healthcare and education contexts. Both these figures make use of their linguistic and cultural knowledge for the overall purpose of facilitating communication between people of different backgrounds. However, they each use this knowledge to achieve different specific objectives (García-Beyaert & Serrano Pons 2009). The interpreter seeks to play a vehicular role, allowing the two parties to talk to each

other without interference: to overcome language barriers, s/he becomes the voice of each party in the language of the other, enabling them to communicate.

On the other hand, the mediator's role involves facilitating the parties' interaction through active and creative intervention. The mediator may take on a much wider range of tasks, in addition to dialogue interpreting. Among these are cultural decoding; provision of information, advice and support in administrative procedures; questioning of cultural filters and stereotypes; conflict management and negotiation; and protection of service users' rights, as well as health education and related promotional activity (Suess 2015).

The main aim of the exploratory research described in this paper is to study the strategic behaviour of public service interpreters/mediators, focusing on the example of the Chinese–Spanish or Chinese–Catalan language combination. Hönig and Kussmaul (1982) define strategy as "a process leading to an optimal solution to a translation problem". Hurtado (2001) puts forward a similar definition, stating that strategy "is individual and procedural, and consists of the mechanisms used by the translator to solve problems encountered in the translation process according to their specific needs". In both cases, the concept of strategy is closely linked to that of the translation problems, which, according to Nord (1988: 51), "are objective difficulties that all translators need to resolve during a given task, regardless of their level of competence and formal working conditions". As Kalina observes (2015: 402), the problem–strategy binomial in conference interpreting has been studied in numerous research papers, chiefly focusing on simultaneous interpreting (see, for instance, Abuín 2007; Arumí 2012; Gile 2002; Kalina 1998, 2000; Kohn & Kalina 1996; Riccardi 1996, 1998, 1999; Sunnari 1995). This means that strategies such as anticipation, chunking and inferencing have been discussed, essentially reflecting the monologic nature of the task in hand. By contrast, discussion of strategy in dialogue interpreting is to be found scattered thinly among studies on discourse management, turn-taking, and intercultural mediation.

The present study puts forward an innovative approach, applying the notion of strategy for the first time to dialogue interpreting. This approach involves examining the interactional component of dialogue interpreting, without forgetting the textual dimension. The ultimate aim is to provide an analytical framework for material such as that studied here, the product of roleplays based on authentic situations.

2.   Strategies in dialogue interpreting

Wadensjö (1998) is one of the authors who have made the greatest contribution to an understanding of the interpreter-mediated encounter as a whole. According to

the dialogic model of language (Bakhtin 1986), meaning is conceptualised as co-constructed between the speaker and the listener during their interaction. Part of the sense that the latter makes of specific words or expressions s/he hears is based on newly acquired knowledge about the context in which a particular utterance is voiced (and to which s/he too contributes, as a party to the interaction). The interpreter takes part in this social interaction, in which s/he potentially has a unique opportunity to understand everything said and, therefore, a unique opportunity to monitor and coordinate interaction. This is one of the key notions underpinning the present study.

Wadensjö (1998) proposes the following classification of renditions in PSI: *close renditions*, practically reproducing the original; *expanded renditions*, giving more information than the original; *reduced renditions*, giving less information than the original; *substituted renditions*, different from the original; *summarised renditions*, including more than one turn or intervention by the primary speakers; *multi-part renditions*, split into two or more parts because the interpreter is interrupted by the primary speaker(s); *non-renditions*, which are the interpreter's own interventions; and *zero renditions*, when a primary speaker's turn (or part of it) is not interpreted.

Specifically, Wadensjö (1998: 108–110) identifies two forms of non-rendition: those with a "textual orientation", used by the interpreter to clarify doubts or comment on their rendition; and those with an "interactional" orientation, to manage turn-taking or ask for information previously requested by any of the speakers. Although the author does not mention the strategic component explicitly, it is clear that non-renditions serve the interpreter's intention by helping address problems of comprehension or expression (textual orientation) and/or by coordinating discourse and thus furthering both parties' participation (interactional orientation). Coordination has become a key topic in PSI research. However, the related studies have mostly attempted to describe how "coordination affects participants' chances to make an active contribution by giving them a space to talk and possibly empowering (or failing to empower) them as agents" (Gavioli & Baraldi 2011: 2).

For the purpose of the present article, the interpreter's contributions to coordination are regarded as strategies to manage specific problems that may arise in the interaction. While Wadensjö's (1998) discussion of renditions and of the parameters involved in interpreting does not specifically examine strategies, it does provide a good basis for analysing their role in dialogue interpreting. One particular question that arises is whether there might be a strategic reason for the use of an expanded rendition, there being clear indications that non-renditions often have a strategic rationale in relation to turn-taking or conversation management (Wadensjö 2015).

