

**Neutral intermediaries, gatekeepers,  
or intercultural mediators?  
Interpreters' stance-taking in  
institutional talk**

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# Overview

- Introduction: approaches to interpreter-mediated interaction in institutions
- Data
- Interpreter stances and intercultural difference

# Community Interpreting

- Interpreting in face-to-face talk, especially involving migrants speaking minority languages in institutional contexts (law, government, education, health)
- “Dialogue interpreting” (Mason 1999, Wadensjö 2004, Pöchhacker 2004); but interpreting often involves more than two primary participants, i.e., multiparty-interaction rather than dialogue

# Community interpreting

## Professional interpreting

- Trained professional interpreters in institutions like courts and other legal settings (Berk-Seligson 1990, Angermeyer 2007), hospitals (Angelelli 2004), police or government settings (Wadensjö 1998)

## Non-professional interpreting (may be “ad hoc”)

- Family members, friends, or nurses translating in doctor-patient interviews (Davidson 2000; Angelelli 2004; Meyer 2004)
- Children interpreting for their parents in parent-teacher conferences (Valdés 2003, Reynolds & Orellana 2009),

# Community interpreters

Mediating between participants

- who speak different languages,
- who have different cultural backgrounds,
- who have different roles in encounter and different levels of experience (e.g. with institutional settings)

How do the interpreters relate to these opposing sides?

# Neutral intermediaries?

- Interpreters negotiate stances towards:
  - The other participants
    - Does the interpreter have a personal relationship with any of the participants involved?
  - The context of cultural and linguistic contact
    - What is the social history of contact? What is the interpreter's own background? the interpreter's "Linguistic "belonging" (Wadensjö 1998); Solidarity with fellow native speakers ("wantoks")?
  - The institution
    - Employed by the institution? Bound by institutional norms? Influenced by "institutional culture"?

# Data for empirical investigation

## COMmunity INterpreting DATabase

Online corpus, data sharing project

(Angermeyer, Meyer & Schmidt, in press)

<http://www.yorku.ca/comindat/comindat.htm>

Components at pilot project stage:

- Court interpreting data (NYC Small Claims, Angermeyer 2006)
- Medical interpreting data (German hospitals; DiK corpus Bührig & Meyer 2004)
- Data from simulated medical interpreting for translation students (Bührig et al., in press)

# Interpreters in the data

- Native speakers of minority language (Haitian Creole, Russian, Polish, or Spanish in US; Turkish, Portuguese, Polish, Russian or Romanian in Germany)
- Second language speakers of majority language (English or German), but mostly quite balanced bilinguals (some may be dominant in majority language)
  - Professional court interpreters: mostly certified, full-time employees of the court system; mostly middle class, university-educated
  - Non-professional interpreters in medical settings: mostly family members of patients (“ad hoc”)
  - Interpreting students: in training not-yet professional, but no longer “ad hoc” interpreters

# Investigating interpreter stances

- Qualitative: identifying interpreters' reactions in situations where cultural differences become relevant and may warrant explanation
- Quantitative: investigation of linguistic markers of stances
  - Person marking (“verbatim” vs. reported speech)
  - Marking of evidentiality (knowledge source)

# Example 1



Grid Text Subtitles Metadata Controls				
D [v] (TIE2)				
Nr	Annotation	Begin Time	End Time	Duration
66	(Was)...	00:05:49.431	00:05:49.904	00:00:00.473
67	Meinen Sie so	00:05:50.504	00:05:51.944	00:00:01.440
68	(ähm) Geld oder ähm...	00:05:51.944	00:05:53.898	00:00:01.954
69	(Das)	00:06:04.438	00:06:05.098	00:00:00.660
70	ist so äh üblich in äh Rumänien.	00:06:05.098	00:06:13.152	00:00:08.054
71	Es kann sein, dass/ ähm dass die Ärztin eine kleine Aufmerksamkeit bekommt, ((breath intake)) damit si...	00:06:13.152	00:06:21.206	00:00:08.054
72	geht.	00:06:21.206	00:06:21.857	00:00:00.651
73	((Unint.))	00:06:27.471	00:06:28.571	00:00:01.100
74	((0,5s))Deci să nu vă faceți probleme, nu este cazul, nu trebuie să dați nimica.	00:06:29.197	00:06:34.971	00:00:05.774
75	Nicht mal für Sie persönlich?	00:06:36.431	00:06:38.457	00:00:02.026
76	((0,6s)) Sie denkt noch drüber nach.	00:06:44.111	00:06:46.289	00:00:02.178
77	((0,7s)) Dar nu trebuie să gândiți deloc.	00:06:51.790	00:06:54.277	00:00:02.487
78	...	...	...	...

