Recognition and expression of rapport features in interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to explore how trainee interpreters deal with rapport-building features in interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims in the United Kingdom and Spain. The initial assumption, later corroborated in my review of university programmes, is that rapport-building techniques are not addressed in higher education interpreting training. As a result, trainee interpreters may not be aware of police rapport-building techniques adopted by police officers during investigative interviews. Additionally, the thesis purports that interpreters are learned in translating content but are often unaware of the importance of form and pragmatic meaning. This may result in missing or misinterpreting linguistic instances specifically employed to build or maintain rapport with the victim during the interview.

To research the above, I examine rapport-building in British and Spanish police guidelines and police training materials. This is complemented with ethnographic observations of real police interviews which enabled a systematic identification and classification of linguistic instances of rapport-building in British English and Peninsular Spanish in the context of interviewing victims. This allows for the design of simulated police interview scenarios that are interpreted by trainee interpreters in two training contexts, one in the UK and one in Spain. A discourse-pragmatic analysis of interpreting renditions is then used to describe the challenges faced by these interpreters when interpreting rapport and rapport-relevant expressions.

The study concludes that trainee interpreters tend to modify rapport features, particularly by changing the pragmatic force of the utterance and in relation to the victim's expression of feelings. These findings have theoretical and practical implications in interpreting training and provide a better understanding of factors impacting the outcome of interpretation in the context of rapport-building translation.

I dedicate this thesis to mamá, papá, Laurita and Bego, with all my love.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ABE	Achieving Best Evidence in Criminal Proceedings
ANECA	Agencia Nacional de Evaluación de la Calidad y Acreditación (National Quality and Accreditation Agency)
DPSI	Diploma of Public Service Interpreting
DV	Domestic violence
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
EQ	Empathy Quotient
EU	European Union
HW	Heriot-Watt University
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
L1	First language
L2	Second language
MPIEDOD	Manual práctico para la investigación y enjuiciamiento de delitos de odio y discriminación (Practice Manual for Investigative and Criminal Procedure for hate and discriminatory crimes)
PACE	Police and Criminal Evidence Act
PEACE	Planning and preparation, Engage and Explain, Account, Closure and Evaluation
PO	Police officer
PSI	Public Service Interpreting
Q1	Research question 1
Q2	Research question 2
Q3	Research question 3
RMT	Rapport Management Theory
SACD	Sección de análisis de comportamiento delictivo SACD (Criminal Behaviour Analytical Section)
SL	Source language
TL	Target language
UAB	Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
UK	United Kingdom
WD	Work discrimination

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Police interviewing, interpreting and rapport

In police interviews, building rapport with suspects, witnesses or victims is considered essential to eliciting quality and quantity of investigative relevant information from them. Contemporary theoretical and empirical evidence supports that information accuracy decreases when rapport is absent, as well as hindering the quality of the information provided (Cooper et al. 2018). In the case of victims, a lack of communication training of the interviewing parties, may result in deficient investigation which leads to failure in protecting their rights and thus can result in miscarriages of justice.

When the interviewer and the interviewee do not speak the same language, the intervention of an interpreter is needed (Del Pozo Triviño et al. 2014: 22-27). Although the quantity of interviews mediated by interpreters has increased due to globalisation and economic migration, research on the impact of interpreters on interviews still remains scarce (Gallai 2017; Dhami et al. 2017; Nakane 2020; Hale et al. 2020; Filipović 2007; Filipović and Hijazo-Gascón 2018; Filipović 2019; Filipović 2022; Rojo and Cifuentes-Férez 2017). Given the significance of specialised interview strategies and the prevalence of police interviews with non-English interviewees, more research attention should be paid to the impact of interpreters on questioning strategies and rapport-building (Goodman-Delahunty et al. 2020: 52). This thesis aims to contribute to this gap in the research, by exploring rapport-building features in interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims.

Furthermore, in legal interpreting, research has found that the main challenges faced by interpreters are not related to interpreting legal jargon or specialised terminology. Rather, the challenges often relate to other linguistic, typically pragmatic, differences across languages, particularly with regard to the ability of achieving an equivalent degree of illocutionary force, level of politeness, or equivalence in register (Hale 1999: 57). In the case of rapport-building in interpreter-mediated police interviews, the interviewer intention when using a rapport-building technique may not be understood by the interpreter, which may result into a distorted interpreted rendition with significant consequences for the victim.

To date, no studies have specifically investigated interpreter exchanges directly in a police context and analysed how interpreters render rapport linguistic features in these interactions. This study enters uncharted territory by exploring whether and how rapport features are affected through the interpreting process in the context of interpreter training in the United Kingdom (hereafter UK) and Spain. It aims to examine how trainee interpreters convey rapport and rapport-relevant expressions in simulated police interviews with victims, and whether this is influenced by cross-linguistic differences between British English and Peninsular Spanish.

1.2 Research background

The role of rapport-building has been discussed both in relation to interviews with suspects, witnesses and victims of crime (Dando et al. 2008; Alison et al. 2013; Oxburgh et al. 2014; Meissner et al. 2012; Oxburgh and Ost 2011). Research has uncovered a link between rapport-building and the effectiveness of the interview in gathering information (Holmberg and Christiansen 2002; Kebbell et al. 2006; Alison et al. 2021). In the case of victims, rapport-building is particularly relevant because the victim often needs to go through both the psychological effort and the emotional distress of describing intimate or personal experiences to the police interviewer, who is a stranger (Dando et al. 2016: 83). Therefore, police interviewers need to be trained in using specific strategies aimed at establishing and maintaining rapport.

Although the concept of rapport-building in police interviewing interactions has been acknowledged since the 1980s, its importance in the interpreting field is still not fully understood (Rudvin 2007; Merlini and Favaron 2009; Merlini and Gatti 2015; Pugh and Vetere 2009; Dhami et al. 2017; Goodman-Delahunty and Howe 2019). Despite the fact that, in the last few decades, theoretical and empirical research has addressed best-practice both in police interviewing and in interpreting (through performance examination), there has not been much permeation between both of these fields of study (Lai and Mulayim 2014: 307). In addition, it seems that when it comes to working with interpreters, there is still a lack of clarity as to what their role is with regard to conveying rapport-building expressions (Aranguri et al. 2006; Hale 2007). Furthermore, there is a basic lack of understanding as to their involvement in this particular communicative

dimension. Russell (2004: 116) states that the dynamics of police interviews change drastically in the presence of an interpreter. The first difficulty is that interpreters and police interviewers are often unaware of each other's tasks when working together, which can create stressful situations, affecting the quality of the interview at many levels. In recent years, studies on interpreter-mediated police interviews have emerged, in particular looking at the impact of interpreters on police interviewing techniques (i.e. rapport) used by police officers for effective interviewing and quality of information gathering (Heydon and Lai 2013; Gallai 2016). However, yet again, research on interviews with victims is still scarce (Dando et al. 2008; Kieckhaefer et al. 2014), as is the case with the specific characteristics of police interpreting in initial interpreter education (Tipton and Furmanek 2016: 39).

During the 21st century, interpreting researchers have emphasised the need for interpreting training to relate more with real professional practice and familiarise interpreting students and trainee interpreters with communicative strategies used by professionals who work with interpreters (Tebble 2014; Crezee and Grant 2013; Crezee 2015). However, studies centring on interpreters' perspective have observed that traditional legal interpreting training usually prescribes an invisible, neutral and detached attitude to interpreting (Nakane 2009; Angelelli 2004: 2; Mason and Ren 2012: 235). Interpreter training and skills focus on developing impartiality and accuracy, which leads to avoiding the interpretation of the speaker's verbal and non-verbal expressions of emotion and attitudes (Hewitt 1995: 203). In their attempt to be "accurate", trainee interpreters may focus on the propositional content of the utterances, ignoring important cross-linguistic differences with regard to how meaning is conveyed (Krouglov 1999; Lai and Mulayim 2014; Hale et al. 2020: 374). As Hale (1995: 202-204) states, interpreters and trainee interpreters are not necessarily aware of pragmatic differences and they may favour semantic interpretation in the belief that this maximises accuracy. However, this is at the expense of other communication levels, such as acknowledging feelings and addressing the interlocutors' face, which are equally essential to police interviewing and rapport.

Furthermore, interpreters feel heightened pressure when detainees or victims cling to them for support (Laster and Taylor 1994; Nakane 2014; Mulayim et al. 2015), and it is unclear whether they may help or hinder interviewers' attempts to establish rapport with

interviewees (Goodman-Delahunty and Howes 2019: 101). In interpreting training, this does not seem to be sufficiently acknowledged since most training in this area remains too general, sparce or is not sufficiently linked to empirical studies and specific interpreting research (Wadensjö 1998; Mason 2006; Hale et al. 2018; Krystallidou et al. 2018).

Previous research has shown that the expression of rapport varies between cultures and contexts, as there are differences concerning interactions across cultures or ethnicities (Matsumoto and Hwang 2021: 990). An added challenge is that linguistic features that play a part in rapport, such as cohesion markers, repetition, forms of address and hedges, are usually diminished or disappear in the interpretation (Krouglov 1999; Nakane 2014; Hale 1999; Berk-Seligson 1990, 2009), since they may be perceived as irrelevant. As a result of much of the interpreting training being done on terminology and conveying meaning of utterances, rather than on "how" utterances are expressed (Lai and Mulayim 2014: 310), this leads to pragmatic issues. This may result in neutralising the rapport-building element of the conversation exchange.

In addition, some research focusing on the affective dimension of interpreter-mediated communication shows that interpreters struggle in conveying affective displays and expression of feelings, reducing the potential for rapport-building in the interpreting interactions (Baraldi and Gavioli 2007; Zorzi and Gavioli 2009; Cirillo 2010). However, other studies show that interpreters tend to be affected by the speaker's emotions, experiencing similar emotions when interpreting (Korpal and Jasielka 2018), which may also affect their performance. The fact that interpreting training has been traditionally based on conveying information rather that acknowledging the affective dimension of interpreter-mediated communication has led to a lack of training in the rapport dimension of the interpreting interactions (Hoza 2001; Albl-Mikasa et al. 2015). The interpreting process is, therefore, susceptible to filtering out affective displays in the interpreters' performance (Davidson 2000; Bolden 2000; Angelelli 2004). Furthermore, interpreters may be unaware of how sensitive interpreting contexts, as is the case with police interviews, may impact them emotionally. This means that they are often insufficiently prepared for addressing interpreting in these kinds of settings (Krystallidou et al. 2018; Mapson 2015b; Tipton 2011).

Most of the aforementioned research draws on qualitative analysis of interviews with interpreters and contextual analysis of the interpreting interactions. However, there are very few studies that have specifically investigated interpreter-mediated linguistic exchanges in interpreting training to explore the extent to which these challenges are apparent and potentially amendable during training itself. Furthermore, no previous studies have so far analysed rapport features in interpreter-mediated police scenarios with trainee interpreters. Hence, an investigation of cross-linguistic aspects in the existence and use of specific expressions across two languages and contexts is needed in order to appreciate how rapport-building expressions may be appropriately rendered.

In this thesis, a discourse-pragmatic approach is used to gain a clearer understanding of the nature and the frequency of the challenges faced by trainee interpreters in this field. It focuses on the linguistic analysis of rapport-building expressions in police interpreting training practice in the UK and Spain. This analysis seeks to shed light on interpreter-mediated police interview practice and training, with the aim of improving current practice in the understanding of rapport-building and support further cross-fertilisation between police and interpreting training. Based on the results of this research, training implications are drawn and recommendations are proposed that may support the rendering of rapport-building features in interpreter-mediated police training and practice. The research aims are further detailed in section 1.3.

1.3 Research aims

As mentioned above, it is widely acknowledged that rapport, especially through empathic communication and acknowledgment of feelings, plays an important role in human communication and understanding. In the case of investigative interviews, rapport is perceived as essential. This is because it maximises the opportunity for intelligence elicitation (Nunan et al. 2020: 1) and is associated with positive interview outcomes (Walsh and Bull 2010). In interviews with victims, developing rapport by displaying empathy can enhance the victim's trust in the police and legal system (Jakobsen 2021: 1155). The role of rapport and, to some extent, empathy, is also widely acknowledged in police guidelines and police training practice (Dando et al. 2008; Oxburgh and Ost 2011; Evans et al. 2010; Pounds 2019; Meissner et al. 2012; Alison et al. 2013). Therefore, it is important for trainee interpreters to be aware of the need to convey rapport-building

expressions appropriately, and for them to appreciate the linguistic and institutional differences that affect the expression of rapport.

The specific focus of this study is whether and how rapport-building is rendered in two different interpreter training contexts, in order to capture potential challenges faced by trainee interpreters in the process of interpreting rapport and rapport-relevant linguistic features, and whether there are any cross-linguistic aspects that influence their performance. By identifying these challenges, this research aims to contribute to interpreting training in the context of rapport-building communication in policing (to be extended to other contexts, where relevant), both in the UK and Spain, and shed light on how police rapport is handled and whether there are any distinctive features that could have implications for training.

Considering the above problem, the study addresses the following research questions:

1. To what extent is rapport-building addressed in interpreter-mediated police interviews training in the UK and Spain?

2. What are the translation shifts enacted by trainee interpreters when conveying rapport in police interviews with victims?

3. What are the cross-linguistic factors that impact the outcome of the interpretation in the context of rapport-building translation?

The main hypotheses with regard to the research questions are as follows:

Hypothesis 1 is that rapport-building is not addressed in higher education interpreting training in the UK or Spain, in the sense that it does not incorporate explicit training in this domain. This is suggested by the fact that most training in legal interpreting is too general or sparce (Mason 2006; Hale et al. 2018), and that very few countries prescribe pre-service training for interpreters working in legal settings (Goodman-Delahunty et al. 2020).

Hypothesis 2 advocates that rapport would tend to be omitted or modified in interpreting renditions. This is hypothesised for two reasons. Firstly, interpreting training does not incorporate explicit training on rapport. Secondly, interpreters focus on content rather than on form (Hijazo-Gascón 2019; Liu 2020; Krouglov 1999), therefore, trainee interpreters will also focus on content information and may miss or misinterpret police rapport opportunities specifically addressed at building and maintaining rapport with the victim throughout the police interview. As Hale has suggested (2001: 47), interpreters may scan utterances when interpreting and retain what they regard as relevant, focusing on the informational content rather than the way speakers relate to one another (Mapson and Major 2021).

Hypothesis 3 is that cross-linguistic factors in relation to pragmatic challenges impact the interpreting renditions of rapport expressions. This is because trainee interpreters are not encouraged to pay specific attention to these features and are, therefore, likely to change the original pragmatic force of utterances when conveying them from English into Spanish or vice-versa (Hale 1999; Berk-Seligson 1990, 2009; Krouglov 1999; Mason and Stewart 2001; Liu and Hale 2017).

The findings from this project contribute to our understanding of whether, how often and how appropriately establishing and maintaining rapport is acknowledged and incorporated successfully in trainee interpreters' practice. As a consequence, this research also engages with whether there is scope for more targeted training on this aspect in police interpreting with victims in the UK and Spain.

1.4 Thesis structure

This introductory chapter is followed by chapter 2, which describes the main characteristics of investigative interviews, particularly with regard to police interviews with victims in the UK and Spain. Chapter 3 deals with interpreting and legal interpreting relevant definitions, which leads to the description of interpreter-mediated police interviews, the role of the legal interpreter and an overview of interpreting training in relation to rapport. Chapter 4 includes the theoretical background in relation to politeness and face as particularly relevant to police rapport-building and interpreting studies which have explored these aspects from a linguistic perspective. Chapter 5 describes relevant

shifts with particular emphasis on pragmatic challenges in the expression of rapport. Chapter 6 sets out the methodological aspects of the data design, collection and analysis. The results of the study are presented in chapter 7, followed by a discussion of these results in chapter 8. Finally, chapter 9 details the main conclusions and recommends avenues for further research.

CHAPTER 2: RAPPORT IN POLICE INTERVIEW WITH VICTIMS

2.1 Introduction

Before addressing interpreter-mediated police interviews, I will begin by describing key features of monolingual interviews. This chapter aims to give an overview of basic concepts and models of communication in police interviews, in order to assess the main components of police communication with regard to rapport. The focus will be on police interviews with victims in the UK and Spain and how they are conducted. I will explain the main discourse features and the role of rapport according to police code of practices, as well as examples of linguistic forms of rapport in monolingual police settings, based on research studies and existing literature. In this thesis, rapport-building is used as a generic term which comprises both establishing and maintaining rapport during police interviews, as appears in police guidelines in the UK and Spain.

Firstly, the chapter covers the main characteristics of investigative interviewing and specifically police interviews with victims. Section 2.2 introduces a thorough overview of investigative interviews in information-gathering methods. Section 2.3 provides a description of rapport-building in police interviews with victims, focusing on linguistic rapport in police guidelines in the UK and Spain, as well as related studies from police and forensic research. Finally, section 2.4 offers a brief chapter summary.

2.2 Police interviews with victims: An overview

Police interviews are essential to the legal process. Their aim is to ensure forensic value in detecting a crime and provide the evidence that will be later used in court (Stokoe et al. 2020). Therefore, obtaining accurate and complete information in an effective and efficient way is imperative in police interviewing (Shepherd 1991; Gudjonsson 1992; Milne and Bull 1999; Oxburgh et al. 2016). In the case of interviews with witnesses and victims, they are critically important to solving a criminal case (Fisher et al. 1994). In England and Wales, evidence of requirements for pre-trial witness statements has been traced back 500 years (Dando et al. 2016), although it was only in the 1990s that formal consideration was given to interview techniques. In England, prominent cases of

miscarriages of justice in the 1970s and 1980s caused public concern[1] (Böser 2013). In response, the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) was introduced in 1984 with the aim of establishing a more equitable balance between police powers to combat crime, on the one hand, and ensuring a more robust protection of the rights of the general population on the other hand (PACE 1984). The Act resulted in the introduction of a new interviewing model, called the PEACE model, in 1992 (Milne and Bull 1999). PEACE intended to address the aforementioned need for a fairer interviewing approach through high ethical principles aimed at unearthing the truth rather than securing a confession at any cost. PEACE, an acronym referring to the stages of the interview[2], resulted in the standardisation of police interview training and a change in the purpose of the interview through an information-gathering approach to investigative interviewing (Williamson 1993). This change included a shift in terminology; what was referred to as police interrogations before would hereafter be called investigative interviews (Pérez 2015: 311), whereby the nomenclature and strategy itself favoured a more ethically-minded approach.