3.   Methodology

This study is based on the analysis of 15 interpreted roleplays (five interpreters, each interpreting the same three scripts), an initial questionnaire and subsequent retrospective interviews with the interpreters.

All five interpreters were women, working in the Chinese–Spanish/Catalan combination, with experience in PSI. Consistent with the introductory remarks about the variety of professional profiles on the PSI market in Catalonia, the group included both interpreters and mediators. For the sake of simplicity, all of them are referred to below as 'interpreters', though some of them lacked specific training in PSI and in some cases were also unaware of professional standards in this field.

The interpreters were also from very diverse personal backgrounds: two of them were born in Catalonia and were native speakers of Catalan; one, a Spanish native speaker, was born in France (of Spanish parents); and two, both Chinese native speakers, were born in China. Although our intention was to include only interpreters who had at least three years' experience in social services or education, the contractual status and job instability of public service interpreters in Spain meant that we were unable to recruit enough interpreters who met this condition and therefore had to include two interpreters with only two years' experience. Similarly, although we wanted to prioritise interpreters who were experienced in social services and education, two interpreters in the sample had worked only occasionally in these settings and had greater experience in healthcare or court interpreting.

Before starting the roleplays, all the interpreters signed an informed consent form, confirming they had received exhaustive information and giving their explicit consent to be recorded. They were then asked to interpret as they would in their daily work. They were told that they were free to take notes, and also to interrupt the primary participants (service provider and user) if that was what they would do in real life.

3.1   Data collection

The roleplays were based on actual examples of interpreted interactions in the Chinese–Catalan language combination (Vargas-Urpi & Arumí Ribas 2015). These occurred during a meeting at a Catalan secondary school, at which the teacher of a Chinese boy in the fourth year of compulsory secondary education discussed the options for higher education with the pupil's mother. The exchanges concerned were interpreted by a mediator of Chinese origin, who had broad experience in social services and education. Our analysis in that initial study identified certain points that we considered problematic for PSI, such as terminology very

specific to the particular field, unfinished or ambiguous phrases, and incoherent speech fragments.

On this basis, we drew up a list of items falling into the categories represented (with examples of their occurrence in our roleplay scripts) in Table 1. These problems fall within Wadensjö's (1998) broad concepts of "talk as text" (e.g., semantic problems, or difficulties related to culture–bound references) and "talk as activity" (e.g., conversation management, ethical dilemmas).

Table 1. Classification of problems in public service interpreting[2]

Type of problem	Examples: What does the interpreter do when …?
Lexical	One of the primary participants uses a linguistic element that does not have a direct equivalent. Example: the social worker mentions the "Libro de Familia" (literally 'family book'), a documentary record of family status in Spain.
	One of the primary participants uses a highly specialised (and perhaps unknown) term. Example: the social worker talks about the PIRMI, a specific minimum income benefit given in Spain.
	One of the primary participants uses an acronym or abbreviation not directly related to the communicative context. Example: the teacher mentions the "Gencat", the customary abbreviation for the webpage of the Catalan government.
Pragmatic	One of the primary participants uses a very formal or specialised register. Example: the teacher adopts a specialised register in talking about the student's maturity and personality development.
	One of the primary participants uses a very low or very colloquial register.
	The response of one of the primary participants is not consistent with the question asked (possibly because they have not understood what was said). Example: when asked by the social worker if she has reported to the police that her husband left her some months ago, the user answers that she has not seen her husband since Christmas.
Cultural	One of the primary participants uses a cultural reference (cultureme) that does not have a direct equivalent. Example: the social worker mentions the "consell comarcal" (literally, county council), an institution without a direct equivalent in the target culture.
	The interpreter identifies a cultural misunderstanding. Example: in China, when a baby is born, s/he is already considered one year old. This results in a misunderstanding when the mother says her son is seven, but the teacher states that he is only six.

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2. Although the research included a more extensive list, for the purpose of this article we have chosen the most representative categories for each type of problem.