00:06:04.436

Selection: 00:06:04.438 - 00:06:13.152 8714



	7.000	00:05:58.000	00:05:59.000	00:06:00.000	00:06:01.000	00:06:02.000	00:06:03.000	00:06:04.000	00:06:05.000	00:06:06.000	00:06:07.000	00:06:08.000
(TIE5) [0]												
D [v] (TIE2) [112]									(Das)			ist so äh üblich in äh Rumänien.
D [en] (TIE17) [79]									This is common in Romania.			
(TIE6) [0]												
P [v] (TIE3) [78]				obiceiul,					dar știți dacă nu îi dau nimic și nu e mulțumită pă urmă mai are grijă de mine?			
(TIE9) [0]												
P [de] (TIE16) [52]									ich weiß nicht wie man es hier macht, aber wenn ich ihr nichts gebe und sie unzufrieden ist, dann kümmert sie sich noch			
P [en] (TIE18) [58]									use I don't know the custom, but you know if I don't give her anything and she's not satisfied will she still take care of me th			

# Example 2

- 1 Claimant: M te kite polisye ale  
{‘I let the policemen go’}
- 2 paske m vin kalkile ☐ se avek yon ayisyen li marye.  
{‘ because I thought to myself that he married a Haitian.’}
- 3 Arbitrator: ☐ So you are claiming +...  
[Interpreter makes hand gesture to interrupt claimant]
- 4 Interpreter: (1.5) Yeah, I let the police go  
5 because since you know he married an Haitian woman?
- 6 Claimant: (Yeah).
- 7 Interpreter: = Ki koze bullshit ou ap vin bay la?  
{‘What kind of bullshit are you coming up with?’}  
[lowered voice, to the claimant, not audible to arbitrator]

# Contrasting approaches to “inappropriate” talk

- “this is common in Romania” (1): problematic request is translated, then explained as culture-specific
- “what kind of bullshit are you coming up with” (2): problematic comment is translated without explanation, speaker is then reprimanded

# Example 3

- 1 Arbitrator: #4.4 I am still confused.
- 2 Interpreter: Jak będziemy   〔tak rozmawiali to  
                                  {‘if we keep on talking like this’}
- 3 Arbitrator:                   〔What is the relationship  
                  〔between these two           〔people?  
4 Interpreter: 〔do północy stąd nie       | wyjdziemy.  
                  {‘we won’t leave until midnight’}
- 5 Claimant:                   〔No dobrze, dobrze. No to ja powiem +/.  
                                  {‘Okay okay, I’ll say it’}
- 6 Interpreter: = Niech Pan powie o co chodzi po kolei,  
                  {‘Say what it is about, in order’}
- 7               (.) stało się to i to,           〔tego i tego dnia +//.  
                  {‘this and this happened, this and this day’}
- 8 Claimant:               〔Dobrze, dobrze.  
                                  {‘Okay okay’}
- 9 Interpreter: przyczyna, skutek, a nie od, # że tak powiem czego strony.  
                  {‘the reason, the outcome, and not from, let me say, what part’}

# Example 4

1 Doctor: *Deshalb müssen wir da einmal mit einer Nadel reingehen, n bisschen Knochenmark -*  
'that's why we have to go in there with a needle, a little bone marrow --'

2 Interpreter: *Raus--.*

'(take) out'

3 Doctor: *rausnehmen und untersuchen.*

'Take out and examine'

4 Interpreter: *Hmhm*

5 Doctor: *Darum geht's.*

'That's what it's about.'