The UK College of Policing[3] endorses this model of investigative interviewing and highlights the clear benefits to public confidence of consistent application of the model in dealing with suspects and supporting victims and witnesses. The overall benefits of this interviewing approach are displayed and explained in Figure 1, from the College of Policing website:

[1] During the 1970s and 1980s there were numerous scandals due to coercive, manipulative and confession-oriented interrogation methods, which applied technical aids such as the polygraph examination and hypnosis and hypnotic drugs, and were common in practice at that time (Irving 1980). In 1984, the creation of the United Nations Convention Against Torture became the first binding international instrument against acts of torture, which obliged each Member State to develop effective training for police and security personnel (Oxburgh et al. 2016: 136).

[2] PEACE stands for the five stages of its interview model: Planning and preparation, Engage and explain, Account, Closure and Evaluation.

[3] The College of Policing is "a professional body for everyone working across policing. It is an operationally independent arm's-length body of the Home Office (…). The College of Policing was established in 2012 as the professional body for everyone who works for the police service in England and Wales" (College of Policing 2021).

Figure 1. Benefits of Investigative interviewing model (College of Policing 2021)

Public confidence – Professional interviews will provide high-quality material that enables the guilty to be brought to justice and the innocent to be exonerated. This increases public confidence in the police service, particularly with victims and witnesses of crime.
Consistent performance – Criminal investigation largely takes place away from the police station. Interviews with victims and witnesses are conducted at scenes of crime, at witnesses' homes, at their place of work, in cars and in the street. The techniques of investigative interviewing will help investigators to achieve results in even the most unpromising circumstances.
Support for victims and witnesses – Victims and witnesses may be upset, scared, embarrassed or suspicious. Good investigative interview techniques will help to calm or reassure them so that they can provide an accurate account.
Dealing with suspects – Interviews generally take place in a police station, but can be elsewhere, e.g., a prison. Do not assume that all suspects are going to lie, say nothing or provide a self-serving version of events. Some may, but where suspects do admit guilt this will be due, in part, to the strength of material gathered during the investigation.

The PEACE model not only remains central to the UK interviewing approach but is also implemented in other countries such as New Zealand and Australia. In addition, the method has been recommended to the United Nations by the Special Rapporteur, Juan E. Mendez (UN Office of the High Commissioner 2016). The European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR) has encouraged this approach in police interviews around Europe by banning deception[4], which has led European countries to adopt information-gathering

[4] Article 6 "Right to a fair trial" (ECHR 2021).

methods drawing on the PEACE model. Therefore, traditionally inquisitorial systems, as it is the case of Spain, have shifted to information-gathering approaches (Vanderhallen and Vervaeke 2014: 68), with the focus on investigative techniques that employ open-ended questioning and exploration[5].

PEACE supports two main approaches to interviewing witnesses and victims: the cognitive approach, known as the Cognitive Interview Model, and the management of conversation, known as the Conversation Management Approach. The Cognitive Interview Model has been designed to obtain a witness/victim's account with 'minimal interference' and is mainly used for cooperative witnesses and victims. In contrast, the Conversation Management Approach allows the interviewer to manage the interview and is usually aimed at uncooperative witnesses or victims (Dando et al. 2015). The Conversation Management Approach was developed by a forensic psychologist, Eric Shepherd in the 1980s to replace the unethical techniques[6] used in police interviews in the UK before the introduction of tape-recording in the legal system, and to provide the interviewer with a model to successfully manage a conversation in the case of reluctant interviewees.

The Cognitive Interview Model was created by two American psychologists, Ed Geiselman and Ron Fisher and based on cognitive psychology research. In the 1980s the U.S. department of Justice decided to invest in developing a new model for interviewing witnesses and victims, since the Reid Technique [7] used with suspects seemed

[5] For instance, within the police training course of the Policía judicial (Judicial police), there is a module on the application of the Cognitive Interview Model which centres on rapport-building with victims of crime. This module is taught by the SACD (*Sección de análisis de comportamiento delictivo* – Criminal behaviour analytical section) which is a department within the Spanish police forces.

[6] See note 1.

[7] In regard to police interviews with suspects, the UK and other European countries use information-gathering methods, in contrast with the accusatorial interrogation method used in United States, Canada and other Asian countries. As explained by Meissner et al. (2014), the PEACE model and other information-gathering methods "seek to establish rapport within the interview, and use direct, positive confrontation of the suspect to elicit confessions or other self-incriminating statements. In contrast, accusatorial methods seek to establish control of the suspect and use psychological manipulation to achieve confession" (Meissner et al. 2014: 461). These different approaches will influence the questioning strategies, since the focus of the information-gathering method will be obtaining information. Hence, the information-gathering approach aims to ask open-ended questions and exploration. In contrast, the accusatorial approach will prime to obtain a confession, therefore, it will focus on closed-ended questioning and confirmation. However, in 2016 the United Nations Special Rapporteur on torture, Juan E. Méndez, submitted a report which advocates for non-coercive interviewing methods, "aiming to ensure that no person is subjected to torture, ill-treatment or coercion" (UN Office of the High Commissioner 2016). The Special Rapporteur highlights that "rapport can help to reduce the interviewee's anxiety, anger or distress, while increasing the likelihood of obtaining more complete and reliable information".

inappropriate for witnesses (Inbau et al. 2001). After many hours of police interviewing observation, Geiselman and Fisher found that police officers interrupted interviewees frequently and therefore failed to obtain full information, and used counter-productive questions to obtain a desired response, instead of open-ended questions (Shepherd 2007: 25). They then created the Cognitive Interview Model based on innovative techniques to help police interviewers elicit complete and detailed information. This model was later enhanced by what is now called the Enhanced Cognitive Interview (Fisher and Geiselman 1992), which provides police interviewers with techniques and tools to maximise information gathering. Under these models, police officers are specifically instructed to avoid coercive methods and to minimise open confrontation, by building rapport and attempting to make the interviewee feel at ease (Berk-Seligson 2009; Walsh and Bull 2011). This is achieved by the use of polite speech, appropriate use of language and questioning (Laster and Taylor 1994; Cotterill 2002; Russell 2004; Heydon 2005). This approach is also applied in the Conversation Management Approach, which also aims at facilitating maximum disclosure with ethical interviewing and high standards of integrity (Shepherd 2007).

In the following section, a description of the police interview structure and characteristics from the Cognitive Interview Model will be explained, in relation to the contexts studied in this research, the UK and Spain.

2.2.1 The Cognitive Interview Model: Description of a witness/victim interview

In the contexts of this research, it is necessary to describe how investigative police interviews are structured and conducted following an information-gathering method in the UK and Spain. Both in the UK and Spain, they are usually undertaken in an interview room in a police station[8], which may have several interview rooms or just one, depending on the size of the premises. They can also occur in other offices inside the police station, where interruptions cannot take place. The room has to be illuminated to give all members visibility. Interviews may also be conducted outside a police station, where the incident has taken place, "with minimum distraction and maximum privacy" (College of Policing 2021). In Spain, the room is usually provided with a table around which the interview is

[8] Witnesses and victims can also be interviewed in a setting familiar and comfortable to them (ABE: 61).

conducted. This table is supplied with a computer where the police interviewer writes the interviewee's statement once the interview has finished. In the UK there may or may not be a computer and/or table available as this depends on whether the interview is being recorded or not. If the interview is recorded, the interviewer does not have to take notes, so there is usually no need for a table and computer.

Recording of police interviews varies across both systems. In the UK, police interviews with witnesses and victims are recorded when it is suspected that a crime has been committed, or there are significant[9] victims or witnesses. In the preparation prior to the interview, decisions are made about whether the interview should be video-recorded or whether a written statement should be taken following the interview (Achieving Best Evidence in Criminal Proceedings[10]: 3), although "the majority of adult witnesses/victims will probably give a written statement" (ABE: 111). Police interviews are not normally recorded in Spain[11].

In both the UK and Spain, the interviewer usually sits in front of the interviewee and the interpreter, when required, sits next to the interviewee. The witness/victim has also the right to have a solicitor. Solicitors can have private time with the interviewee. This takes place usually before the start of the interview, although the privacy may be requested at any time during the interview, when, usually, the interviewer will leave the room, to allow this privacy. As the communication facilitator, the interpreter will stay in the room. In terms of interview structure, the police officer acting as the interviewer will start by introducing data (i.e. the statement of the alleged crime) at the beginning of the interview, take notes during the interview and check the accuracy of these throughout and at the end of the demarcated interaction.

In the Spanish context, there can sometimes be two police officers in the room, one acting as an observer, for example, in circumstances of training. In the UK, there are two police officers when the interview involves major and complex cases (murder, organised crime,

[9] A significant witness or victim refers to individuals involved in cases of "murder, manslaughter, road death, serious physical assault, sexual assault, kidnap, robberies in which firearms are involved, or any criminal attempts or conspiracies in relation to the above listed offences" (College of Policing 2021).
[10] Hereafter ABE.
[11] Therefore, police constabularies in Spain are not equipped with video-recording equipment. However, as suggested by SACD, some interviews with significant victims, particularly children, are occasionally recorded.

trafficking), but only one acts as the primary interviewer. In the case of minor cases (common assault, burglary, speeding), there is usually one police officer. Nobody else should be present in the room. In both cases, the aim of the interview is to produce a statement that reflects what has been said in the interview room[12].

Under the PEACE model, recommendations for police officers to interview victims and witnesses are included in the Ministry of Justice guidelines for the UK, Achieving Best Evidence in Criminal Proceedings: Guidance on Interviewing Victims and Witnesses, and Guidance on Using Special Measures (UK Ministry of Justice 2011), known as ABE. In the case of Spain, the main guideline is the Código de la Policía Nacional (2018) (Code of the National Police), from which other national and regional police guidelines or recommendations are drawn, called *Protocolos de actuación* (Action protocols or Standard operating procedures) and *Manuales prácticos* (Practical manuals)[13].

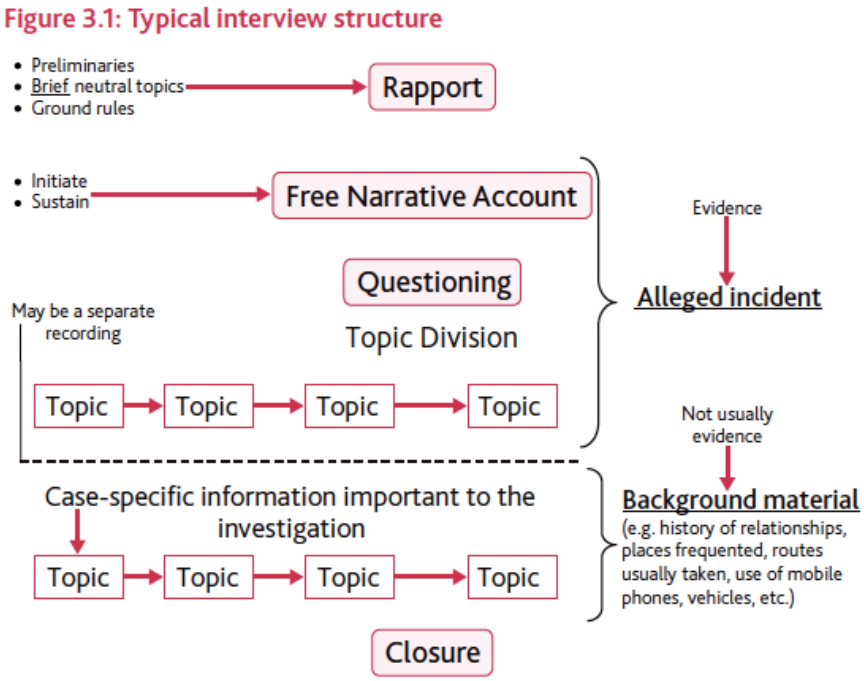
Following the PEACE model, ABE provides an outline of how the interview should be conducted with witnesses and victims, which is divided into five stages: Planning and preparation, Establishing rapport, Initiating and supporting a free narrative account questioning, Closing the interview, and Evaluation. The following chart expands on this division and includes a typical interview structure for witnesses/victims.

[12] Although investigative interviews are conducted with suspects, witnesses or victims, in the Spanish context, suspects usually refuse to make any kind of declaration in police stations, which is generally advised by the solicitor in the private meeting before the interview. Therefore, in the case of an investigative interview with a reluctant suspect, the interview will be reduced to: informing the suspect about their rights, procedural questions about the suspect's right to not declare, information of the court summons and signature of the statement with the above information. The interaction in situations of both interpreter-mediated or monolingual police interviews with suspects is minimal and the outcomes are usually the suspect's right to not declare. In the case of the UK context, "no comment" responses may also be advised by the solicitor, although they are not the norm as in Spain. This minimal interaction in interpreter-mediated interviews with reluctant suspects in Spain has been decisive in the decision to focus only interpreter-mediated interviews with victims.

[13] My thesis has examined several of these manuals, particularly drawing from the following three:

- Manual práctico para la investigación y enjuiciamiento de delitos de odio y discriminación (Practice Manual for Investigative and Criminal Procedure for Hate and Discriminatory Crimes).
- Protocolo de actuación de las fuerzas y cuerpos de seguridad y de coordinación con los órganos judiciales para la protección de las víctimas de violencia doméstica y de género (Action protocol for security forces and coordination with judicial bodies for the protection of victims of gender and domestic violence).
- Código Ético del Cuerpo Nacional de Policía (Ethical Code for the National Police Force).

Figure 2. Typical interview structure (ABE: 69)



Spanish practical manuals, such as the *Manual práctico para la investigación y enjuiciamiento de delitos de odio y discriminación* (Practice Manual for Investigative and Criminal Procedure for Hate and Discriminatory Crimes, hereafter MPIEDOD) recommend a cognitive interview divided into seven phases, which is very similar to ABE regarding structure and content, as shown in figure 3.

Figure 3. Cognitive interview phases (MPIEDOD: 337-342)

Phase 1: Saludos y rapport (Greetings and rapport)
Phase 2: Ayudas a la entrevista; centrarse en el recuerdo y transferir el control (Helping the interview, focus on recall and control transfer)
Phase 3: Iniciar una narración libre (Iniciate a free recall)
Phase 4: Preguntar (Questioning)
Phase 5: Recuperación variada/extensiva (Extensive recall)
Phase 6: Resumen (Summary)
Phase 7: Fin (End)

As an institutional discourse, police interviews, both in the UK and in Spain, have certain characteristics that are dictated by police regulations. The first characteristic is that they are composed of three different parts, each of them with different goals marked by the interviewer (Heydon 2005). The initial part, the "Opening", as well as the final part, the "Closing", follow a fixed structure in line with the police regulatory requirements, hence the police interviewer will work through a formulaic set of utterances in agreement with the police regulations.

Based on the College of Policing (2021) regulations in the UK, and the *Modelo de acta de declaración* (Statement model form) of the *Dirección General de la Policía* (General Spanish Police Department) in Spain, one can observed that, in both contexts, the stages in the "Opening" follow the same structure and their function equally serves to clarify information regarding:

- Participants in the interview.
- Location, date and time of the interview.
- Interviewee's personal information: name, surname, address, age and date of birth, nationality, identity number or passport number.
- Interviewee status: witness, victim or suspect, and intention to interview.

- Interviewee's rights.

In relation to the "Closing" part, in Spain it consists of the reading and approval of the written declaration, which is translated[14] in the case of interpreter-mediated interviews. The same happens during this part in the UK, unless the interview is recorded, in which case, the exact time of day of the interview's completion is included in the recording. Therefore, the discourse in these parts of the interview is usually consistent across interviews and police interviewers follow a type of script for institutional purposes (Heydon 2005: 53). The middle part of the interview, the "Information Gathering", is where most of the questioning and recall takes place, which makes it the most significant part for my research.

In terms of interview discourse, police interviews have similar features as other interview discourse in the sense that they follow "a question-answer structure which constraints the distribution of turn types to speakers" (Heydon 2005: 211). The first turn is usually allocated to the interviewer and the second turn to the interviewee, which also shows the power asymmetry between both participants, since it is usually the interviewer who has the power of the turn construction, and the one initiating topic shifts. In both the UK and Spain, the features surrounding police interviews are likewise defined by their institutional nature, in other words, each of the participants have a defined role aimed at achieving specific goals. This means that, wherever the interview takes places, the discourse will follow the same structure and will be characterised by the same institutional patterns, in terms of interaction, turn taking, linguistics features and power relations (Heydon 2005: 38). A more detailed explanation of the linguistic characteristics of the police interview discourse in relation to rapport is covered in section 2.3.3.

In addition to being mentioned as constituting phase 1 of the interview, rapport is also developed and used throughout the whole interview (Memon et al. 2010). In the following section, the concept and presence of rapport-building as a core element in police interview

[14] This is a special type of interpreting called sight translation, or more correctly sight interpreting (Pöchhacker 2016), where the interpreter renders a written text 'at sight'. According to Pöchhacker (2016: 20) "In sight translation, the interpreter's target-text production is simultaneous not with the delivery of the source text but with the interpreter's real time (visual) reception of the written source text". In the case of police interviews, the interpreter receives the written statement from the police interviewer and subsequently renders it to the interviewee.

guidelines will be examined, to be later drawn on in the more detailed description of how rapport is actually linguistically rendered in English and Spanish in the context of police interviewing in the UK and Spain (section 2.3.3).

2.3 Rapport-building in police interviews with victims

Rapport-building (akin to relationship building and management) is seen as central to investigative interviews in information-gathering methods. It is considered the most relevant element in the person-to-person communication process (Newberry and Stubbs 1990), and the most effective interviewing approach (Redlich et al. 2014). For interviews with victims, rapport is essential since victims are often required to bring detailed descriptions of personal experiences in the course of the interview to the police interviewers, who are complete strangers (Dando et al. 2015).

Developing rapport is considered beneficial because it facilitates fuller access to the interviewee's cognitive resources, since it can reduce the anxiety resulting from being interviewed (Fisher and Geiselman 2010) and because witnesses/victims are more willing to cooperate with someone who is supportive and that they feel comfortable with (Zulawski and Wicklander 1993). Although research on rapport with adults witnesses and victims is still relatively new, in the last 20 years there has been an increase in scholarly research and empirical studies on the benefits of rapport in this type of interviews (Dando et al. 2008; Walsh and Bull 2012; Collins et al. 2002; Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk 2016; Kieckhaefer et al. 2014). Rapport has been proved to be a key element in eliciting the truth and conducting effective investigative interviews, and in supporting information disclosure (Holmberg and Christianson 2002; Kieckhaefer et al. 2014; Vallano and Schreiber Compo 2011).