Table 1. (*continued*)

Type of problem	Examples: What does the interpreter do when …?
Management of the conversation	The turns overlap. Example: in the third roleplay, there are two providers and at one point they start talking at the same time.
	One of the primary participants interrupts the interpreter. Example: while the interpreter is translating a long turn by the teacher, the mother interrupts to bring in an additional point.
	A very long segment. Example: the teacher describes in some detail all the options the student has when he finishes compulsory secondary education.
	One of the primary participants does not answer.
Impromptu speech	Information given in a turn is redundant. Example: the social worker asks the same question several times, expressed differently, within a single turn.
	Information given in a turn is insufficient. Example: the social worker asks two different questions, but the user answers only one.
	One of the parties responds only with an interjection or continuer.
Pronunciation or expression	One of the parties speaks in a very low, almost inaudible voice.
	One of the parties talks too quickly.
Ethical dilemmas	One of the parties shows contempt for, or even insults, the other. Example: in the third roleplay, there are two providers (the social worker and the educator) and, in a monolingual exchange, the social worker criticises the user.
	The interpreter is requested to do something outside the role of interpreter. Example: in the first roleplay, the interpreter and the mother are left alone for a moment and the mother asks the interpreter for advice.
	One of the primary participants asks for preferential treatment. Example: in the third roleplay, after a monolingual exchange, the educator asks the interpreter not to translate what she just said.

In the PACTE research project (Beeby et al. 2009; PACTE 2003, 2005), the analysis of 'rich points' focuses "data collection and analysis on text units considered translation problems". In our study, this definition is broadened to include problems related to interaction, thus reflecting the characteristics of PSI. In other words, 'rich points' can broadly be considered as speech segments associated with peak demands on the interpreter's problem-solving capacities.

According to the classification of PSI problems shown in Table 1, we selected the most representative types and assigned them to the scripts of the various roleplays used for data collection. Three scripts were devised, each containing some of

the 'rich points' or translation problems we wished to study. Each of the interpreters participating in the study interpreted all three roleplays.

Table 2 summarises the main features of each roleplay.

Table 2. Main features of the roleplays

Roleplay	Location	Primary participants	Language combination	Main objective
RP1	Catalan state secondary school	– Tutor for 4th year of compulsory secondary education (CSE) – Mother of Chinese origin	Chinese–Catalan	Explain to the mother the pupil's options at the end of CSE.
RP2	Municipal Education Office (MEO)	– Officer – Mother of Chinese origin	Chinese–Spanish	Deal with school enrolment for the user's son, who has arrived half-way through the school year.
RP3	Social Services Office	– Social worker – Social educator – User of Chinese origin	Chinese–Spanish	Inform the user of the support available to her after her husband has left her.

We also designed questionnaires to be completed before the interview, and the interviewer's script for the retrospective interview. The initial questionnaire included simple questions designed to gather basic information on the interpreters' working experience (years of experience, areas of work, specific training, etc.). For the retrospective interviews, a semi-structured interview script was prepared, enabling the interviewer to adapt the questions so as to obtain the most relevant information. This included asking the interpreters to self-assess their renditions, explain how they had felt while interpreting and specify the main problems they had perceived, as well as how they had tackled them. In the final part of the interview, the script for the roleplays was reviewed with the interpreters so that they could discuss in greater detail some of the particular problems they had encountered.

Prior to the data collection, we carried out a pilot project, which enabled us to improve some aspects of the roleplay scripts as well as the focus of some of the items, in both the questionnaire and the interview.

In the roleplays, various members of the research team played the roles of the users and service providers (teacher, public servant, social worker or social educator). Although the interaction was based on a script that had to be followed in order to ensure the analysis of certain problems, it could be adapted by ad-libbing

so that the interaction was consistent with the renditions of the interpreters. The first roleplay (referred to, in Table 2, as 'RP1') had an average duration of about 24 minutes for the five interpreters, while RP2 and RP3 lasted an average of about 15 minutes and 18 minutes respectively. A total of 528 minutes of roleplays and retrospective interviews were recorded.

A static camera, trained directly on the interpreter, showed the service providers and the user in profile. Thus, the physical presence of recording technicians, which could have distracted the participants, was avoided during the roleplays.

3.2   Data analysis

The roleplays were transcribed verbatim, and the transcripts were analysed with regard to:

–   types of rendition, classified according to Wadensjö's (1998) taxonomy, and
–   strategies to address particular problems ('rich points').

The analysis of strategies was complemented by interpreters' retrospective comments on specific 'rich points'. To ensure thoroughness and consistency, each of the two authors reviewed the other's analysis.

The different interpreters' strategies in handling the various 'rich points' were compared. This allowed triangulation of data from different sources, on the basis of which strategies[3] were classified as explained in the following section.

4.   Findings: Classification of strategies

Strategies were classified, on the basis of whether they related to essentially linguistic problems ("talk as text") or to management of the conversation and related information ("talk as activity"). Due to space constraints, we will present only a selection of the most relevant examples.