6 Interpreter: *Das is am Becken gleich, oder?*

'That's at the pelvis, isn't it?'

7 Doctor: *Am Becken. Fragen Sie Ihren Vater bitte,*

'at the pelvis. Please ask your father'

8 *ob er das soweit/ oder übersetzen das soweit?*

'if he has (understood) so far, or translate so far?'

9 Interpreter: *"Blutarmut" Das hab ich selber nicht ((lacht)) verstanden.*

'Anemia' I didn't understand this myself' ((laughs))

# Contrasting approaches to institutional “culture”

- Court interpreter relates institutional needs to litigant, without instruction from institutional representative (3): “we won’t leave until midnight”
- Ad-hoc medical interpreter requests clarification from doctor (4): “I didn’t understand this myself”

# Different stances of interpreters

## Interpreters with institutional ties

- Expect minority language speaker to adapt to majority culture and institutional practices, taking knowledge of these for granted
- Do not seek to explain cultural practices of minority speakers to institution

## Interpreters without institutional ties

- Request clarification about institutional practices
- Do explain minority practices

# Stances are marked linguistically

- Through translation style (Wadensjö 1998, Angermeyer 2009)
- Through evidential marking

# Two main styles of interpreting

Wadensjö (1998: 19)

- “relaying by replaying,” “*re-presenting* the whole appearance of another person’s utterance.”

(1) Source: *Yo juro decir la verdad*

Target: *I swear to tell the truth*

- “relaying by displaying,” “*presenting* the other’s words and simultaneously emphasizing personal non-involvement in what they voice.”

(2) Source: *Yo juro decir la verdad*

Target: *He (says he) swears to tell the truth*

Person	“Replaying”	“Displaying”
1 <sup>st</sup>	Source speaker	Interpreter
2 <sup>nd</sup>	Source addressee	Recipient (addressee?) of target
3 <sup>rd</sup>	Third person in source (e.g. target recipient, if different from source addressee); Interpreter	Source speaker Others

# Replaying vs. displaying

- In interpreting studies, “replaying” is seen as primary characteristic that distinguishes professional interpreters;
  - Harris (1990: 115-116): first person usage is ‘one of the first things interpretation students have to be told to be consistent about,’
- “Displaying” generally involves reported speech; while it may seem redundant to indicate the epistemic source of translated talk, reported speech enables the speaker to avoid responsibility for the expressed beliefs

# “Replaying” in court

- Legal interpreting/court interpreting is governed by clearly defined legal guidelines, giving rise to specific translational norms (Inghilleri 2003); explicitly requiring “replaying”
- US (Berk-Seligson 1990), UK (Colin & Morris 1996), Canada (Bergeron 2002), Australia (Hale 2004)
- Example: Code of Ethics and Responsibilities, National Association of Judicial Interpreters and Translators

<http://www.najit.org/about/NAJITCodeofEthicsFINAL.pdf>

# “Use of same grammatical person”

“relaying by replaying [...] *re-presenting* the whole appearance of another person’s utterance.”  
(Wadensjö 1998: 19)

(3)

Defendant: *And I have the proof **she**’s lying to.*

Interpreter: [for the Polish-speaking claimant]

*Mam dowód na to że **ona** kłamie.*

‘I have proof that **she** is lying.’

- Berk-Seligson (1990: 53-4) court interpreter is supposed to be “invisible” and “should not exist as a verbal participant in her own right,” speaking “solely in place of the other participants.”