For example, Collins et al. (2002) confirmed that witnesses provided more accurate information and were more cooperative when good rapport was established; this was also found in relation to open-ended questions in interviews with a strong component of rapport-building (Vallano and Schreiber Compo 2011). Kieckhaefer et al. (2014) examined high and low rapport-building when interviewing, and indicated that high rapport-building is beneficial for witness memory recall. Vallano et al. (2008) revealed that a failure in establishing rapport by the interviewer resulted in more misinformation

in witness interviews. Similar results were found by Holmberg (2004) who examined how victims of rape and aggravated assault perceived interviewing styles, and concluded that a humanitarian style of interviewing (characterised by friendliness, empathy and engagement) was related to the victims' eliciting more information in their narratives. Furthermore, Collins et al. (2002) found that more significant information is likely to be elicited if the interviewee's emotional reactions are properly managed by the interviewer. According to Fisher and Geiselman (2010), building and maintaining rapport is also an opportunity for therapeutic assistance, whereby the police can ameliorate the suffering or promote psychological wellbeing to individuals involved in a legal process, i.e. the interviewee.

As described, rapport is key in investigative interviews. However, it remains a challenging concept to define (Abbe and Brandon 2014; Vallano et al. 2015). Rapport has been defined and described differently by different researchers (Bull and Baker 2020), however the theoretical construct of rapport proposed by Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal (1990) is often relied upon in forensic literature. These researchers conceptualise rapport as a relationship characterised by three components: *Mutual attentiveness*, *Positivity* and *Coordination* between participants (Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal 1990: 286). To build rapport is, therefore, "to find a balance between what we desire and what the other agrees to" (St-Yves 2006: 91). This conceptualisation of rapport is usually appropriate when we refer to cooperative interviews. However, it must be highlighted that the concept of rapport comes from therapeutic (and psychological) contexts. Psychotherapy contexts are critically different to investigative interview contexts. In psychotherapy, it is likely that patients/clients willingly engage with the service of the therapist and the therapist's aim is to improve their patients/clients' psychological wellbeing. In the case of investigative interviews, this is not the focus of the interaction (Matsumoto and Hwang 2021), which is often adversarial, especially in the case of suspects. Therefore, concepts such as positivity and coordination, which are beneficial to develop and maintain rapport in general, especially at the beginning of the interaction (Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal 1990) may not be particularly relevant in the case of an effective adversarial interview, since some interviewees may talk freely but provide deceptive information in a pleasant and coordinated encounter, whereas other reluctant or hesitant interviewees may provide valuable information and confessions (Matsumoto and Hwang 2021).

In their review of rapport in investigative interviews, Abbe and Brandon (2012) applied Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's framework, showing that rapport may be characterised as a smoothness in the interview interaction, regardless and distinctive from the overall relationship that the interviewer and the interviewee have with one another, arguing that *Mutual attentiveness* refers to "the degree of involvement or engagement that interactants experience" (op. cit. 239). This is the first aspect developed in the interaction, which is often indicated verbally by backchanneling responses (*okay*, *yes*, *uh huh*), and non-verbally by nodding or leaning forward. *Positivity* is described as "friendliness or caring". However, in contrast, in the context of policing, this *positivity* is related to "unconditional neutral regard" (Willshire and Brodsky 2001) and "mutual respect" (Department of the Army 2006: 8.5), and has no focus on warmth, as may be the case in medical interactions, for example. *Coordination* refers to "the degree to which interactants' behaviour is synchronized", by the interactants being responsive to each other and share understanding, for example, in the form of similar expectations. These authors articulate the concept of *Operational accord* proposed by Kleinman (2006), which describes a productive relationship between interviewer and interviewee where they both have a shared view of at least some goals of the interview, as it happens in therapeutic interactions, where the concept of *Working alliance*[15] is also used. From a police investigative interview point of view, this *Operational accord* or *Working alliance* must be considered as part of the interview process, hence rapport needs to be regarded as supporting the task of obtaining information (Abbe and Brandon 2012).

After discussing and reviewing the literature, and in the context of police interviews with victims, I follow Kelly et al. (2013: 169) by defining rapport as "a working relationship between operator and source, based on a mutually shared understanding of each other's goals and needs, which can lead to useful, actionable intelligence or information". The concept of "working relationship" must be highlighted, since it implies that the relationship does not necessarily need to be focused on positivity, or that the interviewer and the interviewee have affection for each other (Kleinman 2006). This definition will be used to shape the analysis of the data in this research. In addition, as stated in section 2.1, the term *rapport-building* is used to encompass both the establishing and maintenance of rapport during the police interview, since this is the term commonly used

[15] Vanderhallen and Vervaeke (2014) discuss and review the role of the Working alliance in investigative interviewing with suspects.

in forensic contexts to refer to the approach of planning, building and maintaining rapport during a police interview.

2.3.1 Rapport and empathy in police interviews

Rapport involves mutual respect between two people. This respect may be conveyed by demonstrating *empathy* (Baker-Eck et al. 2020), since an empathic interaction involves understanding another's emotional state and communicating some acknowledgement of this (Schwartz 2002). Recent research points out that rapport in investigative interviews is related to displaying empathy (Bull and Baker 2020). *Empathy* has been conceptualised differently in relation to a variety of settings[16] regarding the enhancement of human relationships, especially in the field of healthcare and the therapist-patient relation. Empathy is often divided into two major types, cognitive empathy and affective empathy (Bull and Baker 2020). Cognitive or rational empathy refers to the ability to consciously understand another person's situation without being emotionally affected. In contrast, affective or emotional empathy refers to understanding what another person is feeling, by vicariously experiencing these feelings (Romero-Martínez et al. 2019; Davis 1983; Baron-Cohen 2012). This emotional aspect of empathy is also known as empathic contagion, or "catching the contagious emotions of another individual" (Bull and Baker 2020: 56). Affective empathy may help to dissolve boundaries between individuals (Batson 2011), however, in relation to investigative interviews, it may interfere with the role of the interviewer, since experiencing the interviewee's emotions may prevent the interviewer from remaining objective during the interview. Professional empathy is defined as a multi-dimensional phenomenon comprising cognitive and affective components, as well as including both its definition as a process (in recognising the emotion or experiencing it) and as an outcome (in acting upon and responding to the recognised emotion) (Jacobsen 2021; Barrett-Lennard 1981; Davis 1983; Reniers et al. 2011). In investigative interviewing, this professional empathy must relate to the ability to understand the interviewee's perspective and to acknowledge their emotions and communicate that directly or indirectly to them (Oxburgh and Ost 2011).

[16] For a review of the definitions of empathy, Hall and Schwartz (2019) conduct a meta-analysis of 386 studies and conclude that there are various definitions and conceptualisations of empathy.

This conceptualisation of empathy in investigative interviewing will be useful to understand what communicating with empathy refers to when rapport is examined in police guidelines in the UK and Spain. In the context of this research, I give in-depth attention to police guidelines in the UK and Spain in order to describe how legal and institutional codes of practices and policing bodies implement rapport in investigative interviewing. The following section describes how this is conceptualised and implemented in interviews with victims.

2.3.2 Rapport in police guidelines in the UK and Spain

In the UK context, the College of Policing is the professional body responsible for setting the standards in police service in the UK and Wales. This body includes two specific mentions[17] to rapport in its standards of investigative interviews. It points out that in the first stage of the interview (Planning and preparation), police officers need to establish rapport with the suspect, clarifying that "establishing *rapport* means being genuinely open, interested and approachable, as well as being interested in the interviewee's feelings or welfare". It further states that active listening "assists the interviewer to establish and maintain *rapport*" in the second stage" (College of Policing 2021).

The ABE guidelines include a broader description of rapport-building, which gives the name to the first stage of interviews with witnesses[18], "Establishing rapport". The guidelines include 71 explicit mentions of the term *rapport* and explain in detail how rapport is considered essential in this type of interview, stating that building initial rapport and maintaining that rapport throughout the interview is what will lead to a successful interview, for example:

> Rapport is essential, and good rapport between the interviewer and the witness can improve both the quantity and quality of information gained in the interview. One of the reasons for rapport being so important is that the witness's anxiety, whether induced by the crime and/or the interview situation (or otherwise), needs to be reduced for maximum recollection. This is because people only have a

[17] There is a third mention of rapport regarding to suspects' interviews: In suspect's interviews, interviewers faced with challenges of false accounts or inconsistencies from the suspect "should not use a raised voice or inflammatory language as this can lead to a breakdown in rapport" (College of Policing 2021).
[18] In ABE, the term witness refers to both witnesses and victims (witnesses who are victims).

> limited amount of processing capacity and the aim is to have the witness's full power devoted to retrieving as much information as possible.
> (ABE 2011: 70)

The document explains that, in the initial phase of the interview, rapport can be achieved by a brief discussion based on some neutral and open questions not related to the incident, in order to create a positive mood. It can also be beneficial to explain, for example, that the interview is a difficult task and it is acceptable to say "I don't know" or "I don't understand" (ABE 2011: 76). It further advises that these neutral topics could potentially be discussed again in the closure phase, if useful (ABE: 85). There are also some recommendations in relation to types of questions, including useful examples of open-ended and specific-closed questions. The manual highlights the need for the interviewer to tailor the language of the questions to each witness and avoid the use of complex grammatical structures, as well as avoid jargon and technical terminology, negative phrasing or leading questions. In addition, it recommends using the words used by the witness in the free narrative (as a way of demonstrating active listening), as well as having a break for refreshments after the witness's account, especially in complex cases.

In the context of investigative interviewing in Spain, the Código Ético del Cuerpo Nacional de Policía (Ethical Code for the National Police Force) based on the European Code of Police Ethics (2001) sets a standard on verbal and non-verbal communication, as follows:

> En sus relaciones con los ciudadanos deberán actuar con empatía, imparcialidad, autocontrol y elegancia, utilizando un lenguaje verbal y no verbal correcto, comprensible y respetuoso en todas las actuaciones.
> (Código Ético del Cuerpo Nacional de Policía 2013: 15)
>
> (In their relations with citizens they (police officers) must act with empathy, impartiality, self-control and tactfulness, using verbal and non-verbal communication that is correct, easy to understand and respectful in all situations).

It also states that witnesses and victims will be assisted with "especial atención" (special attention) (Código Ético del Cuerpo Nacional de Policía 2013: 18), similarly to the special mention of victims and witnesses in the College of Policing.

In Spain, the equivalent to the College of Policing guidelines would be the Código de la Policía Nacional (Code of the National Police), although there is not such an extensive and detailed description of the investigative interviewing processes in this document. However, this code is operationalised in other national and regional codes which include similar practical guidelines to the investigative interviews with victims in the UK. These guidelines provide useful and operational descriptions on rapport-building in investigative interviews with victims. Moreover, it is interesting to observe that the term *rapport* is used in Spanish, even though it has not yet been accepted by RAE[19]. This is possibly due to the influence of the PEACE model in the Spanish police guidelines and training. The practical manual MPIEDOD includes 5 specific mentions of rapport. First of all, it alludes to several inadequate strategies which explain the loss of valuable information, one of these being "no generar rapport" (not building rapport). Other strategies considered inadequate by the MPIEDOD are the use of excessive and inflexible questions, frequent interruptions, and the expression of suspicious thoughts about the veracity of the testimony. The said guideline also highlights that the victim is the most important witness in most cases, and the interviewer needs to be aware of how difficult the interview can be for the victim. Therefore, the police must take action to make the victim feel at ease as much as possible, with the aim of eliciting detailed information about the incident, avoiding that "los nervios le puedan llevar a contradicciones" (their nervousness might lead them to contradict themselves) (MPIEDOD: 336). Subsequently, the manual states that, in order to build rapport, the interviewer needs to generate an environment of trust and safety, where the victim can feel comfortable. It is important that the interview is customised and adapted to the style and needs of the victim. The interviewer must be genuine, sensitive to the victim's situation and they must show personal interest in solving the case beyond their duties as a representative of the state (MPIEDOD: 337).

[19] RAE is the abbreviation of Real Academia Española (Royal Academy of Spanish). It is the institution aimed at regulating Spanish as a language. The term *rapport* has not yet been included in the RAE Spanish dictionary.

The manual also highlights that it is advisable, in the first part of the interview, called "Saludos" (greetings), to call the victim by their name and tell them the interviewer's name. It further recommends that the victim's name should be used frequently in the interview. It is also advised that the *you* formal (usted) or *you* informal (tú) may be used depending on the interviewee's characteristics (MPIEDOD: 338[20]). Similar to ABE, it is suggested that the interview be started with a brief discussion about some neutral topics not related to the incident during which the interviewer can show genuine interest in the victim, create a positive mood and clarify that it is ok for the victim to answer *no sé* (I don't know). The manual also recommends the use of open questions and the avoidance of leading questions, and highlights the importance of active listening, of allowing the victim to talk about their feeling and answering empathically, as well as using the same words for memory recall, not interrupting the victim and allowing for breaks if necessary (MPIEDOD: 338-342).

As observed, both the UK and the Spanish police guidelines follow similar approaches to building rapport in interviews with witnesses and victims. The key importance of rapport in investigative interviews with victims is mostly agreed upon and institutionalised both in research and in police practice. Following this examination of police guidelines in both contexts, specific techniques developed by police practitioners and investigative trainers in monolingual interviews will be explained in relation to linguistic and language use, with specific reference to rapport. This will be the first step to understand how linguistic rapport can be affected by the presence of an interpreter.

2.3.3 Rapport in police practice and training: Linguistic features of rapport

The most recognised models of investigative interviewing, the Cognitive Interview Model and the Conversation Management Approach, advocate the use of empathic communication to build rapport in interviews (Milne and Bull 1999; Oxburgh and Ost 2011). Research from psychology, discourse analysis and forensic studies have developed different materials for investigative interviewers with specific linguistic examples aimed at training police interviewers' capacity to build rapport by paying attention to their

[20] In Spanish, there are two forms that are equivalent to the English *you*. One is *tú*, considered more informal, and the other is *usted*, which is seen as more formal.

interviewees' verbal and non-verbal cues and respond to the interviewee's emotions (St-Yves 2006). Some of the most relevant examples are detailed below.

Oxburgh and Ost (2011), in their study of police interviews with suspects of sexual offences, provide some examples of linguistic empathic communication. They are categorised as *emphatic opportunities* (interviewee's responses that can be leveraged by the police officer to build rapport); *empathic continuers* (triggers that can be used by the police officer to maintain the rapport); and *empathic terminators* (whose coercive nature may hinder a suspect response):

- Empathic opportunities: *I am finding this whole process extremely difficult to deal with…*
- Empathic continuers: *…that's okay, I completely understand how difficult it is, but please try and stay focused…*
- Empathic terminators: *…I don't care how difficult this is for you, just answer the question…*

(Oxburgh and Ost 2011: 184)

Based on these instances, Dando and Oxburgh (2016), in their study with transcripts of sexual offenders, identify four types of linguistic empathic behaviour displayed by police interviewers:

- Spontaneous comfort: offered by interviewer without any preceding statement or description from the interviewee. For example: *If you want any more time then let me know and we can stop the tapes and let that happen*; *if you need a break or you want to go to the toilet or anything, just say it's not a problem because I want you to feel comfortable and I know this is a difficult time for you.*
- Continuer comfort: concerned with the same verbal offerings as the ones described in spontaneous comfort, but they are produced in response to the interviewee regarding difficulties that they are experiencing. An empathic opportunity (above) precedes a continuer.
- Spontaneous understanding: occurring when the interviewer offers some understanding of the interviewee situation. Without any preceding statement or description. For example: *I appreciate how difficult this situation must be for you, but it is important that you try to remember what happened, and when these things*

happened; *I am sorry but I am going to have to ask you a difficult question, which may be uncomfortable for you to answer.*

- Continuer understanding: responses that express understanding for the interviewee's situation as a response to a preceding statement. This preceding statement is, again, an empathic opportunity.

(Dando and Oxburgh 2016: 29-30)

They argue that an interviewee may receive negative instances of automatic or uninvited empathy, and on the contrary, they recognise and respond to the interviewer use of continuer empathy.

Forensic psychologist Eric Shepherd, in his book Investigative Interviewing: The Conversation Management Approach (2007) for practitioners and police trainers, pays much attention to mindful behaviours for rapport-building in investigative interviews. He creates an acronym, RESPONSE[21], to facilitate recollection of the key behaviours that an interviewer needs to follow in order to have a successful working relationship. When examining these behaviours in depth, the author regards empathic communication as a core professional condition. He gives extensive linguistic examples of relationship building:

- Expressing empathy[22] by using softening devises:
  To a suspect: *I realise you've been in detention a long time…*
  To a witness: *I can understand if you feel a bit overwhelmed…*; *I appreciate it's difficult…*; *I know that it must be painful…*

- Minimal prompts addressed to link or bridge when the interviewee seems to have difficulties in continuing talking:

[21] RESPONSE stands for:
R Respect
E Empathy
S Supportiveness
P Positiveness
O Openness
N Non-judgemental attitude
S Straightforward talk
E Equals talking "across" to each other
(Shepherd 2007: 20)

[22] Expressing empathy refers here to acknowledging the interviewee's feelings.

Sustaining prompt	Guggle, e.g. *Uh-huh…*; nod
Linking prompt	*And…* *Then…* *And then…* *Right…* *Alright…* *OK…*
"Please complete" prompt	*Please go on…* *Carry on please…*
"Please start again" prompt	*It is difficult, I appreciate…* *You were saying…* *As you were saying…* *You got to* [state]…

- Supportive remarks in difficult situations or to reward participation:
  Trying to remember detail is always difficult…; *I can see you're trying hard…*
- Solidarity politeness addressed to be courteous and empathetic:
  I know it's difficult… and will not be easy for you to tell me…
- Openness about lack of information in order to invite the interviewee's cooperation:
  I have not been where it happened…; *I need you to describe it to me…*

(Shepherd 2007: 184)

Shepherd also guides police interviewers in the use of simple words and phrasing, open-ended questions, and adjust the register to the interviewee to reduce the power asymmetry established by the nature of the police interview setting (Shepherd 2007).