4.1   Talk as text: Strategies for solving lexical problems

Strategies used for lexical and terminological problems are generally the easiest to define and therefore to analyse. Lexical and terminological problems can arise when the interpreter does not know the item concerned in the original language or its target language equivalent (possibly because there is none).

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3.   The table in the Appendix shows how this triangulation was carried out, and compares the strategies used for the 'rich points' identified.

In this respect, the Law10n research project (Orozco-Jutorán 2014) on legal translation distinguishes between "conceptual equivalents" and "linguistic equivalents": the former are used when there is an equivalent for the original concept in the target language and culture, while the latter can be an option when no such equivalent exists.

Based on the categories proposed in the Law10n project, the following list identifies the techniques used in addressing terminological problems:

– use of an exact target language equivalent. For example, four interpreters translate the Spanish term *bachillerato* with the Chinese term *gaozhong* (高中), meaning the final secondary school years in which pupils prepare for university entrance exams. The only difference between them is that the term *bachillerato* usually includes two school years, whereas the Chinese *gaozhong* covers three;

– use of a dynamic equivalent that is for practical purposes functionally the same in the target language – for example, translating the Spanish *ciclo formativo de grado medio* ("middle-level vocational training") with the Chinese *xuexiao jishu* (技术学校, "technical school"). Although the idea of "middle-level vocational training" is broader, the Chinese wording conveys an important feature of the original – i.e. that the education concerned is not university-level;

– use of a periphrastic translation, to explain a lexical item in the target language. Valero-Garcés (2005) also includes the explanation of terms as a terminological resource in healthcare interpreting. In our corpus, this strategy is used not only for terms that have no target language equivalent, but also for those that the interpreters do not know and do not have time to look up. For example, interpreter 3 explains the concept of custody by saying "you can keep the children"; similarly, she glosses "alimony" as "to give you money for food." In most cases, the use of a periphrastic translation means lowering the register of the original;

– use of a lexical translation or calque, typically for a noun phrase, translating it word for word. For example, interpreter 2 conveys the term *título de técnico de grado medio* through the calque "medium-level technical degree" (中等水平的科技人员学凭);

– use of a loanword – i.e., leaving the item in the original language. In our analysis, this is rarely used as the sole strategy, since it is often accompanied by a periphrastic or lexical translation. For example, the Spanish acronym PIRMI indicates the *renta mínima de inserción* or "minimum income for integration" programme: three interpreters left this item in the original language, followed by an explanation. The interpreter's use of loan words is in some cases intended to help the user become familiar with them, for practical purposes. Thus,

interpreter 5's retrospective interview includes the comment that "it is important that the user recognises the term as it is used in the original language".

The extensive use of periphrastic translations is particularly striking, but understandable in a setting where it is difficult to access terminological reference materials in real time. In some cases, several interpreters asked the provider to clarify the meaning of the term and a periphrastic translation was then used accordingly. For instance, interpreter 3 asked for the definition of *ciclo formativo de grado medio* before glossing it as "middle-level vocational training". In the retrospective interview, she explains that she has mostly worked in social services and is unfamiliar with a number of education-related terms such as this.

In the case of omissions, it is difficult to establish whether they were to be considered as oversights, or as strategic choices so as to avoid the problem of having to convey unfamiliar terms. In just one instance, interpreter 1 admitted in the retrospective interview that she had omitted "alimony" because she did not know the term in Chinese and had also chosen to prioritise other elements in the turn.

Another strategy to take into account in PSI is the possibility of using deictics to replace unfamiliar terms, as noted by Valero-Garcés (2005). Two interpreters in the present study did so, using "this" and "here" to qualify a handbook lying on the table that the teacher was describing to the mother.

Finally, in some cases, the interpreter combined the translation of a term with a non-rendition as a way of ascertaining whether the user was familiar with the lexical item concerned. For example, in roleplay 2, the public employee at the municipal education office requested the user's *Libro de Familia* (see Table 1). This document (which certifies the family relationship of parents and children) is issued when a marriage or a baby is registered in the Civil Registry. Immigrants would normally have received the *Libro de Familia* if any of their children were born in Spain. The different strategies used by interpreters in our corpus to deal with this lexical item are detailed below:

Interpreters 1 and 2 question the user to find out whether the *Libro de Familia* can be regarded as a shared reference. A different form of non-rendition is introduced by interpreter 3, who tells the user that she will look up the exact equivalent later. Interpreter 4 assumes that the user does not have the document concerned and, in providing an explanation, lists possible Chinese documents that could be considered as alternatives. Finally, interpreter 5 is the one who confines herself most strictly to the task of conveying only the information available to her.