# “Verbatim” translation

Focus on accuracy and maintenance of grammatical person (e.g. first-person translation) enables institutions to treat interpreting as an exact, “verbatim” reflection of the corresponding source language talk

- Statements of the interpreter “are regarded as the statements of the persons themselves” and therefore not subject to the hearsay rule (Berk-Seligson 2000: 225)
- Court record contains only the words of the translator, not those spoken by a witness in another language (Berk-Seligson 1990: 31)

# “Verbatim”?

- Morris (1993: ix) calls verbatim translation a “convenient fiction.”
- Haviland (2003): notion of verbatim translation based on a language ideology of “referential transparency” that believes that words from one language can be substituted for words from another, “as though ... [it] is merely an exotic costume for a shared meaning” (p. 772).

# Adherence to norm

## Translating from LOTE into English

- Testimony by litigant, translated for the arbitrator (and addressed to him/her), and for other participants
- Near exclusive use of “verbatim style” (reported speech only in 14/1138 tokens; Angermeyer 2009)

## Translating from English into LOTE

- Talk by arbitrator or litigant translated for LOTE-speaking participant who may be addressee or unaddressed recipient
- “Verbatim style” predominates, but all interpreters also use reported speech

# Participation status

- In “verbatim” interpreting, the participation status of the participants of target talk is not marked; 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person forms index may be misinterpreted by recipient, especially in translating from English in multiparty interaction

(5)

Defendant: *And I have the proof **she's** lying to.*

Interpreter: [for the Polish-speaking claimant]

*Mam dowód na to że **ona** kłamie.*

‘I have proof that **she** is lying.’

# Participation status: Translating 1st person

- Norms require 1st person in the source to be translated as 1st person in the target, potentially creating the impression that the interpreter is not just the *animator* who performs the speech sounds, but the *principal* “whose position is established by the words that are spoken” (Goffman 1981: 144)
  - “we have decided not to give you permission to stay in Sweden” (Wadensjö 1998: 239)
  - Some interpreters avoid first person translation to avoid being associated with the translated message, or to adapt to community norms (Angermeyer 2009)

# Contexts for “displaying”

- Reported speech (and other forms of deictic shift)  
basically confined to translation from English
- Three interpreters use it consistently
  - Others use it in certain contexts
    - Translating contentious testimony by the opponent
    - Translating arbitrator’s talk about the decision-making process
    - Identifying self-selecting speakers

# Reported speech: opponent's voice

(5)

- 1 Defendant: Ah the day **we** delivered **we** informed **him** that ah  
2 this is not appropriate for a computer to be like this.
- 3 Interpreter: **Li** di <ah ke> [?] jou ke **I** te [delivre yo ba **ou** a +//.  
*'he says that the day he delivered'*
- 4 Arbitrator: [Did he tell you when he +//.
- 5 Interpreter: **li** te di **ou** li pat apropriye [pou te fè l konsa.  
*'he told you that it was not appropriate to be done like this'*
- 6 Arbitrator: [You can sit down.

Reported speech: speaker not responsible for views or beliefs that are expressed, responsibility deferred to other source (Bauman 1993, Schiffrin 1996)



# Decisions

(6)

- 1 Arbitrator: You've elected (.)  
2 to have your dispute resolved  
[before /**me**.  
3 Interpreter: [Ustedes han venido delante de **él**  
'*you have come before him*'  
4 [para que **él decida**.  
5 Arbitrator: [ **my** decision is /final.  
6 Interpreter: Lo que **él diga** es definitivo.  
'*whatever he says is final*'



Interpreters regularly avoid 1<sup>st</sup> person when translating talk that relates to decision-making (Angermeyer 2009)

# Participation status: Translating 2nd person

Court interpreting norms require *you* in the source to be translated as 2sg in the target

However, the addressee of the source is often not identical to the recipient of the target (see Angermeyer 2005)

- Misunderstandings can arise when the addressee is not clear from context
- Target recipients may feel addressed because of the use of polite address forms (Angermeyer 2005)

# Translating for a source addressee

(7)

1. ARBITRATOR: [*addressing the Spanish-speaking defendant*]  
When did you become aware that the van had been broken into?
2. INTERPRETER: [*for Spanish-speaking defendant*]  
Cuándo supo Usted que la [/ -] que se habían entrado en la guagua?  
{‘When did you know that — that the van had been broken into?’}
3. DEFENDANT: Cuando él me llamó.  
{‘When he called me.’}
4. INTERPRETER: When he called me.