In a more general manner, the Conversation Management Approach describes a set of verbal and non-verbal techniques recommended to make the interviewee feel at ease and obtain maximum value from the interview. This set, comprised by the mnemonic GEMAC (Shepherd 2007: 21-24), trains police interviewers to follow several steps which facilitate the disclosure. The acronym stands for Greeting, Explanation, Mutual activity and Closure, as explained below:

-Greeting (G). This first stage is concerned with starting the first meeting with the interviewee in a way that signals respect, leading to feelings of equality.

-Explanation (E). The main aim of the interviewer, at this stage, is to clarify the stages of the interview process to the interviewee. The assumption is that the interviewee's likely apprehension, anxiety or dread may be reduced if they are informed of the role of the police officers and any other person present (i.e. legal adviser, carer, interpreter or appropriate adult in the case of minors) in the interview, the main topics that will be discussed and the main investigative expectations, allowing a working relationship to develop.

-Mutual Activity (MA). At this stage, the interviewer aims to look for clues in the emotional state and attitude of the interviewee, such as changes in non-verbal and verbal behaviour that can potentially indicate emotional arousal. This includes, for example, gaze aversion, blushing, tone of voice, swallowing, or sweating, among others. Under circumstances of continuous interviewee's disruptive behaviour (i.e. loss of control, interrupting, overtalking) interviewers are advised not to react to anger and to stop the interview. In circumstances of resistance (i.e. continuous denial, evasion to answer, seeking to snub), interviewers are advised to try and acknowledge any emotional change with sentences like *I can see that you are getting keyed up… and are unhappy talking about… I'd like to know the reason for your unhappiness about what we are covering…*, in order to ease the situation and let the person express their emotion while listening or creating silence, allowing them to become composed again. However, police interviewers are trained to avoid being influenced by the interviewee's emotions. Guidelines also advise them to follow certain behaviours in the case of the interviewee's expression of strong emotions. For example, they should not smile when a person is getting angry (which will provoke them to get angrier). Rather, the interviewer should use complementary behaviours in interactions, such as lowering their voice if the interviewee raises their voice, or consciously trying to relax in instances where the interviewee gets incrementally upset (Shepherd 2007: 245).

-Closing (C). In the last stage, interviewers aim to reinforce the working relationship by recognizing the value of the interview and expressing appreciation for the interviewee's contribution. At this point, interviewers summarize the outcomes of the interaction, invite questions and depart on a positive note.

Each of these stages is aimed at decreasing social distancing and creating emotional proximity. By facilitating dialogue and building rapport, interviewers aim to overcome the interviewees' potential unwillingness to talk or to give false testimony due to emotional circumstances.

When interviewing victims and witnesses, interviewers are confronted with emotional challenges such as attention, social pressure or motivation (Walsh and Bull 2011; Bartels 2011; Aldridge and Luchjenbroers 2008). For example, traumatised witnesses or victims, especially sex offence claimants, may be under high amounts of stress which can impede recall and increase suggestibility (Snook et al. 2014; Cutler et al. 2014). Strategies to minimise stress and errors in the interview include verbal mimicry (Richardson et al. 2019), such as the interviewer adapting to the interviewee's terminology or the use of simplified language, since people tend to automatically align their grammar and word choices when engaged in dialogue (Garrod and Pickering 2004).

As observed, linguistic[23] expressions of rapport are specifically included both in police guidelines and police training materials, and police officers are specifically trained to use rapport strategies in interviews with victims. This overview provides the grounds for the identification of linguistic features relevant to rapport-building, leading to the setting up of the analytical framework explained in Chapter 6 – Methodology, which enables the subsequent analysis of trainee interpreters rapport-building renditions into English and Spanish.

In addition, since this research project is concerned with interviewing practice, it was necessary to provide an understanding of how police practitioners build and maintain

[23] Examples usually include both verbal and non-verbal features, where non-verbal strategies refer to communication examples which do not involve words, such as body language, facial expressions, and also prosodic features, like intonation voice tone or accent. In an interpreter-mediated police interview setting, most of these features can be easily picked up by the police interviewer (Mulayim et al. 2015: 80). Consequently, the main focus of this research project is on linguistic features.

rapport in their daily practice. As the prime aim is to analyse how trainee interpreters convey rapport in interpreter-mediated police interviews, this requires an empirical engagement with what actually happens in the context of police practice in the UK and Spain. This serves to observe actual instances of linguistic rapport used by investigative interviewers. To achieve this, and complement the examples provided in the police guidelines, the thesis also relies on ethnographic observations conducted with police forces in the UK and Spain. This will be described in section 6.3.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has reviewed monolingual police interviews with victims in the UK and Spain, specifically in relation to rapport as one of the main features of successful interviewing. Within this, an overview was given of the structure and main characteristics of police interviews, paying particular attention to police guidelines. Then, the chapter provided definitions for rapport and its relationship with empathy and empathic communication. There followed and overview of the relevant linguistic features of rapport, as emerging from forensic science and police training materials, with particular reference to the Cognitive Interview Model and the Conversation Management Approach and interviews with victims. These features establish the grounds for the analytical framework employed in this thesis for the examination of linguistic rapport features in interpreter-mediated police interviews (section 6.6.). The framework is further informed by the findings from the ethnographic observation of real police interviews settings in both the UK and Spain (as outlines in section 6.3.)

Having provided an overview of monolingual police interviews, the following chapter illustrates legal interpreting interactions with specific emphasis on interpreter-mediated police interviews and interpreting training, as well as the role of the interpreter in legal interactions and rapport-building.

CHAPTER 3: INTERPRETER-MEDIATED POLICE INTERVIEWS: RESEARCH, PRACTICE AND TRAINING

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses interpreter-mediated police interviews with special focus on interpreting police rapport. In the European Union (hereafter EU) context, Directive[24] 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 establishes minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime, with special attention to some groups of victims. This includes foreign women who may be more vulnerable because they do not speak the language of the competent authority. Article 7 of the Directive advocates for the right of foreign victims to interpreting and translation during the criminal proceedings, such as interviews or questioning.

The adoption of the cited Directive has impacted on both research and training in legal interpreting settings and numerous studies illustrate a new focus on the professionalisation of the field. This has led to a boost in the recognition of the role of the police interpreter and an increasing awareness of contextual factors that influence interpreting in investigative interviews. Interpreter-mediated interviews with victims should ensure the same standards guaranteed in monolingual interviews, including rapport. However, the transfer of rapport may be challenging in interpreted interviews, since interpreters may help or hinder rapport techniques used by police interviewers, although little research has been conducted in this field (Abbe and Brandon 2014: 215).

The chapter starts by introducing general definitions related to interpreting and legal interpreting (section 3.2), which is followed by an exploration of recent research in legal interpreting (section 3.3) and a discussion of the role of the interpreter, as emerging from research conducted on interpreter's impact upon legal procedures (section 3.4). Section 3.5 describes what interpreter-mediated police interviews are and section 3.6 explores these in connection to investigative interviewing techniques and rapport-building, and how rapport has been studied in interpreting interactions. Section 3.7 provides an

[24] An EU directive is a "legislative act that sets out a goal that all EU countries must achieve" (European Union website 2021). However, individual Member States must devise their own legislation to give effect to the goals of the legislation. They have a time frame to achieve this, which is usually two years. More information available at: https://europa.eu/european-union/law/legal-acts_en.

overview of training on rapport in legal interpreting, including an analysis of legal interpreting training provision in higher education in the UK and Spain and whether it accounts for police rapport. Finally, section 3.8 offers a brief chapter summary.

3.2 From public service interpreting to police interpreting: General definitions

Police interpreting may be classified within different fields in interpreting studies. Therefore, I provide general definitions in order to clarify the terminology that is relevant to this research project.

There have been various definitions of the term interpreting throughout history. Traditionally, interpreting has been seen as a branch of translation (Hale 2007: 3). However, in contrast to translation, interpreting has its own characteristics in the sense that it happens in real time and it cannot be edited. Pöchhacker (2004: 11) defines interpreting as "a form of translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language". In addition, translation refers to the written form while interpreting is oral, which implies that interpreters "need to deal with the oral text as it is presented to them, without the opportunity to consult references, previous interpreting assignments or correct and edit the final product" (Hale 2007: 8). The language performance has to be pursued in "real time" (Gibbons 2003: 246), which means that interpreters always face the challenge of time constraints and immediacy. Based on this distinction, interpreting is classified in this thesis as the **process** where a message expressed in the source language (hereafter SL) is transposed to the target language (hereafter TL), whereas translation refers to the **product** itself, the result of the interpreting process (De Groot 2011).

Based on the mode of delivery, Russell (2005) distinguishes between two types of interpreting: simultaneous and consecutive. Simultaneous interpreting is defined as "the process of interpreting into the target language at the same time as the source language is being delivered". Consecutive interpreting is defined as "the process of interpreting after the speaker or signer has completed one or more ideas in the source language and pauses while the interpreter transmits that information" (Russell 2005: 136). Simultaneous interpreting is mainly used in conferences, where interpreters "work in soundproof booths

with equipment that prevents acoustic overlap between the original speech, listening to via headphones, and its simultaneous interpretation spoken into a microphone" (Diriker 2013: 383). Consecutive interpreting does not use any specific soundproof equipment. However, it usually involves note-taking and "may involve the rendering of source-language utterances lasting anywhere from a few seconds to several minutes or more" (Andres 2015: 85). Long consecutive (long consec) is the term used to describe consecutively interpreting a long passage (several minutes) or an entire speech at a time, generally using the help of notetaking, whereas short consecutive (short consec) describes consecutively interpreting a short passage, composed of a few words or sentences in which interpreters tend to be less reliant on note taking (Dueñas González et al. 2012). Police interview settings typically use a consecutive mode of interpreting[25] (Lai and Mulayim 2014; Tipton 2021), both with long consec and short consec. In interpreting training, either legal, medical or other settings, trainee interpreters are usually trained in both consecutive modes, as well as in chuchotage or whispered interpreting[26]. Chuchotage is a type of simultaneous interpreting conducted without technical equipment or a soundproof booth, where the interpreter in whispering mode "sits either behind or next to the person who needs to hear the interpretation" (Hale 2015: 67).

In terms of situational interactions, conference interpreting and public service interpreting (or community interpreting) are placed at two extremes of the interpreting option range, the first type being interpreting that is traditionally carried out for international conferences and organisations, and the second typically taking place in community settings with a face-to-face communication exchange (Pöchhacker 2004: 16). In her manual on community interpreting, Hale (2007) proposes a didactic chart which sets out the different interpreting modes and the factors influencing the style of delivery. Hale (2007) outlines the main differences between conference interpreting and community interpreting. Specifically, she highlights the main differences in relation to the types of register (from very formal to very informal), power asymmetry (different participant

[25] The use of simultaneous mode in interpreter-mediated police interviews is not usually advocated since it may lead to overlapping talk and it may impact on the interviewer and interviewee's ability "on their own train of thought and that of others, and the potential for information to be lost due to the cognitive burden on the interpreter" (Tipton 2021: 1065).

[26] Although students are usually trained to be able to use chuchotage, this type of interpreting was never observed in my ethnographic research conducted in police interactions, neither in the UK nor in Spain. In addition, researchers on interpreting modes in police settings do not seem to agree on which mode has more advantages in police interviews (see Goodman-Delahunty et al. 2020).

status) and significant consequences following inaccurate rendering. This can be seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4. The main differences between conference interpreting and community interpreting (Hale 2007: 32)

	Conference Interpreting	Community Interpreting
Register	Generally formal, although informal registers, mainly in the form of idioms and jokes, are common	Ranges from the very formal to the very informal
Language directionality	Mostly unidirectional	Bidirectional
Proxemics	Generally isolated in a booth, away from the speakers	Close proximity to speakers, which allows them to be more involved in the interaction
Mode	Generally simultaneous with the aid of equipment, although consecutive is sometimes used	Short consecutive (dialogue), long consecutive, simultaneous (whispering), sight translation
Consequences of inaccurate rendition	Medium	High
Level of accuracy required	Medium	High
Participants	Of the same professional status	Mostly of differing status
Number of interpreters	Two (working as a team)	One (working alone)

These differences result into completely different approaches in both the interpreting objective and the training involved. For example, simultaneous and long consecutive interpreting usually require text condensation and the omission of non-content features, such as hedges, silence or pauses, which make the version smoother to the listeners. In contrast, in the short consecutive interpreting used in community interpreting, these non-content features can be essential to render the message to the audience (Hale 2007: 10-11).

Community interpreting or public service interpreting can be defined as "interpreting carried out in face-to-face encounters between officials and laypeople, meeting for a particular purpose at a public institution" (Wadensjö 1998: 49). It can also be defined as a type of interpreting which "serves to enable individuals or groups in society who do not speak the official language to access basic services and communicate with service

providers" (Shlesinger 2011: 6). Community interpreting is regularly linked to everyday or emergency situations inside the community (Chesher et al. 2003: 276), so the interpretation goes usually in two directions, in other words, the interpreter uses both languages in the interaction.

The term community interpreting, first coined in Australia in the 70s (Chester 1997), has been broadly used for the last decades (Kainz et al. 2011; Hale 2007; Tryuk 2004; Merlini and Favaron 2003; Harris 2000; Bancroft 2015; Pöchhacker 1999). However, it is sometimes confused with the kind of interpreting carried out by non-professional interpreters or volunteers (Dueñas González et al. 1991). Therefore, it is a type of interpreting that has historically been undermined, partly due to the powerlessness of the participants being interpreted, originally migrants and refugees, and partly due to the fact that it is mistaken for a charitable activity (Mikkelson 1996; Gentile et al. 1996; Hale 2005). In order to emphasise its professional nature, community interpreting is now generally referred to as public service interpreting (hereafter PSI) both in the UK context (Kalina 2011: 51; De Pedro Ricoy et al. 2009; Corsellis 2008) as well as in Spain (Valero-Garcés 2003). That is why many PSI training programmes in both UK and Spain have adopted this terminology[27]. According to Pöchhacker's survey on interpreting studies terminological overview (2011), PSI and community interpreting are the most common names used in various geonational contexts[28].

In 2014, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) published the first International Standard to establish criteria and recommendations for the profession. They adopted the term "community interpreting" which defines both community interpreting and public service interpreting, as "bidirectional interpreting that takes place in *communicative settings* among speakers of different languages for the purpose of accessing community services" (ISO 13611:2014 (E)). Community interpreting may involve both private and public services provided by private or public interpreting service

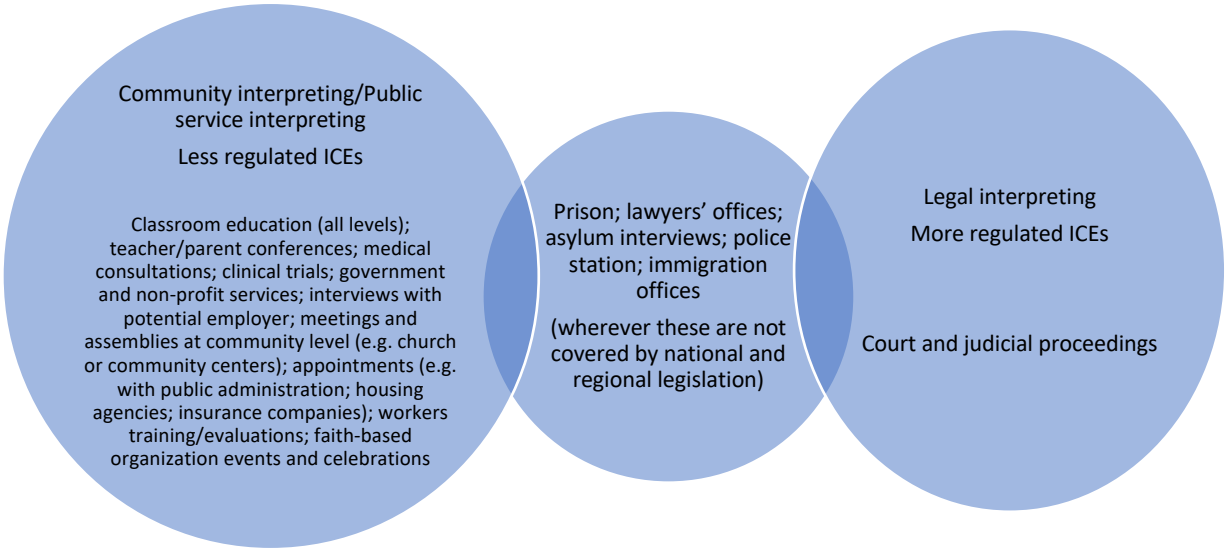
[27] The two MA programmes where I have collected the data for the analysis use the term public service interpreting.

[28] Since the 1980s, when research in the field on non-conference, non-business and non-diplomatic interpreting first emerged, these terms have been used sometimes in an overlapping or contradictory way: *ad* hoc *interpreting*, *community interpreting*, *public service interpreting*, *dialogue interpreting*, *liaison interpreting*, *bilateral interpreting*, *triad interpreting*, *discourse interpreting*, *cultural interpreting*, *intercultural interpreting* and *intrasocietal interpreting* (Tipton and Furmanek 2016: 3).

providers. Community interpreting is not limited to accessing social services and includes, for example, "services to tourists and disaster victims" (ISO 13611:2014 (E)). Following ISO, my research project uses both terms interchangeably as well as the term dialogue interpreting, introduced by Wadensjö (1992). Dialogue interpreting is described by Tipton and Furmanek (2016) as indicating an "emphasis on equal, balanced, respectful communication" (Tipton and Furmanek 2016: 6).

In addition to the difficulty of agreeing on the term, there are difficulties in classifying what kind of interpreting is seen as community or public service interpreting. Traditionally, there have been two main fields under the term community interpreting: medical interpreting, undertaken in healthcare and hospital settings, and legal interpreting, undertaken in court hearings, police stations, asylum settings and other judicial and law settings (Hale 2007: 32). However, not all countries include the same services under community interpreting. For example, the European Union Legal Interpreters and Translators Association excludes court interpreting from community interpreting, and some countries, like the United States, require different standards and national ethics for legal or medical interpreting (Bancroft 2015). The ISO 13611 illustrates these overlaps as shown in figure 5.