In analysing these strategies, we should also take into account each interpreter's background and experience. For example, interpreters 1 and 2 have extensive experience in social services and their questions show that they understand the doubts the user will probably have regarding the *Libro de Familia* (i.e.,

Table 4. Interpretation of *Libro de Familia*

Interpreter	Rendition in Chinese, followed by English gloss	Strategies
1	那个*Libro de Familia* (.) 那个家庭本子，家庭的本子，他在这里出生的吗你的儿子？在西班牙出生吗？ The *Libro de Familia* (.), family book, the family's record book. Was your son born here? Was he born in Spain?	Loan + lexical translation + non-rendition
2	第一个就是*Libro de Familia*. 就是家庭:::怎么说？家庭本子元件和复印件。这个有没有，*Libro de Familia*? (…) 应该没有。因为他在中国出生了。 The first thing is the *Libro de Familia*. This is about the family::: what shall we say? The original and photocopy of the family book. Do you have this, the *Libro de Familia?* (…) You won't have it. Because he was born in China.	Loan + lexical translation + non-rendition (question and personal remark)
3	那个:::家庭:::就是那个本子有家庭的名字，家人的名字。(…) 这个以后我就查词典告诉你，好吗？ This::: family thing::: this book saying the family name, the names of the family members. (…) I'll look this up in the dictionary afterwards and will tell you, okay?	Periphrastic translation + non-rendition (to indicate a strategy of post-task documentation)
4	我们中国没有的那个 *Libro de Familia*. 应该是就是说一证书是代表你是他妈妈那个谁是他爸爸，你有几个小孩，因为中国没有这样的证书了。 In China we don't have this *Libro de Familia*. It must be a certificate which shows that you are his mother, who is his father, how many children you have, because we don't have this kind of certificate in China.	Periphrastic translation, which includes the loanword and a possible dynamic equivalent.
5	家庭书嘛，就是那个公证书，你们是一家的证明。 The family book, an official certificate certifying you are family.	Calque + periphrastic translation

an immigrant whose children were not born in Spain will probably not have encountered this document). Interpreter 4 goes a step further, by assuming from the outset that the user does not have a *Libro de Familia* and suggesting alternative documents – in other words, she takes on what Pöllabauer (2004) would call the role of auxiliary officer by providing information of her own initiative. Interpreter 3 is less familiar with the setting and, for this reason, prefers to confirm the translation by using external reference materials.

Finally, this analysis also reflects how problems in handling a source language term or finding a target language equivalent may require interactive strategies such as negotiation of meaning through dialogue with the primary participants.

4.2 Talk as activity: Managing the conversation and related information

Different coordination strategies are used to manage the conversation and the flow of information in our sample. Some of these strategies are more intrusive – for example, when the interpreter interrupts one of the primary participants to ask for clarification, or for a pause; some are less intrusive – for example, when only non-verbal signals or discursive markers are used, without a more explicit verbal intervention.

In this study, strategies for conversation management are used to facilitate turn-taking, as well as to ask for a pause in order to translate. These strategies arise in conjunction with 'rich points', such as particularly long discourse segments, overlaps between participants or interruptions. The following example illustrates an interpreter's non-rendition, to request a pause so as to interpret a turn that might otherwise become too long.

Extract 1 (Interpreter 2, roleplay 3)

– User: 去过了，因为他跑/走了，抛弃了我们，我们一分钱也没有 (.)
我们付不出 房租费 ::: 有一天给他姐姐打过电话，我跟她说要找
他弟弟付房租费 =

(Yes, because he left, and we have no money (.) and we couldn't pay the rent any more ::: and one day I phoned his sister and told her he had to try to pay the rent =)

Int-2:   =好的，首先，不好意思，我首先翻译

(= Okay, first, sorry, first I'll translate)

In extract 1, the user digresses when answering a very specific question from the social worker. The interpreter is not taking notes and feels the need to interrupt: in addition to the oral non-rendition, she also motions with her hand signal to request a pause.

When faced with a particularly long segment or one that contains too much information, the interpreter applies various strategies: these include, in some cases, a request for the speaker to pause and, in others, restructuring of information without interrupting the speaker. Table 5 presents examples of these strategies.