Figure 1. The participant structure of interpreted dialogue (cf. Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff 1985)

(Angermeyer 2005: 209-211)

# Translating for an unaddressed recipient

- (8)
1. ARBITRATOR: [*addressing the English-speaking claimant*]  
Have you had to have any repair work done to the engine?
  2. INTERPRETER: [*for the Spanish-speaking defendant*]  
Usted le ha tenido que hacer reparaciones al motor?  
{‘Did you have to make repairs to the engine?’}
  3. CLAIMANT: Not to the engine. We had to change the alternator.
  4. INTERPRETER: No al motor, tuvimos que cambiar el alternador.  
{‘Not to the engine, we had to change the alternator.’}

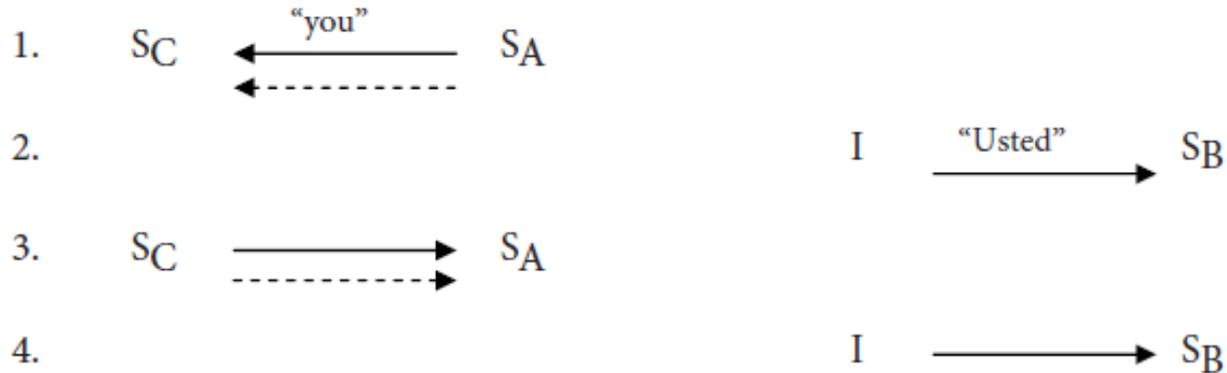


Figure 2. Interpreting for an unaddressed recipient

# Misunderstood “you” (no deictic shift)

(9)

1 Arbitrator: [*addressing the defendant*]

(4.0) Do **you** have a lease with this lady?

2 Defendant: I have ah +/.

3 Interpreter: [*for the benefit of the Polish-speaking claimant*]

Czy **ma Pani** umowę z tą panią?

‘Do you, Ma’am, have a contract with this lady?’



4 Claimant: No ja to nie [mam umowy.

‘But I don’t have a contract.’

5 Interpreter: [Nie nie nie, Pani. Ja tylko tłumaczę co pani pyta.

‘No no no, Ma’am. I’m only translating what the lady is asking’

- Misunderstanding blamed on claimant’s unfamiliarity with professional interpreting style;
- Interpreter insistence on institutional norms, instead of accommodation (gatekeeping behavior, alienating the claimant by referring to her in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person)

# Overview

- Court interpreters adhere to institutional norm when translating into English, but not always when translating from English
- By insisting on institutional norms when translating from English, some interpreters alienate the LOTE-speakers,
  - emphasize the inadequacy of the litigants' linguistic and social competence in the courtroom and in the English-dominant society as a whole;
  - act as gatekeepers (Davidson 2000, Müller 2001, Jacquemet 2003), agent in reproduction of social domination (Inghilleri 2003); enforcing legal system's control over litigants as well as the subordination of minority language speakers;