Figure 5. Distinctions and overlaps related to interpreting communicative events (ICEs) (ISO 2014: 13)



As observed, the first international interpreting standard does not specify whether legal interpreting is excluded or included in community interpreting. The variety of contexts and circumstances under this umbrella is significant, although the shared characteristic is that the participants would not be able to communicate without an interpreter. ISO 13611:2014 (E) on community interpreting has been complemented by ISO 20228:2019 on legal interpreting in 2019. BS[29] ISO 20228:2019 refers to the first international standard on legal interpreting. This standard acknowledges, again, the areas of overlap in community interpreting/public service interpreting illustrated in figure 5. However, it does specify that legal interpreting refers to "interpreting at communicative settings related to the law" (ISO 18841:2018, 3.3.4), and one of these settings is police stations (ISO 20228:2019: 6). Therefore, following researchers like Benmaman (1992), Hale (2007) or Mulayim et al. (2015), police interpreting is a subset of legal interpreting, and this is how it is acknowledged in this research project in relation to the role of the interpreter, interpreting training and challenges, and interpreting interaction.

3.3 Research in legal interpreting

Within legal interpreting, the field of court interpreting is the one which has received most attention, in relation to the interpreter's role and how interpreters impact in legal proceedings (Berk-Seligson 1990, 2009; Hale 2001, 2004, 2007; Morris 1995; Martín and Ortega Herráez 2013; Mikkelson 2008; Orozco-Jutorán 2019; Bestué 2018). Several of these studies have demonstrated the risks of hiring unqualified interpreters and how the need for professional interpreters is nowadays an increasing concern (Bancroft 2015). In fact, in some legal systems, bilingual police officers may act as interpreters when a professional interpreter is not available, risking the impartiality of the interview (Berk-Selingson 2000; Hale et al. 2018).

Within the wide range of studies exploring the general linguistic challenges faced by legal interpreters, two pioneer researchers, Susan Berk-Seligson and Sandra Hale, conducted leading investigations on linguistic features in the field of legal interpreting. Berk-Seligson (1990) analysed 114 taped recorded hours of American judicial proceedings with professional and non-professional English/Spanish interpreters, showing how

[29] BS stand for the British Standard, which refers to the UK implementation of the International Standard.

interpreters modify linguistic discourse features, such as grammar and syntax, and other non-linguistic and pragmatic features, such as voice tone, illocutionary force, turn-taking or register. She found that interpreters' interruptions could usurp power from the interrogating attorney. Interpreters would also unconsciously change passive or impersonal forms from one language to another, changing the agent of the action. In addition, they would add question intonation to declarative utterances (answering a question with a "question-like" answer which would call for approval by the questioner, like in "what time did you go to bed?" replied as "around 20h?" instead of "around 20h"). This research highlighted how these shifts have a crucial effect on how jurors perceive witnesses in terms of trustworthiness, intelligence, competence and convincingness. Some years later, Hale (2004) was the first researcher who analysed 13 English/Spanish interpreted court hearings held in Australia, showing both pragmatic, semantic and micro-linguistic nuances that can have an impact on accuracy of content and style. For example, she discovered that the systematic omission of high frequent discourse markers like "now", "see" and "well" in the interpretation could change the strength with which a question was asked, hence changing the illocutionary force of a witness's answers. This research drew attention to the fact that lack of accuracy in the interpretation of these features may also convey a distorted view of the speaker as less competent, intelligent or credible than they would have come across in their original language, bringing to light the constraints of the legal interpreting settings. A subtle tendency of interpreters to correct some linguistic aspects of the utterances, such as false starts, disfluencies, hedges or colloquialisms, or altering the register, in order to try to maintain a "competence" image, has also been observed by other interpreting researchers (Shlesinger 1991; Ortega Herráez and Foulquié Rubio 2008; Berk-Seligson 2009; Hale 1997, 2001).

Subsequently, other legal interpreting researchers have added to this analysis of legal interpreting discourse, in an attempt to show its complexity in terms of linguistic and linguistic-related challenges arising from the interpreter's performance in legal settings (Orozco-Jutorán 2018; Gallai 2017; Liu 2020; Hale 2004). In this context, Mikkelson (1999) pointed out that the interpreter needs to render the language "in an efficient and intelligible manner, while retaining all elements of meaning and style". Berk-Seligson (1990) and Hale (1997) noticed that it is common for interpreters to use more formal language (i.e. more formal lexical choices or avoiding syntactic omissions or contractions) to enhance their own image, or in an attempt to repair an utterance. In his

study on police interpreting, Krouglov (1999) also showed how the pragmatic intention of the interviewee might be distorted due to the interpreters' avoidance or changes in colloquialisms and hedges. Dueñas González et al. (1991: 17) addressed the issue of interpreters not conveying the non-fluency features of the original utterances, such as hesitations or false starts in court interpreting, which could be meaningful clues for the interviewer. Komter (2005) also gave an example of how police interpreters mitigate face-threatening linguistic features in the interpretation. These pragmatic shifts could also include changes in the illocutionary force of both the interviewee and the interviewer's utterances, with serious implications for the distribution of the interview power and control (Berk-Seligson 1990, 2000, 2004; Laster and Taylor 1994; Hale 2004; Nakane 2014). They can also become a challenge when interpreting cross-examination questions[30], where the illocutionary force of the interpreting questions may deviate from the original (Liu 2020).

Moreover, turn-taking has also proven to be a challenge for interpreter-mediated police interviews, mainly in regard to interruptions and overlapping (Russell 2002; Komter 2005; Tipton 2021). It has been acknowledged that many suspects, victims or witnesses being interpreted, do have some knowledge of English and during the course of the interview will try to reply directly to the interviewer without waiting for the interpretation (Monteoliva-García 2017: 109). Silence may also be misperceived as meaningless units by interpreters, who can then try to repair silent pauses that in monolingual police interview contexts could be used to elicit a specific type of response or as a coercive factor by the police interviewer (Nakane 2011).

In relation to this, the interpreter has been perceived as playing an active part in police interviews. Nakane (2009) showed how interpreters of Japanese/English tried to solve sequences that were perceived as interactionally problematic in police interviews, for example, by giving what they considered a better translation of what both the interviewee and the interviewer said, in an attempt to solve a communication problem. In one of the examples mentioned, in the rendition of one of the interviewee's answer, the interpreter omits "they said" in the utterance "they said he was the guide", which makes the

[30] Cross-examinations questions are aimed at "creating doubt about the truthfulness of the witness's testimony, especially as it applies to the incidents that are at issue in the case" (WomensLaw.org: 2021).

interviewee responsible for the knowledge of that person being a tour guide, potentially leading to a complete change in the meaning of the original utterance. Other examples include instances in which the interpreter speaks on behalf of the interviewee attempting to explain grammar differences between Japanese and English and hence taking a principal role, which allows the interviewee to buy time. This can be very problematic in this kind of setting, since both the meaning, style and form of the communication (linguistic and non-linguistic) are equally important in police discourse.

Findings from these research studies have demonstrated that interpreters tend to focus on the propositional content rather that the style or the pragmatic force of the utterances, which may potentially impact the outcomes of the legal procedures (Filipović 2007, 2019, 2022; Berk-Seligson 1990, 2009; Hale 2002, 2004; Gallai 2017; Liu and Hale 2017; Jacobsen 2008). In addition, as Gallai (2017) states with reference to interpreter-mediated police interviews, "an interpreter's seemingly insignificant addition to, or omission of, an interviewer's question can have lasting consequences" (Gallai 2017: 179). Concerning this, the term *accuracy* has been largely discussed in legal interpreting in two different settings. One concerns court interpreting (Berk-Seligson 1990; Dueñas González et al. 1991; Fowler 1997; Hale 1996, 2001, 2007), and the other focuses on police interpreting (Krouglov 1999; Lai and Mulayim 2014; Böser 2013; Gallai 2017). In the UK, the candidate handbook for the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting[31] (hereafter DPSI) states that the evaluation of accuracy is based on "the candidate […] transfer[ing] all information without omissions, additions, distortions; demonstrates complete competence in conveying verbal content and familiarity with subject matter" (IoLET 2010: 10). This needs to be understood with "functional and pragmatic considerations" and not only in terms of "linguistic equivalence" (Pöchhacker 2016: 138). As Dueñas González et al. (1990: 16-17) suggests "the form and style of the message are regarded as equally important elements of meaning". Legal interpreters should not interpret word-by-word but concept-by-concept, while at the same time rendering register and formal elements which have to do with the speaker's style, and as much as possible conserving paralinguistic elements, hedges, repetitions or hesitations (Dueñas González et al. 2012: 17). As many scholars have suggested, *accuracy* in legal interpreting should retain both propositional content and speakers' styles (Laster and Taylor 1994; Liu 2020; Dueñas

[31] See section 3.7.1.

González et al. 2012; Hale 2004; Orozco-Jutorán 2019). In terms of a police interview setting, I follow Hale's (2007) description of an accurate interpretation:

> An accurate interpretation will attempt to render the meaning of the utterance at the discourse level, taking into account the pragmatic dimension of language, transferring the intention behind the utterance and attempting to produce a similar reaction in the listeners in response to such utterance, as the original would have. An accurate rendition will also take into account the lexical, grammatical and syntactic differences across the two languages, as well as the possible cross-cultural differences.
> (Hale 2007: 42)

Therefore, police interpreters need to understand the speakers' intention, and for that, they need to be familiarised with police interviewing strategies, like rapport-building, to be able to render significantly and with the least amount of alteration (linguistic or otherwise) of the other parties (Gentile et al. 1996: 53). On the other hand, parties working with police interpreters need to understand the interpreter's role, which has not been always the case. The following section clarifies such role for the sake of this research.

3.4 The role of the interpreter in legal settings

Research indicates that police officers and other police interpreting users typically do not fully understand the role of the interpreter (Russell 2002; Fowler 2003; Komter 2005; Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk 2016). For instance, in her study on challenges surrounding interpreter-assisted investigative interviews, Mayfield (2016: 7) showed how, on some occasions, police investigators who did not fully understand the interpreter's role, tried to delegate part of their role to the interpreter in the investigate interviews of victims and witnesses. The ImPli (Improving Police and legal Interpreting 2012)[32] project, carried out by the Cambridgeshire Constabulary and some UK local and national agencies, showed that many users in the police environment in Europe expected "that interpreters would provide explanations and clarification of culturally specific references (e.g. of a geographic nature) or forms of behaviour (e.g. on how to address a person) or that they

[32] The ImPLI project aims to define best practices in interpreter-mediated police interviews. More information available at: http://www.isitinternational.com/app/uploads/2014/11/IMPLI_Final_Report.pdf.

would offer guidance on the appropriateness of procedure (e.g. gender matching of interpreter and interviewee)" (Mayfield and Krouglov 2019: 86). It was also pointed out how police interviewing practitioners lack awareness of the interpreter's ethical principles and do not trust them, considering them a "risk factor" (ImPli 2012: 34).

On the other hand, legal interpreters may not be fully aware themselves of their role in legal proceedings, and, as a consequence, they may align with one of the parties in an attempt to protect the witness or the victim, or vice versa, in an attempt to assist the police (Komter 2005). In her studies on courtroom interpreters, Berk-Seligson (1990) found that interpreters would change the question forms to avoid witnesses' discomfort. Hale (2007:73) stated that a detainee who may feel intimidated by the police officer may seek the interpreter's support, placing extra pressure on the interpreter.

These challenges arise from divergences in defining the role and status of the interpreter. The role of the PSI interpreter has traditionally been established with reference to context of practice, distinguishing between domains that are considered more collaborative, such as health or social services, where a wider range of intervention from the interpreter may be accepted, and domains that are considered more adversarial, such as police and court, where a narrower range of intervention is accepted (Mikkelson 2008: 92). In countries like Spain, the figure of intercultural mediators is prominent, especially in the medical field (Bot and Verrept 2013: 118). However, intercultural mediation is considered something different from interpreting, since it has different objectives, competencies and standards of practices (Toledano Buendía and Del Pozo Triviño 2014). As Mulayim et al. (2015: 16) state, acting as a cultural mediator or facilitator, which are roles that may also be assigned to interpreters, involve "extra tasks as giving advice or making suggestions or managing a conversation between the conversing parties", which cannot be ascribed to legal or police interpreters.

In police settings, where the pattern of turn-taking is rigid and the participatory framework is strictly regulated, the role of the interpreter has been defined as one of "conduit" (Laster and Taylor 1994; Wadensjö 1998; Roy 2000). However, later studies on legal interpreting suggest that interpreters go far beyond this role, performing, at times, as linguistic and cultural experts (Mulayim et al. 2015; Russell 2000; Nakane 2014; Gallai 2017; Tipton 2021; Mayfield and Krouglov 2019). In the context of asylum hearings,

interpreters have made themselves active participants, by taking the initiative to elicit information or allying with the investigating team (Pöllabauer 2004; Kolb and Pöchhacker 2008). Although "conduit" is a term open to different interpretations, Hale (2007: 127) suggests that the interpreter as a conduit implies that "the interpreter is a link, the means by which two people who do not speak the same language can connect", which seems perfectly valid for police and court interpreting (Toledano Buendía and Del Pozo Triviño 2015: 47). The main competence of an interpreter is ultimately "instant comprehension and expression of contextualised meaning from one spoken language into another" (Lai and Mulayim 2014: 10). As Hale (2008) suggests, the only adequate role for legal interpreters is as faithful renderer of others' utterances, which is facilitated by their skills through training and practice and good working conditions (Hale 2008: 119). Police interpreters are, therefore, expected to follow the impartial model proposed by Cambridge (2002):

> Interpreters using the impartial model relay on messages accurately, completely and in as close as possible the same style as the original. They do not give personal advice or opinions; do not add or omit parts of the message; do make every effort to foster the full accurate transfer of information; do maintain strict confidentiality. They will intervene only when they need clarification of part of a message; they cannot hear what is being said; they believe a cultural inference has been missed; they believe there is a misunderstanding.
> (Cambridge 2002: 123)

Because achieving high standards of accuracy in police interpreting is challenging, police interpreters need specialised training to be aware of the intricacies that influence interpreting in investigative interviews and successfully assist victims of crime. In addition, the role of the interpreter in police settings needs to be fully understood by all parties working in the police settings, to assure professional standards and enhance best practice in interpreter-mediated police interviews.

3.5 Interpreter-mediated police interviews: Research, definitions and challenges

Following Hale (2007: 65), legal interpreting covers the full range of interpreting undertaken in the justice system, from police interviews, lawyer-client meetings and

tribunals, and court hearings and trials. Although in many cases interpreting training programmes bring together common characteristics to prepare interpreters for any legal setting, each of these settings have their own characteristics and challenges. I will focus next on the idiosyncrasies of interpreting taking place in police settings.

Police interpreting is the kind of interpreting undertaken during police interviews with suspects, victims or witnesses. As police interviews are an initial phase within the legal process, their importance resides in the fact that they are the first step of the legal process. Since the primary aim of a police interview is "the collection and synthesis of evidence into a written statement for use in any subsequent court hearing" (Coulthard and Johnson 2007: 80), it can be appreciated that this constitutes a very specific speech event where discursive features are of crucial importance.

The term "interpreter-mediated police interviews" refers to the fact that interpreters significantly affect the dynamics of the police interview. In her study on the oppositional dynamics in police and suspect interaction, Russell (2004: 116) confirmed how the presence of an interpreter changed the dynamics into a "triadic mixture of opposition, cooperation and shifting alignments". This line of thought has led to calling this type of interactions "interpreter-mediated" police interviews to stress its complexity (Nakane 2014; Gallai 2017; Lee 2017; Komter 2005).

In police interviews, the role of the interpreter is clarified to the interviewee before the interview initiates. For example, the Metropolitan police provides a template which can be used by the police interviewer to introduce an interpreter-mediated interview:

> (Interpreter's name) is an interpreter. He/she is not a police officer. The interpreter is independent. He/she is a professionally qualified interpreter. Interpreters have strict rules about how they work. The interpreter will interpret everything we say. He/she will not add, leave out or change the meaning of our words. The interpreter will not help you. The interpreter will not give his/her ideas. You must not talk privately to the interpreter. I will decide what the interpreter does.
> If we know the interpreter has broken any of these rules, we will take action to make sure it does not happen again.
> (Metropolitan Police 2007: 19-20)

The following characteristics are a summary of the distinguishing features of police interpreting drawn from interpreting research review:

- Interpreting between police and suspects, victims or witness is also produced for a future audience or third party (Cotterill 2002: 124; Heritage 1985; Heydon 2005: 39). This means that interpreting is not only carried out in the interest of the interview participants but also for third parties (for instance, a follow-up interview or a court hearing, among others).
- The procedure must follow strict prescriptive patterns: starting with the police caution[33], followed by the actual interview and the final statement in the form of a written version of the interview[34]. At each stage, specific wording and explanations must be given following police interview guidelines (Mulayim et al. 2015). This means that the interpreter needs to be familiar with the process and follow a specific sequence.
- Police interviews are private, hence they entail the implicit or explicit possibility that coercion might be used to obtain cooperation from the suspect, victim or witness (Lai and Mulayim 2014). In the case of non-native speakers, the presence of an interpreter is, therefore, even more important than in other legal settings like in court (Laster and Taylor 1994).
- Police interviews are a type of legal discourse developed through training and with specific characteristics (section 2.2). The verbal strategies used by trained police interviewers are aimed at obtaining relevant information and evidence, and to seek the truth (Milne and Bull 1999; Bull and Milne 2004; Oxburgh et al. 2016). Linguistic choices are, therefore, meaningful to the aim of the interview, and interpreters need to be aware of this.

[33] In the UK, as well as in Spain, suspects of crime are given a police caution before they are interviewed. The purpose is to explain the suspect's right to remain in silence as a protection against self-incrimination. The current version of the British caution appears in the revised version of PACE as follows: "You do not have to say anything. But it may harm your defence if you do not mention when questioned something which you later rely on in court. Anything you do say may be given in evidence." (Home Office 2013: C.10.5).
The Miranda warnings is the equivalent to this caution in the United States, where the police are also required to warn the suspect on their constitutional rights before the interrogation (Berk-Seligson 2009: 39).
[34] See note 9 in relation to video-recording interviews in the UK. In addition, the account of a victim/witness is referred to as a witness statement.

- Power asymmetry is indeed a visible feature in this type of interpreting; the police officer is the party who controls and manages the communication process (Berk-Seligson 2009; Mulayim et al. 2015; Nakane 2014). The interpreter needs to be aware of this particular asymmetry in the utterance.
- Because of their private and secret nature, it is difficult to make the likely content of the interview available to interpreters in advance. On many occasions, interviews are conducted with no previous notice and interpreters do not receive meaningful information to prepare for the interview (Lai and Mulayim 2014). This may have serious consequences for their performance.