Table 5. Strategies to address segments that are particularly long or contain too much information

Strategy (specific example)	Purpose
Interruption, so that the intervention is broken down into two or more turns for the interpreter	Facilitate continuity in the relaying of information (so that the user does not wait so long to receive the information)
Non-rendition to request a pause: "Okay, first, sorry, first I'll translate."	Request a pause in order to interpret
Note-taking	Retrieve information more easily from the notes
Gesturing to signal "pause"	Request a pause in order to translate
"Well" discourse marker (e.g., "Well, yes, that…")	Signal that an explanation or summary of the original intervention is about to begin
Splitting the original into several turns in the rendition (multi-part rendition)	Facilitate the interlocutor's response // Facilitate the retrieval of the information requested (if various questions are asked)
Restructuring of the information received	Emphasise the items mentioned first

As already noted, some strategies facilitate both information management and conversation management. For example, use of interjections ('oh', 'ah') as continuers (non-intrusive coordination strategies) serves not only to confirm that the information has been received, but also to indicate that the communication channel is open. According to Gavioli and Baraldi (2011), such interjections can also be used when a participant who has stopped or been interrupted is asked to resume speaking.

On the other hand, some strategies are clearly driven by the need to manage the information received and ensure that it can be more easily communicated to the addressee. Thus, information management strategies are variously used to segment the information received into different turns, to emphasise a particularly important segment of the rendition, to provide clarification, or to explicitate meaning contained in the original. In extract 2, for example, the interpreter first uses a non-rendition to seek confirmation of an unclear point, then combines explicitation and clarification strategies for the mother's benefit:

Extract 2 (Interpreter 1, roleplay 1)

Teacher: A veure… eh… el seu fill, fora de les llengües, el castellà i el català, en el grup de quart d'adaptació, eh?, que sabem que està adaptat, va bé. Especialment en matemàtiques, en biologia, en totes eh::: tot el que són matèries més científiques, no? Per dir–ho d'alguna manera, en matemàtiques. *(Let me see … well … your son, other than language, Spanish and Catalan, in the fourth year adaptation group, right ?, where we know*

he has settled in, he is doing well. Especially in maths, in biology, um, in all those::: all the more scientific subjects, right? That is, in maths).

Int–1 :   [to the teacher] Va més bé? *(He's doing better?)*

Teacher: Sí. *(Yes.)*

Int–1:   就是你的儿子初四，现在上初四就是水平是跟其他的水平是适应他的水平，不是跟本级人一样的水平啊，那学习的课程除了语言以外，语言西班牙语，加泰兰语还不怎么样其他的呢，科学方面的课程就不错，特别是数学啊，数学很不错。 *(Let's see, well, your son, who's in fourth year of secondary school, he's now in the fourth year, let's say that his level compared with other children, his level is adapted, it's not the same as the other people at the same level. So, in the subjects he is studying, except for language, languages, Spanish and Catalan, in which he is not doing very well, in the others, the more scientific subjects, he's not doing badly, especially maths, he is not doing at all badly in maths.)*

In this exchange, the 'rich point' is the unclear formulation of the teacher's initial comments. Interpreter 1 uses a contextualisation to make some of the information concerned explicit and easier for the mother to understand.

In extract 3, the interpreter attempts to reflect the service provider's emphasis by repeating the same question several times and thus helping the user reframe an initially incoherent answer:

Extract 3 (Interpreter 1, roleplay 3)

Soc. ed.: No, no, le preguntaba si ha ido a denunciar a la policía que su marido la ha abandonado::: *(No, no, I asked you if have reported to the police that your husband has left you:::)*

Int–1:   对了，但是告了吗？就是跟警察说了吗？你丈夫就是走了吗？ *(Yes, but have you reported it? Have you told the police? That your husband has gone?)*

User: 哦我去过[警察 *(Yes, I've been to the police)*

Another strategy to solve the problem of an incoherent answer is to provide a more detailed explanation, as can be seen in extract 4.

Extract 4 (Interpreter 2, roleplay 3)

User: 从圣诞节前就没见到他。 *(I haven't seen him since last Christmas).*

Int–2 :   Desde Navidad no ha visto a su marido. *(She hasn't seen her husband since last Christmas).*

Soc. ed.: No, no, le preguntaba si ha ido a denunciar a la policía que su marido la ha abandonado… *(No, no, I asked her whether she has been to the police to report that her husband has left her.)*

Int–2:   是这样她的问题就是有没有去 Santa Coloma 的警察局通知告诉他们你老公两个多月都没回家，有没有去？ *(It's this: she is asking whether you have been to the police station in Santa Coloma to notify them, to inform*

> *them that your husband hasn't come home for over two months now, have you been?)*

In this specific example, the interpreter adds information that does not appear in the original (the reference to Santa Coloma, for example), but can be inferred from the context. In this scenario, as well as in extract 2, the interpreters (re)construct contextually relevant meaning (Wadensjö 1998) and, in addition to the linguistically encoded meaning, use contextual assumptions (Mason 2006) with a view to empowering the user.