# “Displaying” in medical interpreting

- In contrast to professional court interpreters, the non-professional interpreters in the hospital data consistently use a “displaying” style, independent of the direction of translation
  - Consistent with research on medical interpreting (Davidson 2000, 2002; Angelelli 2004),
  - Institutional focus on patient’s body may discourage use of first person when translating patient’s talk into German (e.g. “my leg hurts here”)
  - Summarized or selective interpretation from German, as interpreter assumes that the patient will partially understand (accompanied by frequent codeswitching into German by patients)

# Abundant use of reported speech

- (10) (interpreter: nurse, acquainted with patient)
- 1 Doctor: *Wir wissen nicht ganz sicher, (.)*  
'we don't quite know for sure'
- 2 *ob der Tumor auf die Chemotherapie reagiert*  
'whether the tumor will respond to the chemotherapy'
- 3 *(.) aber es gibt außer der Chemotherapie*  
'but apart from the chemotherapy'
- 4 *(.) keine Behandlungsmethode.*  
'there is no treatment method'
- 5 Interpreter: (1.4) *Ondan [başka, diyor]*  
'Besides this, he says'
- 6 Patient: [Ondan (sonra da] *tera)/ şeyi yok, yani.*  
'And after that there is no thera- so, there is no thing'
- 7 Interpreter: *He. "Başka çaresi yok", diyor. (.)*  
'Yes. There is no other way, he says.'
- 8 *"Bilmiyoruz tabii", diyor.*  
'Of course we don't know, he says'
- 9 *"Onu", diyor, "anca", diyor, "vaptıktan sonra", diyor,*  
'that, he says, only, he says, after we have done it, he says'
- 10 (2.5) *"bi seferden sonra", diyor, (.)*  
'after one time, he says.'
- 11 *"bi şeyler söyleyebiliriz", diyor.*  
'we can tell something, he says'

# Use of evidential marker

Turkish has an evidential suffix (*-miş*) to indicate that the speaker's knowledge is based on inference or hearsay;

*-miş* occurs frequently in translation from German

(11)

- 1 Doctor: *man muss für die Anlage dieses Katheters*  
'in order to put on this catheter, one has to'
- 2 *erstmal im Krankenhaus sein. Und das macht man in Narkose.*  
'be in the hospital first. And that's done under anesthesia'
- 3 Interpreter: *hm*
- 4 Doctor: *Ist also einen k/ allerdings kleinere Operation*  
'so it's a sm- admittedly a smaller operation'
- 5 Interpreter: *Narkozla veriyorlarmış o şeyi. Eğer yaparlarsa.*  
'**Evidently**, they give the thing under anesthesia. When they do it.'
- 6 Patient: *Tamam.*  
'Okay'

# Epistemic stance in doctor/patient talk

-*mış* also occurs in talk of patients

(12)

- 1 Patient: On üç' ünde olduğum ameliyatta,  
'In the Operation that I had on the thirteenth,'  
2 *diyor, kalbim çalışmamış.*  
'she says that evidently my heart didn't work'

Inherent imbalance in epistemic rights:

- Doctor is most knowledgeable about diagnosis and treatment, other participants often do not assert direct knowledge

# Aligning with the doctor

(13) (interpreter: patient's adult son)

- 1 Doctor: *Okay. (2.5) Ja, der Blutzuckerspiegel wird halt nicht nur durch (.)*  
'okay, so the blood glucose level is elevated not only by'
- 2 *Zucker erhöht, sondern durch (.) Kohlenhydrate. (.)*  
'sugar but also by carbohydrates'
- 3 *Kohlenhydrate sind zum Beispiel in Milch, (.) in Obst,*  
'carbohydrates are contained in milk and fruit for example'
- 4 *(.) in Brot und Getreide, (1.1) halt Reis und Kartoffeln enthalten.*  
'in bread and grains, so rice and potatoes'
- 5 *(.) Und diese (1.2) Kohlenhydrate aus diesen Lebensmitteln*  
'and these carbohydrates in these foods'
- 6 *°erhöhen halt den Blutzuckerspiegel°. Deswegen (.)*  
'just elevate the blood glucose level. That's why'
- 7 *müssen diese (.) Lebensmittel halt ingeschränkt gegessen werden.*  
'these foods have to be eaten in moderation'
- 8 *Es könn/ kann nicht in, ähm in beliebiger Menge gegessen werden,*  
'They can't be eaten in random amounts'
- 9 *sondern es muss über den Tag verteilt,*  
'but over the course of the day'
- 10 *(.) in kleinen Mengen gegessen werden.*  
'it has to be eaten in small amounts'