As stated earlier, the kind of interpreting used in police settings is usually bidirectional, also called liaison interpreting (Russell 2002), which refers to the type of consecutive interpreting which works in both languages and is carried out sequence by sequence after the speaker's utterance (Wadensjö 1998: 49). Communication through this type of interpreting is considered more challenging for primary participants, since it creates a triadic way of communication between the parties and the interpreter. This means that "all parties involved are jointly responsible, to differing degrees, for its communicative success or failure" (Roy 2000: 63), and the outcomes of the interview and consequences depend on how the interpreter conveys the utterances, a process which is still very much under research (Lai and Mulayim 2014). In addition to the constraints of the arbitrary segmentation of the text, and the difficulties in accounting for the contextual elements, turn-taking cannot be managed by the interpreter, which leads to the increased difficulty of the task (Russell 2004: 116).

Interpreting in police settings has only started to receive research attention in the late 1990s (Pérez 2015), mainly due to the secrecy of police data and the lack of collaboration between researchers and police practitioners that still exists (Mayfield and Krouglov 2019). In the last two decades, however, there has been a growing interest in this field and an increased awareness of the complexity of these interactions and how they can affect the subsequent judicial procedures. Consequently, research has been conducted on interpreted police interviews (Berk-Seligson 2000, 2009; Hale et al. 2018; Kredens and Morris 2010; Filipović 2007, 2013, 2019, 2022; Filipović and Hijazo-Gascón 2018; Hijazo-Gascón 2019). This has also been strengthened by the Directive 2010/64/EU on

the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings and the Directive 2010/64/EU and Directive 2012/29/EU[35] in relation to communication assistance in legal procedures. Both Directives have led to an increase in research into the field of legal interpreting in Europe. This has resulted in the establishment of several collaborative European research projects on legal interpreting and interpreter-mediated police interviews in the disciplines of Law, Linguistics, Pragmatics, and Cognitive Psychology (Monteoliva-García 2018). Consequently, legal interpreting research has given greater attention to social, cultural and political perspectives (Mason 2006; Inghilleri 2012). This is the case for the following projects[36]:

- The AVIDICUS projects on Video-Mediated Interpreting (Braun and Taylor 2012).
- The ImPLI project on comparing interpreted legal interviews in several European countries (ImPLI project 2012)
- The CO-Minor-IN/QUEST on vulnerable interviewees under 18 (Balogh and Salaets 2015).
- TACIT on training and professional practice in investigative interviews (Filipović 2019).
- The TIPp project (Translation and Interpreting in Criminal Proceedings) on describing the reality of court interpreting in Spain (Orozco-Jutorán 2018).
- The SOS-VICS project on victims of domestic abuse in Spain (Toledano Buendía and Del Pozo Triviño 2014).

All these aforementioned projects highlight that interpreting for the legal system represents a challenge entailing that more empirical research is needed, particularly regarding rapport (Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk 2016).

[35] Directive 2010/64/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings, Directive 2012/29/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime, and Directive 2013/48/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on the right of access to a lawyer in criminal proceedings and on the right to communicate upon arrest (European Union Law website 2021).

[36] More information available at the projects websites:

- AVIDICUS: http://wp.videoconference-interpreting.net/?page_id=29
- TACIT: https://www.tacit.org.uk/
- TIPp: https://ddd.uab.cat/record/201587
- SOS-VICS: http://sosvicsweb.webs.uvigo.es/

Although more and more studies are being conducted in police interpreting, there is still limited impact of this research on interview training (section 3.7) and police guidelines (Tipton 2021: 1062). In the case of police interview with victims, the police guidelines accessed for this research address general areas, mainly related to legal aspects, such as the right of an interpreter, or administrative procedures in relation to how the interpreter fits into the interview structure (ABE: 58) and their qualifications, rather than addressing specific aspects of the investigative interview itself (Tipton 2017). The following section draws on the most recent research on investigative interviewing techniques and interpreting, and through this, illustrates how studies related to linguistic features of rapport-building remain underdeveloped.

3.6 Investigative interviewing techniques and interpreter-mediated interactions

In the specific field of police interpreting, one of the most recent emerging fields of research is how the interpreting process impacts on the investigative interview techniques employed by investigative interviewers to enhance information retrieval. In investigative interviewing, the form and style of the message are as important as the propositional content (Dueñas González et al. 1996: 16). However, the focus on factual information and the lack of awareness of interviewing techniques, may cause interpreters to ignore non-content features such as fillers, hedges or polite markers. This may interfere with the interviewer's ability to evaluate the interviewee's character or credibility (Dueñas González 1991; O'Barr 1982). Effects from this have been studied with ad-hoc or less proficient interpreters. Goodman-Delahunty et al. (2015) found that less proficient interpreters may alter the degree of politeness of a question or the register of the investigative interactions, ignoring nuances in the interviewer's questions and hence altering the meaning of the interviewee's answers. When the interpreting task is conducted by ad-hoc or non-professional interpreters, there are major pitfalls (Kredens and Morris 2010). Sometimes, this is due to the interpreter's incompetence, as found by Lee and Hong (2020) who discovered that the interpreter's lack of proficiency in interpreting between Korean and Russian created serious miscommunication issues in a murder interview. Hale et al. (2018) showed that there are significant differences in the performance of trained interpreters and untrained bilinguals when it comes to police interviews. Berk-Seligson (2009) makes a strong case for the use of qualified interpreters

in police interrogations[37], demonstrating that failing to do this creates "a speech situation that lends itself to coerced confessions" (Berk-Seligson 2009: 1).

Further studies have explored the effects of professional interpreting in the case of interviewers using specific investigative interviewing techniques. For example, Lai and Mulayim (2014), found that, when interpreting verbal strategies deliberately used by police interviewers, interpreters may not be aware of them and hence, it may have implications in the outcomes of the police interviews. This is illustrated with the rendering of the *How come* questions, where police guidelines recommend the use of "how come" instead of "why" when dealing with children and vulnerable witnesses, since it is less accusatory. The researchers found that when interpreting these questions, some interpreters would render as the more accusatory "why", despite having a linguistic equivalent to express "how come" in the TL (Lai and Mulayim 2014: 316).

Likewise, Nakane (2007), in her study on interpreter-mediated police interviews with suspects, identified several factors which made it difficult for the interpreters to convey the suspects' rights to them, including the interpreter's lack of understanding of the legal implication of the caution, as well as changes in the illocutionary force of the translation. Furthermore, Gallai (2017), in his study on interpreter-mediated police interviews with suspects, highlights how the presence of an interpreter may disempower the interviewee due to the interpreter's interference in the pragmatic intention. Gallai's study found that the interpreters' wrong renditions of some discourse markers, such as *well* or *so*, had a negative impact on the aims of some investigative interview techniques, including rapport-building and information-gathering.

All these studies stress the complexities of interpreter-mediated police interviews and the challenges faced by interpreters, indicating that interpreters inadvertently impact the outcomes of a police interview. They also suggest that a fine-grain level of knowledge of investigative interviews (procedure and techniques) is needed in order to guarantee that investigative and legal procedures are adhered to during the interpreting process. The following section centres on whether and how rapport-building, as one of the key techniques in investigative interviewing, is affected in interpreter-mediated interactions,

[37] Police interrogation is the term used in the U.S. and Canada for police interview.

providing an overview of interpreter-mediated research that has focused on how different aspects of rapport and rapport-building are interpreted (or not).

3.6.1 Rapport-building and interpreter-mediated interactions

Interpreter-mediated interviews with cooperative witnesses/victims are usually less adversarial than interviews with suspects or adversarial witnesses, however, the nature of the encounter and the differences in power asymmetry still entails a challenge to the participants (Jacobsen 2010), which may have an impact on rapport. In my research project, I explore whether and to what extent trainee interpreters may omit or modify rapport-building features expressed by the police interviewer, in order to identify which challenges arise at the point of training and may then be transferred to professional practice. Although linguistic rapport features have not been broadly researched in police interpreting with victims, studies of rapport-building features in interpreter-mediated interactions have been widely carried out in the field of medical interpreting (Rodríguez-Vicente 2021). This is due to rapport-building and empathic communication being considered as the core of interpreter-mediated medical interactions (Angelelli 2001; Bot 2005; Davidson 2000). Medical interpreting research has pointed out how cooperation and relationship building can be achieved when interpreters effectively manage verbal and non-verbal cues in relation to hedges, small talk, turn-taking pauses, silence, eye-contact or gestures (Wadensjö 1998; Bot 2005; Mason 2009; Tebble 1999; Angelelli 2001). Furthermore, the field of medical interpreting has also acknowledged how some verbal and non-verbal cues may be culturally bound (Bernstein et al. 2002).

In her review of healthcare interpreting practice, Iglesias Fernández (2010) examined verbal and non-verbal concomitants of rapport. Her findings demonstrated that interpreters focus on content, and hence rapport was omitted or neglected in the interpreting renditions, where instances aimed at building rapport were transformed into directive or authoritative statements, having a negative impact on the patient-provider relation. In another study conducted with Master students in interpreter-mediated medical consultations, Krystallidou and colleagues (2018) analysed interpreting students' renditions of empathic opportunities expressed by patients, and doctors' responses to them. The findings uncovered that interpreters' renditions had an impact both on the patients' empathic opportunities and on the doctors' empathic responses in one third of

the interactions, where students' renditions would exhibit shifts either in meaning and/or intensity. In a similar study on the effect of professional interpreting on empathic communication in medical consultations, Krystallidou et al. (2019) revealed that, although professional interpreters made less errors in their renditions, shifts were also found both in meaning and/or intensity when rendering empathic opportunities. Both studies suggest that interpreters may not be aware of the communicative function of patients' statement of emotion, which can have a significant impact on the outcomes of the consultations.

Several other studies have found that untrained bilinguals acting as interpreters had a severe impact on the doctor-patient interaction, since patients were perceiving practitioners as more distant (Baker et al. 1998; Lee et al. 2002; Aranguri et al. 2006). Following interviews with mental health practitioners working with interpreters, Pugh and Vetere (2009) highlighted difficulties in establishing rapport with patients when rendering empathic communication through interpreters, since empathic linguistic features were lost in the interpretation. Baraldi and Gavioli (2007) stated that interpreter failure in rendering support and appreciation may lead to causing a distancing between medical practitioners and patients.

On the other hand, Korpal and Jasielska (2018) investigated how interpreters are actually affected by speaker's emotions. They explored how neutral and emotional speech was interpreted in simultaneous mode. Results highlighted that interpreters were affected by the speaker's emotions, resulting in higher SUPIN[38] scores and greater galvanic skin response (change in sweat gland activity reflecting emotional arousal) in the case of the emotional speech. This study suggests that interpreters tend to converge emotionally with the speaker, which could be linked to "understand[ing] the intentions and emotions involved in the source language input" (Korpal and Jasielska 2018: 16). In police interpreting, the idea of identifying with the victim may lead to comforting the victim (Abril Martí 2015: 88), which raises serious implications for interpreting quality.

[38] SUPIN is the Polish adaptation to PANAS (Positive and Negative Affect Schedule). It quantifies cognitive labelling of emotion (Korpal and Jasielska 2018: 11).

Research on interpreter-mediated police interviews and rapport has emerged in the past few years, mainly in interviews with suspects. Rapport has been analysed from different perspectives and has therefore been measured differently. Some studies have applied post-interview questionnaires with the aim of measuring perceived rapport (Powell et al. 2017; Goodman-Delahunty and Howes 2019), whereas others have analysed the dynamics of rapport features throughout the interpreted interview in real or simulated scenarios (Hale et al. 2018; Liu and Hale 2018; Goodman-Delahunty et al. 2020). Powell and colleagues (2017) interviewed investigative interviewers and prosecutors of child abuse cases, who regularly used interpreters. Their study showed that interpreters faced challenges due to a lack of understanding of "best practice" in the child interviewing process and insufficient preparation regarding the nature of children's abuse narratives. Recommendations were made about specialised interpreting training and having the interpreters understand the rapport building phase of the interview. In the study conducted by Russano et al. (2014) on interviews involving FBI analysts and interpreters, both groups also believed that interpreters' knowledge of the target language and culture could be useful to build rapport and elicit information. Similarly, in the study conducted with experienced investigative interviewers from policing, intelligence and military organisations about interpreter-mediated interviews with high-value targets[39], Goodman-Delahunty and Howes (2019) discovered that challenges concerned difficulties in establishing rapport with interviewees in interpreter-assisted interviews. The suggestion was that rapport development would be facilitated if interpreters adhered to professional codes, namely interpreting without additions or omissions, as this would lead to a relationship of mutual respect between interviewer and interpreter.

In another related study on rapport in a simulated investigative interaction (Houston et al. 2017), participants were asked about interpreters' physical placement in the room (seated beside the interviewer or behind the target) and the nature of the relation between the interpreter and the target (engagement in a rapport-building session with the target prior to the interview or not). Results showed that the seating configuration and the place the interpreter was allocated in the room could have implications for the participants' perception of the interaction, which was rated more negatively when the interpreter sat

[39] High value targets refer to "suspected terrorists or, in a few instances, suspects of other high criminal profile activity (e.g., homicide and home invasion)" (Goodman-Delahunty et al. 2014: 887).

behind the target[40], hence having an impact on rapport. Placing the interpreter between the interviewer and the interviewee helped the interpreter to interpret rapport strategies accurately, since it provided a full view of both speakers in both non-verbal and para-verbal rapport cues (Goodman-Delahunty and Martschuk 2016).

Findings from further empirical studies present similar results. In an attempt to illustrate the impact of untrained bilinguals in legal police settings, Hale et al. (2018) measured interpreting performance in police interviews with trained interpreters and untrained bilinguals. They assessed and compared their performance in simulated interviews, which revealed significant differences in four major components: i. accuracy of propositional content, ii. accuracy of manner of delivery regarding to pragmatic force, register and style, iii. accuracy of legal discourse and terminology, and iv. appropriateness of interpreting protocols and management strategies. Statistical analysis showed that trained interpreters performed consistently better than untrained bilinguals, and, in regard to rapport, specialised legal training made a difference in maintaining rapport features in the interpreted renditions. This is also corroborated by the study conducted by Liu and Hale (2018) on the effectiveness of specialised legal interpreter training; results of their experimental study showed a positive impact of (one semester) specialised training on trainee interpreters' pragmatic accuracy, such as illocutionary point and force. In fact, indicating that interpreters trained in investigative interviews strategies are more likely not to interfere in the investigative objectives, including rapport (Mulayim et al. 2015).

To conclude, interpreter's performance can have an impact on rapport[41]. The impact in the specific case of interviews with victims is still under examination. Police interviewers strategically formulate their questions and use rapport features with the aim of conducting successful interviews. Due to a lack awareness of rapport-related linguistic features, interpreters may be unaware of narrative strategies and rapport-building techniques

[40] Placing the interpreter behind the interviewee is also advised against by the FBI since this creates an unconformable social dynamic and hinder non-verbal communication "and the establishment of rapport between the interrogator and the target is more difficult" (Russano et al. 2014).

[41] Ewens et al. 2016 conducted a study where 12 interpreters interpreted interview responses to open-ended questions in a simulated job interview. Rapport was measured unidirectional by ratings provided by the interviewees on the interviewer (and not the other way around). The ratings were on 7-point scales ranging on adjectives such as smooth, bored, engrossed and involved. Results showed that the presence of an interpreter had no effect on rapport, although considering that the measurement was not interactional and there was no common understanding of police rapport, it can be suggested that the study lacked validity and the applied measures were flawed (Goodman-Delahunty et al. 2020).

(Gallai 2017; Mulayim et al. 2015), in addition to a main focus on factual information and not on non-content features (hesitations, hedges) and pragmatic features. This may interfere with the outcome of the interview. Overall, the few empirical studies on interpreter-mediated police interviews highlight the need for specialised training for interpreters working in police settings. However, there is still a dearth of empirical studies in interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims and how rapport is operationalised in this context.

3.7 Rapport-building in interpreting training

As illustrated in previous sections, police interpreting requires more than linguistic knowledge. Interpreters need to be aware of investigative interviewing strategies, intended to elicit meaningful information and detect deception (Gallai 2017; Mulayim et al. 2015), which should be acknowledged in specialised interpreting training.

Interpreting training is not a standardised activity. Training programme on PSI interpreting are conducted differently in different parts of the world, and interpreters' certification [42] or accreditation, standards and minimum requirements for practice, training facilities and formal monitoring bodies also vary (Hlavac 2013: 33). Legal training courses usually prepare trainee interpreters to work in different legal settings, they cover protocols for working within these settings, linguistic terminology and cultural differences, as well as vicarious trauma and managing emotions. Although specialised training is vital to ensure accurate interpreting (Hale et al. 2018), very few countries prescribe training for interpreters working in legal settings. Australia is one of these few, offering courses specialised in legal interpreting as part of its high-level community interpreting training provision, such as "Interpreting in Legal Settings" offered by the University of New South Wales and "Legal Interpreting" offered by the Western Sydney University (Goodman-Delahunty et al. 2020).

[42] Certification is the term used in Europe to refer to the formal process of "testing, fulfilling specific criteria that demonstrate a particular standard of performance, after which this is recognised by the testing authority". This is known as accreditation in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (Hlavac 2013: 35).

In relation to course contents, the *Building Mutual Trust*[43] have identified five competences as being essential to legal interpreting: specialised language competence; transfer skills, which include sight translation, short consecutive and simultaneous; knowledge of legal systems, knowledge and understanding of the professional code of conduct and guidelines to good practice; and knowledge of resources and information retrieval (Hertog 2011). Any training course is expected to address these core competences. In addition, section 5 of BS ISO 20228: 2019, dedicated to competences and qualifications of legal interpreters, specifically points out that interpreting competences shall also include:

> Awareness of investigative techniques in police settings, including rapport building strategies, and ability to accurately portray such strategies into the target language.
> (BS ISO 20228: 2019: 8)

In spite of this[44] very few specific references to police rapport or investigative interview techniques were identified within legal training material. The few references that do appear are outlined below.