Another 'rich point' was a monolingual dialogue involving two providers, who then asked the interpreter not to interpret this exchange for the user. All the interpreters chose not to convey this message to the user (zero rendition): while this shows their spirit of cooperation with the providers, it compromises the ethical principles of accuracy, transparency and impartiality (García–Beyaert et al. 2015).

5.   Discussion and conclusions

This analysis sheds light on the interpreter's strategic behaviour in PSI, highlighting a variety of issues which merit discussion. Firstly, the study underlines the importance of taking into account the interactive and dynamic nature of interpreted dialogues when studying interpreters' strategies. Rather than concentrate exclusively on the interpreter's role as a translator, the study follows the path indicated by Wadensjö (1995, 1998) in showing how each participant in the triadic encounter affects the others' behaviour and action; this means that, by extension, the strategies adopted by the interpreter are directly dependent on his or her interaction with the other participants.

An analysis of the interpreters' non-renditions reveals many questions designed to confirm, complete or disambiguate information (textual orientation: see Wadensjö, 1998). In some cases, questions are also used to retrieve information that has been temporarily forgotten; by contrast, only one interpreter systematically took notes.

When considering PSI in the "talk as text" paradigm, interpreters unable to come up immediately with a semantic equivalent for a term often use periphrasis. Coordination strategies are also frequent, as when the interpreters provide extra information or clarification, sometimes directly interrupting one of the interlocutors in order to interpret.

This brings us back to the role of the interpreters participating in the study. Their willingness to take the initiative in coordinating exchanges could be attributed in part to the recognised prominence of intercultural mediation in Catalonia

(with four out of the five interpreters in the study actually working a lot as mediators) – hence the tendency to adopt a more proactive role in the conversation. For example, the interpreters in our study use intrusive strategies (questions and interventions of their own), but also make extensive use of non-intrusive strategies (such as non-verbal language or continuers), both to coordinate information and for turn-taking. However, these strategies may also be related to a lack of professionalisation, and therefore of specialised PSI training, in Catalonia: it is very significant, for example, that only one interpreter decided to take notes when faced with a particularly long turn, and that there was a failure to observe ethical principles such as those listed in codes of professional conduct.

The study presents an innovative approach, examining strategies in relation to 'rich points' in a simulated PSI setting. Such points allow systematic observation of different interpreters' strategies for dealing with the same problem. However, the use of 'rich points' also poses certain difficulties: interruptions are a case in point, since it is far from easy to simulate them convincingly in roleplay. In addition, though the aim is to achieve a natural simulation based on relatively fixed scripts, some ad-libbing will be required by the primary participants according to the interpreter's renditions (or non-renditions): this might mean that some 'rich points' are lost, in an attempt to ensure discursive coherence.

The application of 'rich points' to the study of PSI is also a methodological constraint, since roleplay is probably the only empirical setup that allows repetition of the same specific problems for different interpreters in a sample. This entails a number of drawbacks. The most obvious is the ultimately artificial nature of the simulations. While we attempted to recreate situations as close to reality as possible, the interpreters were aware at all times that the exercise was a roleplay. For example, interpreter 1 commented retrospectively that she had not felt the same "pressure to do well" as she would usually experience at work. In addition, the fact that some of the researchers also acted out the role of service providers in the simulations could have introduced an element of participant bias into the analysis.

The retrospective interview is very useful when it comes to studying strategic behaviour in interpreting. This can be particularly relevant when it comes to looking in greater depth at the strategies used to handle the 'rich points' in our study. Admittedly, it would have been useful to focus the retrospective interviews to a certain extent on a number of specific segments to be viewed with the interpreters. This would have been particularly relevant to ascertaining whether omissions were prompted by strategic considerations. However, due to time constraints, the retrospective interviews were conducted shortly after the roleplays, focusing on the most obvious problems identified. This meant that the interpreters' retrospective comments did not cover all the problems that were subsequently detected.

However, taking into account both the textual and the interactional perspective allows realistic evaluation of interpreters' strategic behaviour, because the two approaches often seem to merge: a textual problem may be dealt with at a purely linguistic level, but the interpreter will often interrupt and ask a question, thereby introducing an element of dialogue coordination to the strategy adopted.