- 11 Interpreter: (1.8) *Diin sana **dediydim** ya teminden sana*  
'Yesterday I had told you, and earlier'
- 12 *patatesde de filan de var diye.=*  
'that there are potatoes and stuff'
- 13 Patient: =He.  
'Yes'
- 14 Interpreter: *Patates, [pilav filan.*  
'Potatoes, rice and stuff'
- 15 Patient: *[He'*  
.....
- 16 Interpreter: *Onların hepsini (.) yiyebilirsin, ama az az.*  
'All of these you can eat, but in small amounts'
- 17 *Günlük de dağ/ günün içinde dağıtıp da yiyeceksin.*  
'and daily/ you will eat them over the course of the day'
- 18 *Öyle hepsini bi anda değil.*  
'Not all at once'
- 19 *[(Pade diye)]*  
'Because'



- Translation not third-person reported speech, but framed as first-person reporting (cf. Clift 2006)
- Interpreter aligns with the doctor

- 20 Patient: [Ođlum,]  
'My son'
- 21 Interpreter: (xxx)
- 22 Patient: [řimdi]  
'now'
- 23 P's wife: [Mehmet.]
- 24 Patient: (xxx) onu söyle de.  
'now say that'
- 25 *Tabađın ba/ dibine az biřey koyiyi.*  
'he puts so little on the plate'
- 26 *İki kařıđı ye.*  
'and now eat two spoons'
- 27 *İki kařıđından nasıl doyarım ben?=  
'How can I get full from two spoons?'*
- 28 Interpreter: =*Baba, günde altı defa!*  
'Dad, six times a day!'
- 29 Patient: *Altı defa.=*  
'Six times'
- 30 Interpreter: =*Günde altı defa o küçük řeyleri,*  
'Six times a day, those small things'
- 31 *bi/ bi anda yimiyeceksin.*  
'you won't eat all at once'



# Summary

- Non-professional interpreters in medical interaction also vary in their stances towards other participants;
- Deictic shift to the target recipient and reported speech are the norm, but stances may be indexed through types and frequency of evidential marking

# Summary comparison

## Institutional norms

- “Invisible” interpreter
- “Relaying by re-playing”  
(Wadensjö 1998)
- “Verbatim” translation
- Maintenance of pronominal reference from the source talk
- Institutional culture is internalized
- No explanation of minority practices

## Non-professional practices

- Interpreter as participant
- “Relaying by displaying”  
(Wadensjö 1998)
- Reported speech and deictic shift
- Institutional “culture” may be unfamiliar
- Minority practices explained

# Concluding remarks

- Interpreters share knowledge with both sides, evaluate other participants' epistemic rights and responsibilities
  - Epistemic and affective stance linked (Haviland 1989)

Different epistemic stances of interpreters:

- Where the knowledge source is not overtly acknowledged, interpreters align with source speaker; this may highlight the inadequateness of recipient's resources (gatekeeping)
- Overt acknowledging of source and of recipient's needs – solidarity with recipient (brokering)

# Concluding remarks (2)

- Intercultural communication benefits from mutual willingness to establish common ground and accommodate to other's communicative behaviour (“two-way street”)
- Interpreters mostly display an asymmetric, “one-way” approach, identifying primarily with one side and accommodating less to the other
- While they aim to translate in both directions, they may not communicate equally well in them

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