Dhami et al. (2017) propose that interpreters be provided with a rapport information sheet with the aim of aiding the interpreters in "recognising, conveying and not inadvertently obstructing rapport building efforts by police interviewers" (Dhami et al. 2017: 291). In this study, participants provided feedback on several scenarios which included verbal and non-verbal rapport cues, one group of participants received the rapport information sheet and the other did not. Although findings showed that the sheet was useful in considering and perceiving verbal and non-verbal rapport, it was not effective in helping participants to judge the appropriateness of interpreter responses to the police interviewer rapport-building efforts[45] (Dhami et al. 2017: 298). However, the rapport sheet included relevant

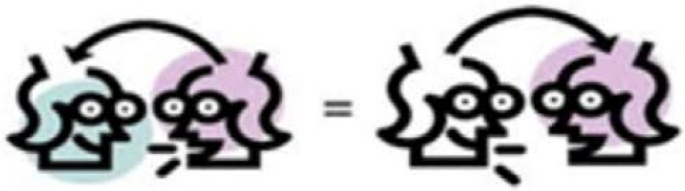
[43] The Building Mutual Trust project was a project financed by the Directorate General Justice, Freedom and Security of the European Commission aimed to establish and disseminate benchmark criteria for standards of legal interpreting and translation for use in EU Member States (Building Mutual Trust website 2011).
[44] This may be due to the fact that this ISO standard was released only in 2019.
[45] To note, one of the limitations of the study was the use of a non-interpreter student sample.

examples of both verbal and non-verbal rapport techniques used by police interviewers in interviews with suspects, which are included in figure 6.

Figure 6. Recognising and conveying rapport. Information sheet (Dhami et al. 2017: 305)

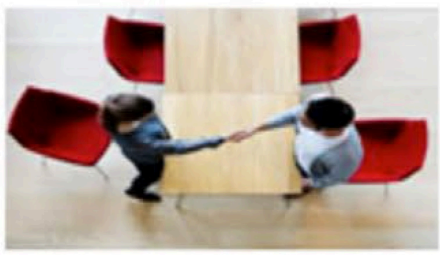
Verbal rapport-building techniques include…

- using preferred forms of address (e.g., first name or title)
- signaling paying attention (e.g., 'uh-huh', paraphrasing, repetition)
- small talk
- self-disclosure
- colloquialisms
- linguistic hedges and fillers (e.g., 'um', 'you know')
- using particular question types (e.g., questions inviting open-ended answers), and
- using positive language



Non-verbal rapport-building techniques include…

- matching the gestures
- posture and speech rate of the other person
- orienting towards the other person
- nodding and intonations that signal attentiveness
- changing behavior in response to what is being said (e.g., showing empathy by changing tone of voice or posture)
- gentle tone of voice
- not interrupting the other person
- having a relaxed posture, and
- showing kindness and a caring attitude (e.g., by offering a hot drink, asking about the person's welfare)



An illustration on how an interpreter may interfere in the interviewer's rapport efforts is also included in figure 7.

Figure 7. Recognising and conveying rapport. Interpreter's interference (Dhami et al. 2017: 305)

Suppose…an individual suspected of a criminal offence is interviewed by the police, and your assistance is needed. Some common ways you may interfere in their rapport-building efforts include:
- Not conveying what you consider to be irrelevant information - Converting open-ended questions and answers into yes/no ones - Relaying a question asked directly (e.g., 'did you go to the shopping mall?' in an indirect format (e.g., 'he asked if you went to the shopping mall'), and - Having a brief private conversation with each of them or by positioning yourself so that you are sitting facing both of them

In addition, the sheet included further general tips for interpreters and cultural issues to consider when interpreting for the police. This is included in figure 8.

Figure 8. Tips for interpreters (Dhami et al 2017: 305)

Tips for interpreters
It is not your job to build rapport between the police and suspect, but you ought to avoid interfering with their rapport building efforts
Tip 1 – Everything that is said and how it is said is relevant and important to convey
Tip 2 – Use direct language (i.e., don't use reported speech, e.g., 'he said'), so the interaction between the two parties remains spontaneous
Tip 3 – Do not summarize, edit, filter or add to what is said
Tip 4 – Do not have any private conversations with either party during the interview, but you can ask each to repeat or clarify what they are trying to convey
Cross-cultural differences
There may be subtle cultural differences in the meaning of some rapport-building techniques, especially non-verbal ones. For instance, avoiding direct eye contact may show lack of consideration in some cultures bur respect in others. Another example is where interrupting someone while they speak may show warmth and caring in one culture but rudeness in another. Similarly, responses such as 'uh-huh' may show attentiveness in one culture but lack of interest in another. It is important to convey these subtleties if you are aware of them.

As the authors suggest, this rapport information sheet is a practical tool that can be used in police interpreting training, although it may need adaptation for interpreter-mediated interviews with victims, and it would need to be tested to observe its effectiveness across cultures (Dhami et al. 2017: 299).

Hale and Gonzalez (2017) present an overview of the "Interpreting in Legal Settings" training offered at the University of New South Wales, which is part of several postgraduate programmes but it can be taken as a single non-award course for qualified community interpreters. On examining the course content, one of the major areas of study is interpreting in police settings, which covers "the different investigative interviewing techniques, interview institutional requirements and structures, the discourse of police speech and specialised language relating to the most common charges" (Hale and Gonzalez 2017: 202). When describing the examples used to illustrate the course content, the authors refer to specific challenges interpreters may face in relation to interviewers' linguistic cues for building rapport. This includes attention to the form of address. In their example, the initial form of address becomes more colloquial when the interviewer wants to build rapport in Spanish (Carlos instead of Mr. Lopez), although this colloquial choice may cause offence in other languages and cultures. Another challenge is related to the need of using appropriate pragmatic equivalents, since a polite request in English such as "could you please state your full name and address?" may be expressed differently in another language, hence it needs to be interpreted at the pragmatic level rather than the semantic level (Hale and Gonzalez 2017: 206).

Specifically in relation to interpreting for victims, the Speak Out for Support (SOS-VICS) Project has undertaken extensive and outstanding work in relation to interpreters who work with victims of gender violence in Spain. The results of this project (JUST/2011/JPEN/2912) confirm that specialised training for legal interpreters working with victims in police and court settings is required. Among the resources created by the project participants and experts, there is a series of workshops on Interpreting for Gender Violence Victims, which can be accessed through the project website[46], as well as a handbook on Interpreting in Gender Violence Settings[47]. This handbook offers extensive

[46] The SOS-VICS official website is: http://sosvicsweb.webs.uvigo.es/
[47] Toledano Buendía, C. and Del Pozo Triviño, M. 2014 (eds.) La interpretación en contextos de violencia de género. Valencia: Tirant Humanidades.

training generalities on the whole process of interpreting in this area, in relation to the different settings and communicative situations the victim is subjected to (from legal to health contexts). Regarding interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims of gender violence (or domestic violence), the handbook describes related guidelines on the conduct of interpreting in the police interview. Among these recommendations, the handbook refers to the emotional state of the victim and how this can affect her communicative interactions and the way she expresses herself, including hesitations, contradictions or vulgar language, that may pose a challenge to the interpreter. It is recommended that special attention be given to the victim's forms of expression and her selection of words, as well as the non-verbal component. Furthermore, interpreters are advised to get familiar with discursive and interrogative styles, specifically the distinction between open-ended questions, closed questions and the use of other techniques used with different purposes, such as eliciting information, relaxing the victim or encouraging her to express herself with her own words. The section related to interpreting accuracy highlights the importance of interpreting the pragmatic equivalence of the original message, which is considered a challenge in this specific context. Interpreters are made aware of the temptation to reduce the force of the original utterance with face-saving strategies, and of the fact that they may be affected emotionally by the situation (Toledano Buendía and Del Pozo Triviño 2014). Although the training resources do not include any specific mention of rapport, rapport-building or how rapport is linguistically conveyed, this is implicit in the recommendations mentioned above.

Among other specialist courses on interpreter-mediated police interviews, there is one that can be highlighted for its focus on victims of crime. It is provided by a British commercial company[48] known for its reputation in delivering training courses for the public service interpreting profession, both at beginner, intermediate and advanced-level interpreters and translators. The course title is "Interpreting for Victims of Crime" and offers 86-112 hours of online guided independent learning on skills and knowledge to become a trauma-informed interpreter, and to understand bias and manage effective cultural interventions. Although it does not cover investigative interviewing techniques

[48] The company is called DPSI Online and it specialises in preparatory courses for the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting offered by The Chartered Institute of Linguists (CIOL). More information available at: https://dpsionline.co.uk/. In Spring 2021, I completed the course on "Interpreting for Victims of Crime" mentioned above.

or rapport-building, it does focus on reflecting accuracy when interpreting for the different victim services, specifically in relation to flow and register, and vicarious trauma.

In addition, the Chartered Institute of Linguists (CIoL) in the UK offers the Diploma in Police Interpreting (DPI) (section 3.7.1). This diploma is aimed at interpreters wanting to specialise in interpreter-mediated police interviews, who usually complete a course in preparation for the Diploma's examination. There are ten course providers[49] that offer specific preparation courses for the DPI. These courses mostly address different types of interpreting mode (i.e. consecutive versus simultaneous), sight translation techniques and technical translation for legal terminology. However, none of these courses mention police interviewing techniques in their course outlines or training materials. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that both professional interpreters and interpreting trainers are not aware of police interviewing techniques, due to the lack of collaboration between police forces and interpreting trainers. The very few interdisciplinary projects[50] that do address this gap have only emerged in the last decade (Mayfield 2016; Mayfield and Krouglov 2019).

As can be observed, both research and training in interpreter-mediated police interviews tend to focus on communication dynamics and linguistic and cultural issues (Braun and Taylor 2012; Nakane 2009; Goodman-Delahunty et al. 2020). However, rapport-building techniques have an important presence in investigative interviews. It would be advantageous for interpreters to be familiar with this type of techniques for them to be able to recognise and convey said methods to avoid interfering with interviews' outcomes. Training courses and initiatives were analysed in order to observe whether they include attention to police rapport or not, due to most research findings highlighting that interpreters (and trainee interpreters) are usually unaware of investigative interview strategies. Considering that my research focuses on whether and how rapport features are interpreted by police interview trainee interpreters in higher education in the UK and

[49] The list of course providers is available at: https://linguisthub.empire-groupuk.com/dpsi/diploma-in-police-interpreting-dpi-course-providers/.

[50] In one such collaborative project between police forces and interpreting trainers, TACIT (section 3.5, and note 63), the research team, which I am a part of, conducted several training workshops with police interviewers, professional police interpreters and police interpreting trainers. Most of the participants expressed that this was the first time they had participated in joint training between researchers, police interviewers and interpreters. In addition, 80% of the interpreters and interpreting trainers stated in their feedback that police rapport-building was the area they considered they needed most training, as they were not aware of its importance when interpreting for the police.

Spain, the following section analyses interpreting postgraduate programmes in higher education to see whether they cover training on rapport.

3.7.1 Rapport-building in interpreting training in British and Spanish higher education institutions

In the EU, legal interpreting training takes place in the following courses (Hertog 2011: 11):

- Academic Bachelor or Master programmes which specialise in legal interpreting and translation only.
- Academic Bachelor or Master programmes that offer these subjects inside a broader programme in PSI.
- Other *ad hoc* training courses with different lengths and scopes. These are offered both at academic and wider adult education institutions or delivered by professional associations or commercial companies.

The European standard EN 15038:2006 Translation Services – Services Requirements, provides performance requirements for practitioners "at the ground level" and at organisational level for training providers (Heaton 2008). It has the aim of standardising practices, although it addresses mainly translation and not interpreting. Regarding government certification, which allows the translator/interpreter to be officially recognised, there are differences among countries, although in most cases the accreditation is offered to individuals with the following criteria:

- Minimum age (18, 21 or 25),
- Citizenship,
- Place of residence,
- Legal competence of the candidate, and
- Clean criminal record.

(Stejskal 2005: 4)

In his overview on Translator and interpreter certification procedures, Hlavac (2013) systematically reviewed interpreters' certification procedures in 21 countries, including the United Kingdom and Spain. In Spain, training on interpreting is usually conducted together with translation. There are several Translation and Interpreting programmes at

Spanish universities in most regions, both at undergraduate level (*Grado* - 240 ECTS[51]) and at postgraduate level/Master level. A university qualification is considered a "yardstick of expertise in the Translation and Interpreting marketplace" (Hlavac 2013: 51). The official and only formal certification is the *Título de Traductor/a-intérprete Jurado/a* (Sworn Translator and Interpreter) issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This certification is granted to those who sit (and pass) an exam of legal Translation and Interpreting issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Hlavac 2013: 52). However, this is not a prerequisite to access the legal translation and interpreting profession, and therefore, any person can act as a legal interpreter in court and police settings in Spain, which does not comply with the European Directive 2016/64/EU on the right to interpretation and translation in legal procedures[52] (Blasco Mayor 2020; Ortega Herráez 2020; Del Pozo Triviño 2020).

In reaction to this issue, several Spanish universities are gradually making an effort to improve the training provision in court and legal interpreting. Out of the 27 Spanish universities offering Translation and Interpreting programmes, the ones at undergraduate level mostly offer an introduction to conference interpreting and some of them have optional modules on general PSI, which may or may not cover general notions of legal interpreting (Blasco Mayor 2020). However, Master degree programmes and postgraduate courses, have started individual initiatives to cater for specialised legal translation and interpreting training, as stressed by several EU recent projects (Corsellis 2011; Balogh et al. 2016).

In the United Kingdom, a large number of universities provide undergraduate and postgraduate courses in Translation and Interpreting. There are also several organisations representing the Translation and Interpreting practitioners' interests, including the Institute of Translation and Interpreting and the Chartered Institute of Linguists (CIoL). The CIoL offers examinations leading to two Level 6 qualifications, the Diploma in Public Service Interpreting (DPSI) and the Diploma in Police Interpreting (DPI), which

[51] ECTS stands for European Credit Transfer System. One credit is the equivalent of 25-30 hours of work.
[52] The transposition of EU Directive 2010/64 on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings (and EU Directive 2012/12) into the Spanish legislation has been included in Ley Orgánica 5/2015 (LO 5/2015), which establishes the creation of a register of accredited translators and interpreters, which presupposes a regulatory system for inclusion in the register. However, the law that would materialise this system has not yet been enacted (Ortega Herráez 2020: 181).

meet the requirements for registration on the National Register of Public Service Interpreters (NRPSI). Unlike in many other countries, there is not a system of sworn or certified translator/interpreter in the UK and translators/interpreters do not legally require certification to operate as professionals. However, in November 2012 court interpreting services were allocated to a private company [53], Applied Language Solutions (subsequently acquired by Capita Translation and Interpreting Ltd.), which has been criticised for the use of unqualified individuals, poor interpreting performance and unsustainable terms and conditions for the interpreters working for them (Hlavac 2013: 55)[54].

3.7.2 Interpreting higher education provision in the UK and Spain

Interpreting training in Spanish and British universities is regulated by the European Higher Education Area [55] (EHEA). Unlike other professions, the organisation of Translation and Interpreting as an academic discipline was established in the mid-20th century, following the increase in conference interpreting as a consequence of the Second World War. This has led to a tendency across Europe whereby interpreting training has favoured conference interpreting training in postgraduate programmes (Martín 2015: 3-4).

Under the EHEA, general competences of any area are acquired in the undergraduate programmes, whereas specialised competences are taught at postgraduate level (Calvo Encinas 2009). Although conference interpreting is still the most widely taught specialisation in postgraduate programmes, there is nowadays an increased awareness of interpreting for community/PSI settings. This results in a growing presence of community interpreting disciplines and subjects within the MA and postgraduate programmes, under

[53] The outsourcing of police interpreting services in Spain happened in 2008. Like in the UK, the filtering process has been criticised for being ineffective, having negative consequences for the perceived status of the translators and interpreters (Pym et al. 2012: 90).

[54] Many of the UK's 45 territorial police forces have now established contracts for the provision of language services with Language Service Providers (LSPs). In November 2020 a new framework for police procurement, called the Dynamic Purchasing System, was launched. The DPS specifies the qualifications and vetting status required of police interpreters and also introduces a new list of police-approved interpreters and translators (PAIT). It remains the case that where the LSP is unable to supply an interpreter, within a reasonable time or at all, the police are free to book an interpreter using their own resources (Alan Thompson, Chairman of APCI- Association of Police and Court Interpreters, email correspondence, 10 August 2021).

[55] Despite Brexit, EHEA has been operating in the UK until present. Therefore, postgraduate programmes being reviewed for this thesis still follow EHEA.

the framework of EHEA, which is considered the optimum way to train interpreters in Europe (Martín 2015: 15-16).

In Spain, seven universities offer postgraduate [56] programmes with community interpreting components, either as compulsory or optional modules (Martín 2015: 17). Five of these institutions give accreditation to legal interpreting training in the language combination English/Spanish, as observed in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Postgraduate programmes in Spain with a legal interpreting component

Institution	Name of the programme
Universitat d'Alacant	Máster Universitario en Traducción Institucional
Universidad de Alcalá	Máster Universitario en Comunicación Intercultural, Interpretación y Traducción en los Servicios Públicos
Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona	Máster en Traducción Jurídica e Interpretación Judicial
Universidad Pontificia Comillas	Máster Universitario en Traducción Jurídico-Financiera
Universidad de La Laguna	Experto Universitario en Traducción e Interpretación para los Servicios Comunitarios (EUTISC)

In the UK, like in Spain, higher education programmes are also regulated under the EHEA framework. Thirteen higher education institutions offer MA/postgraduate programmes with a component in legal interpreting including English and Spanish, as observed in Figure 10.

[56] Postgraduate degrees in Spain are divided into Máster oficial (official MA) and Máster propio (University-specific MA). The difference is that the Máster oficial needs to pass by ANECA (Agencia Nacional de Evaluación de la Calidad y Acreditación - National Quality and Accreditation Agency), the national agency which is responsible for higher education quality, and therefore, it has to follow a level of standardisation with similar programmes in other universities. Máster propio means that the programme is not subjected to ANECA's verification, and therefore, has more freedom in the design of the MA content.

Figure 10. Postgraduate programmes in the UK with a legal interpreting component

Institution	Name of the programme
University of Wolverhampton	MA Interpreting
University of Westminster	Translation and Interpreting MA
University of Central Lancashire	Interpreting and Translation MA
University of Surrey	Translation and Interpreting MA
University of Surrey	Interpreting MA
London Metropolitan University	Interpreting MA
University of Manchester	MA Translation and Interpreting Studies
Newcastle University	Translating and Interpreting MA
Newcastle University	Interpreting MA
University of Nottingham	Translation Studies/Translation Studies (with Interpreting) MA
Queen's University Belfast	MA Interpreting
University of Essex	MA Translation, Interpreting and Subtitling
Swansea University	Translation and Interpreting, MA
University of Leeds	Business and Public Service Interpreting and Translation Studies MA
Heriot-Watt University	Interpreting and Translating - MSc/PGDip Interpreting - MSc

There is no specific mention of either rapport or investigative interviewing techniques in any of the UK programmes that include modules on legal or police interpreting. Equally in Spain, an analysis of the official teaching guidelines of the postgraduate programmes reveals that, again, there is no specific mention of rapport or investigative techniques in any of them. This indicates that no provision of rapport training is usually made in higher education legal interpreting training, or at least this is not explicitly taught.