During the course of this study, we detected many instances of strategic behaviour which did not correspond to specific problems or 'rich points', but seemed to aim more at reinforcing the relationship between the participants in the interaction (expressions of empathy towards the user, or signs of cooperation towards the providers). Although such cases have not been considered in the present article, they could be revisited in future research.

The present study opens up two clear avenues for further work on strategic behaviour in PSI. First, the combined use of 'rich points' and roleplay, complemented with retrospective interviews, could be applied to a broader and more representative sample of interpreters, as well as to different language combinations. Second, there is an obvious case to be made for applying the same type of analysis to naturally occurring data.

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Appendix

Triangulation table, with a selection of the 'rich points' in the first roleplay and information from the interviews.[4]

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4. This table presents the initial triangulation of the (at that stage still provisional) analysis of strategies and the information from the retrospective interviews.

Category of problem	'Rich point' in the script	Interpreter 1	Interpreter 2	Interpreter 3	Interpreter 4	Interpreter 5
Unstructured speech	Teacher: *Let's see… well … your son, other than languages, Spanish and Catalan, in the fourth year adaptation group, right?, where we know he has settled in, he's doing well. Especially in maths, biology, eh, in all um, all the more scientific subjects, right? In other words, in maths.*	1. Direct question to confirm information **[Information management strategy]** 2. Re-structuring of discourse + more detailed explanation to user **[Power management strategy]**	**Omissions** and deviation from the original.	**Omissions**. The interpreter only conveys the essential information. **Note-taking.**	**Omissions.** "Biology" is switched to "physics". The teacher's redundancy is lost.	1. Direct question to clarify term (adaptation group) **[Information management strategy]** 2. Re-structuring of discourse including the information received regarding the term. **[Information management strategy]**
	Information from retrospective interview	[This question was not asked.]	"In real life I'd have explained more things."	She does not perceive it as a difficulty	She tries to extract the general idea	[This question was not asked.]

Category of problem	'Rich point' in the script	Interpreter 1	Interpreter 2	Intepreter 3	Interpreter 4	Interpreter 5
Cultureme: in China, marks are calculated out of 100 and 60 is the pass mark, whereas in Spain the scale is up to 10 and 5 is the pass mark.	Teacher: *He has failed them with a four, three and a half, four.*	Addition (the interpreter explains that the mark "isn't very bad") to put the result in perspective. [**Power management strategy**]	The interpreter does not explain the cultureme.	The interpreter adds contextual information "five is a pass" + note-taking. [**Power management strategy + memory strategy**]	The interpreter simplifies the information (three-four) and does not add any explanation. [**Information management strategy**]	Adds an explanation regarding the required mark to pass. [**Power management strategy**]
	Information from retrospective interview	She normally explains more and looks for equivalents in the Chinese system. [**Power management strategy**]	[This question was not asked.]	[This question was not asked.]	[This question was not asked.]	Contextualisation – [**Power management strategy**]
Terminology	*Graduat d'ESO* (Graduation from Compulsory Secondary Education, the first cycle of secondary school)	中学毕业证书 Secondary school graduate certificate **Equivalent** (more general than the original)	**Omission**	学校证书，毕业证 School certificate, graduate qualification **Equivalent** (more general than the original)	毕业证书 Graduate certificate, although in the previous phrase she indicates "fourth year of primary" **Hyperonym**	初中毕业证书 Certificate of graduation from first cycle of secondary school **Equivalent** (is the most accurate)
	Information from retrospective interview	This is the term she normally uses.	[Not asked]	[Not asked]	[Not asked]	[Not asked]

Category of problem	'Rich point' in the script	Interpreter 1	Interpreter 2	Intepreter 3	Interpreter 4	Interpreter 5
Formal register	**Teacher:** *In addition to other aspects of personal maturation or personality development, that is, all that is also pretty good, he is a very polite boy, and has continually been much better within the class this year, has made an effort to not get left out, and is much more integrated, he has pupils next to him who help him or whom he helps, huh? So in this respect we are very happy with his progress.*	The interpreter explains the general content of the turn, but changes the emphasis on certain aspects. **Compensation / power management strategy**	"Very mature attitude". **Simplification**	"He makes a big effort". **Simplification**	"His personal behaviour, for example…" The interpreter focuses only on the child's interaction with his peers. **Omissions**	A couple of examples are given and the formal register of this segment is not maintained **Omissions + simplification**
	Information from retrospective interview	Admits to having omitted some items of information and reinforced others. **Conscious omission – change in emphasis**	[Not asked]	[Not asked]	[Not asked]	"I'm not translating these terms because they are more difficult." **Conscious omission**

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