In addition, despite the growth of training courses and programmes in community interpreting, the professional profile for PSI interpreters in Spain is not yet fully recognised, entailing that the role is still in a pre-professional phase (Ortega Herráez et al. 2009). This is even more pronounced for legal interpreting, as can be seen in the

scarcity of available training options, compared to the UK programmes. Unfortunately, interpreting and translation service provision for the legal system in Spain is still limited (Ortega Herráez 2020), although the implementation of the EU Directive 2010/64 is expected to develop the professionalisation of legal interpreting in the near future in Spain.

The above analysis of interpreting training programmes supports hypothesis 1 in relation to my research Q1: To what extent is rapport-building addressed in interpreter-mediated police interviews training in the UK and Spain? It confirms that explicit instruction on investigative interviewing techniques does not take place in any higher education programme either in the UK or Spain. Therefore, police rapport-building is not addressed in interpreting training. This can potentially have a negative impact on interpreters working in police settings.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has explored interpreter-mediated police interviews in relation to professional guidelines and training, with specific reference to rapport. It provided an overview of legal interpreting and PSI, in relation to the challenges faced by police interpreters. The chapter has also provided an account of the existing police interview interpreter training provision in higher education programmes with legal interpreting specialisations in the UK and Spain, with specific reference to investigative interviewing techniques and rapport-building.

As observed, PSI is still undergoing professionalisation (Gentile 2017). Due to the long tradition of conference interpreting training in Europe, PSI training has been considerably influenced by conference interpreting training techniques. In addition, training is usually concerned with terminology and interpreting techniques, and not as much with pragmatic aspects of the mediated communication (Berk-Seligson 2009). Legal interpreting does not have such a long tradition as other areas like conference interpreting, and there is no standardisation when it comes to training. At the level of higher education, where specialised competences are taught, police interpreting training has been recently incorporated, although it is usually included as part of the content of general modules on either legal interpreting or consecutive interpreting in community settings. Rapport-building in investigative interviews does not seem to be acknowledged in this training,

nor is reference made to whether and how (linguistic) police rapport is operationalised in other cultures. This suggests that trainee interpreters are usually not familiar with investigative interviewing techniques and rapport-building, which are essential aspects for successful interviewing outcomes. Not acknowledging these rapport-building techniques may mean that rapport is not conveyed properly. This may increase the risk of miscarriages of justice (Dhami et al. 2017: 298), which is very concerning in relation to interviews with victims.

The following chapter addresses the theoretical background to the concepts of politeness and face which are integral to rapport-building, and how these have been explored in interpreting studies.

CHAPTER 4: RAPPORT AND FACE IN INTERPRETING

4.1 Introduction

As in monolingual police interviews, in interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims, rapport and relationship building is at the core of smooth interactions and successful interview outcomes. Connected with the idea of interpreter-mediated interactions as a participatory and social activity (Inghilleri 2003), some of the interactional issues present in the interview, are related to interactional pragmatics and politeness/face features, since some of the translation shifts can be tracked back to linguistic and mostly pragmatic differences in face and facework. Therefore, it is important to consider the linguistic theories and concepts that pertain to the study of politeness/face features, and therefore, rapport-building, in interpreting studies. In this vein, many research studies have addressed the fact that interpreters are aware of "the need for attending to face, own face as well as the face of others" (Jacobsen 2010: 194). The fact that different production roles may be linked to cultural and contextual differences in the participants' face, such as power asymmetry or solidarity, can easily have an impact on rapport in interpreter-mediated interviews.

This chapter deals with politeness and face as particularly relevant to rapport-building, as well as interpreting studies which have explored politeness/face from a linguistic approach. Section 4.2 engages with definitions of face and politeness as well as the relevant theoretical frameworks that have been used in interpreting studies with reference to politeness and face. Legal interpreting studies related to face are overviewed in section 4.3. Section 4.4 deals with relevant studies on face and interpreting from a discourse analytical approach. Finally, section 4.5 offers a brief chapter summary.

4.2 Rapport, politeness and facework: Definitions

Broadly speaking, face relates to Goffman's original notion, which is understood as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman 1967: 5). Facework is then defined as "the actions taken by a person to make whatever he is doing consistent with face" (Goffman 1967: 12). This notion interweaves with interaction and context, as well as

behavioural patterns and how individuals respond to face, either consciously or unconsciously.

Departing from the Goffmanian concept of face, and an English folk perception of face connected with being embarrassed or humiliated (Jacobsen 2010), Brown and Levinson (1987) developed the Theory of Politeness, focusing on face as a motivating factor in politeness. According to their theory, competent adults have a face, that means, a "public self-image" that they wish to claim for themselves. This public image has two intertwined aspects: *positive face* and *negative face*. *Positive face* relates to the desire of an individual of having a positive self-image recognised by others, that is, a desire for approval from others, whereas *negative face* is related to the individual desire of freedom of action and no imposition from others, that is, a desire of autonomy from others. Face is therefore emotionally invested, and it can be lost, maintained or enhanced in interaction. Since everyone's face depends on everyone else's face being maintained, individuals engage in facework, which means that they use communication strategies (positive politeness strategies to protect positive face, and negative politeness strategies to protect negative face) to protect, maintain or enhance face, or mitigate threats to face (Brown and Levinson 1987: 61). In human interactions, individuals' utterances may be oriented to the positive or negative face of other individuals, and positive or negative strategies may be used to maintain face. Positive strategies refer here to admiration or appreciation for the individual, and negative strategies to a desire of minimising imposition and show independence from other people. This distinction has been further developed and, crucially, critiqued as been too crude, since the use of politeness strategies are as much context-dependant within each culture as they are culture-dependant (Matsumoto 1988; Gu 1990; Spencer-Oatey 2008; Mills 2003; Arundale 2006; Mapson 2015, see further below).

Positive and negative strategies are also linked to Brown and Levinson's distinction between negative and positive politeness cultures (Brown and Levinson 1987: 245). Negative politeness cultures use politeness strategies based on developing respect and social differentiation between interlocutors, whereas strategies in positive politeness cultures are based on displaying solidarity and affection. Following this distinction, researchers have classified different cultures belonging to the former or the later. For instance, Anglo-American cultures (i.e. British culture) would be considered under the

negative politeness umbrella, where interlocutor's individuality and right to autonomy is prioritised, and Southern European cultures (i.e. Spanish culture), would belong to the positive politeness cultures, where interlocutors would exhibit a higher concern for solidarity and enhancing faces (Pinto 2011; Goddard 2012, Briz 2006; Barros García and Terkourafi 2014). In addition, the content of face was found to be conceptualised differently; in Southern European cultures, such as Spanish culture, face is related to "the need for positive self-affirmation and being treated with familiarity and closeness" (Barros García and Terkourafi 2014: 264), whereas in Anglo-American cultures, like British culture, more emphasis is placed on "the desire of not to be imposed upon and, only secondarily, the desire to be liked, appreciated and approved" (op. cit.).

In relation to the use of positive or negative strategies to maintain face, some speech acts[57] are intrinsically face-threatening acts, namely the acts that "by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or the speaker" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 60). For instance, requests, such as *Could you repeat the time?*, which are common in an investigative interview, may threat the hearer's (the victim) negative face, whilst disagreements or accusations such as *The CCTV camera gives us different information,* may threat the hearer's positive face.

On the other hand, an apology or an admission of guilt may threaten the speaker's positive face. The speaker (suspect or victim) may attempt to protect their negative face by using an excuse (Brown and Levinson 1987: 66) instead of an admission of guilt, or by invoking their right to legal protection as in *I will only talk in front of my lawyer*.

In order to avoid or mitigate these face-threatening acts, interviewing police officers might use politeness strategies aimed at redressing the potential threats. These can also be both positive and negative strategies; agreement or praise would be used to acknowledge the hearer's positive face, therefore, they would use positive politeness strategies, for instance (to the victim) *What you are saying is very helpful for the investigation*. Negative strategies might be used to mitigate an intrusion into the hearer's

[57] Brown and Levinson describe act as follows: "By act we have in mind what is intended to be done by a verbal or non-verbal communication, just as one or more "speech acts" can be assigned to an utterance" (1987: 65).

freedom of action (Brown and Levinson 1987: 79), for example an apology as in *Sorry for keeping you waiting*.

The Theory of Politeness also describes factors that may affect the degree of threat that speakers might perceive from specific utterances, which depends on three variables: social distance between speaker and hearer, their relation in regard to power asymmetry, and the degree of imposition perceived (Brown and Levinson 1987: 74).

Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness and notion of face as well as their classification of politeness strategies can be (and has been) applied to interpreter-mediated interactions. However, criticism has been aimed at their claim of universality based on their Western-centric focus and their unawareness of cross-cultural [58] interactions, as well as their emphasis on the notion of individual freedom and autonomy, and a lack of the interpersonal and social perspective of face (Matsumoto 1988; Gu 1990; Spencer-Oatey 2008; Mills 2003; Arundale 2006; Mapson 2015). These authors point out that Brown and Levinson's politeness theory is a descriptive theory of one aspect of face, rather than a model that conceives communication as a collaborative activity (Haugh and Bargiela-Chiappini 2009).

Many of these studies take the view that politeness is determined by context of interaction (Lee 2013; Locher and Watts 2005; Mills 2003), shifting from considering linguistic forms and strategies as "carriers" of im/politeness (Haugh 2013: 52) to a pragmatic paradigm where politeness is developed within localised interactions and relational approaches. This so-called *post-modernist* position (Arundale 2006), states that face and facework are subject to relational and interactional phenomena (Arundale 2006: 201). Consequently, some new terminology has been coined; Locher and Watts (2005) refer to this relational approach as "relational work", Holmes and Schnurr (2005) use the term "relational practice" and Spencer-Oatey (2005), refers to it as "rapport management". Despite the nomenclature, they all have the commonality of a shift from the traditional

[58] According to Grundy (1995/2008) cross-cultural communication "occurs when a non-native member operates in someone else's culture" (2008: 32), as it happens with the interviewee in interpreter-mediated interviews. Intercultural communication then refers to cases "when interactants communicate outside their own cultures, often using a lingua franca that is not the first language of either" (2008: 32). However, since both in intercultural and cross-cultural interactions speakers may confront identical problems, these terms are sometimes used interchangeably.

models of politeness centred on individual politeness to one that focuses more on interpersonal relations (Culpeper et al. 2010).

Within this interactional pragmatic shift in facework, the Rapport Management Theory (hereafter RMT) developed by Spencer-Oatey (2000 and revisited in 2008) was presented as an attempt to involve not only the management of face, but also the different contextual variables that play a role in the interaction, including the participants in the interaction and their social interactional rights, and the type of activity occurring in the interaction. The theory includes three dimensions: The first relates to Goffman's concept of face (Goffman 1967), the second to interactional goals and the third to behavioural expectations, as shown in figure 11:

Figure 11. The bases of rapport (Spencer-Oatey 2008: 14)

In RMT, rapport management is defined as "the management (or mismanagement) of relations between people" (Spencer-Oatey 2005: 96). Unlike the traditional concept of face in Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, face is no longer seen as the only factor that shapes the way language is used to "construct, maintain and/or threaten social relationships". Rather, face sensitivities interconnect with two other dimensions: one being the management of social rights and obligations, which is understood as social expectancies individuals have in relation to other people, and the other is understood as the management of interactional goals, which can be relational as well as transactional (i.e. task-focused) (Spencer-Oatey 2008: 12-17). Hence, rapport management can be

influenced by contextual, individual and cultural differences in these three dimensions. Spencer-Oatey sees rapport management as not only based on speaker production but also as a result of interaction, similarly to other discursive approaches to politeness (Mills 2003; Locher and Watts 2005; Kádár and Haugh 2013; Culpeper et al. 2010). This means that a stronger link is made in more recent conceptualisations (e.g. Spencer-Oatey 2005, 2008) to contextual factors, as well as individual and cultural differences, that influence the speaker's linguistic choices.

Among interpreting studies that have addressed issues of face, most authors have used qualitative discourse analysis approaches drawing on the theoretical framework of politeness theory developed by Brown and Levinson (1987) (Mason and Stewart 2001; Jacobsen 2008; Lee 2013; Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp 1987; Krouglov 1999; Cambridge 1999; Pöllabauer 2004). However, some recent studies have applied the RMT of Spencer-Oatey (2008) (Major 2013; Schofield and Mapson 2014; Mapson 2015b; Felberg 2016; Monacelli 2005 together with politeness theory; Rodríguez-Vicente 2021). This evidences the RMS' suitability for cross-linguistic and cross-cultural research.

In police interviewing, face is usually characterised by power asymmetry and specific interactional goals, where interactions between police interviewers and interviewees may be deemed intrinsically face-threatening (Pounds 2019). This is observed in the case of interviews with suspects of crime "as they result from the suspect being questioned on the suspicion of committing a crime, which clearly restricts the suspect's autonomy and places them under the imposition of questioning" (Pounds 2019: 99). In the case of victims, potentially face-threatening speech acts may also take place, since victims are asked to describe intimate and personal experiences to police interviewers, who are complete strangers (Dando et al. 2016; Hope and Gabbert 2019). Consequently, police interviewers' rapport-building naturally tends to use face-enhancing expressions[59] to mitigate potential face-threating communication. Face-enhancing expressions would address the positive and negative face of the victim and would have the aim of building rapport.

[59] A full range of face-enhancing expressions of rapport in interviews with victims is detailed in section 6.6.1.

From the perspective of my research, rather than seeing the different approaches to face as exclusive, they can be seen as complementary, one emphasising the conceptual, and the other emphasising the interactional and dynamic angle (Lee 2013; Arundale 2006; Spencer-Oatey 2007). Therefore, the position I take in this thesis is that the interactional account of face and facework, and its cognitive nature, are not incompatible (Arundale 2006: 209). This means that this study applies face aspects to qualify linguistic rapport-building features, as it values face as an expressive dimension of rapport-building. However, it is not concerned with politeness/face as the main focus, only with the idea that, when a police interviewer is attempting to build rapport with a victim, trainee interpreters may omit or modify the face-related linguistic expressions originally used to build rapport, thereby affecting the nature of the interaction. In addition, it is equally acknowledged that facework in these interactions is conditioned by the contextual factors in which they take place, including specific participants (police officers and victims) and social/institutional aims (pursue of justice under specific legal requirements).

4.3 Facework in legal interpreting

In the field of legal interpreting, most studies exploring politeness/face have used discourse analytical approaches and interactional pragmatics to explain the complexities of facework, especially in the courtroom, where research shows that the interpreter may impact the interaction dynamics (Pöllabauer 2004; Jacobsen 2008; Lee 2013; Liu and Hale 2017) and that, in the presence of an interpreter, the dynamics of face and the nature of the institutional practice is changed (Candlin 1998: xviii). To illustrate this impact, Wadensjö (1998) describes a participation framework, which helps to understand the interpreter's role in relation to *footing* and other pragmatic variables. The concept of *footing* follows the Goffmanian notion of participation framework (Goffman 1981) which is concerned with the roles that speakers hold and the way they position or present themselves in relation to the ongoing talk. The interpreter's position is related to three different production roles: the *animator*, the *author* and the *principal*. The *animator* does not take responsibility for the utterances and acts as a "sounding box" for others; the *author* acts as the agent who utters what is said, but without owning it; and the *principal* assumes responsibility for the words said (Wadensjö 1998: 88). These roles may lead to an alignment with or dissociation from the speaker. For example, they may actively participate in topic management or meaning negotiation (Straniero 1999) or even blend

explanatory or compensatory remarks into the speaker's words (Diriker 2004). Pronouns may also act to align or dissociate. For example, third-person pronouns indicate dissociation from the speaker (Shlesinger 1991), and first-person pronouns indicate alignment with the speaker (and the utterance) when the interpreter changes the first-person pronoun from singular to plural (Harris 1990). Wadensjö's concept of footing shifts, which correspond to shifts in pronouns and address (Wadensjö 1992: 117-125), has been used to identify how the roles that participants can have in an interaction affect what is communicated and how. Thanks to this and similar research contemporary researchers no longer question whether legal interpreters are visible and active participants in the interaction, but rather explore the extent of their visibility and participation (Gallai 2013; Hale 2007; Mikkelson 2008).

In her analysis of courtroom interpreting, Jacobsen (2010) showed how the interpreter attempting to save their own face resulted in them modifying face-threatening and face-protecting original utterances. In the same vein, Lee (2013) conducted an exhaustive analysis of interpreter's (own) face in courtroom examination and how this face can be addressed or threatened by other participants in the courtroom. For instance, the interpreter may manage face-threats by blaming other participants (i.e. the witness, the lawyer) or by not initiating repair[60], concerned with their own professional face. Hale (2002) studied interpreted adversarial witness testimonies, where interpreters are employed to interpret accurately. She found that they did accurately interpret the content of the witness's answers but altered the style of the testimony. For example, they made an interpreting rendition more assertive or more hesitant by omitting pauses or by adding hedges or hesitations. This altered the pragmatic significance of the testimony and ultimately had either favourable or detrimental effects on the court case in the witness testimony.

Liu and Hale (2017) applied politeness theory to interpreter-mediated moot court cross-examinations[61], in particular how facework strategies are maintained or omitted in cross-examination questions. Results confirmed that, although half of the facework strategies embedded in the questions were interpreted accurately, the other half was either omitted,

[60] In this paper repair refers to repair attempts, or "efforts to restore communication or prevent miscommunication" (Lee 2013: 84).
[61] Moot court is a simulation-based educational activity conducted in Law schools.

altered, or rendered using the same facework strategy but with mitigation or aggravation of the pragmatic force (Liu and Hale 2017: 75). This study concluded that achieving pragmatic equivalence across languages is challenging due to a lack of awareness of the pragmatic aspects of courtroom discourse.

Mason and Stewart (2001) in their analysis of the interpreter-mediated witness testimony of Rosa López at the OJ Simpson trial, found that face-threatening acts were usually modified in the interpreting utterances. The fact that interpreters were expected to provide a literal interpretation had a negative impact in terms of face, and in the witness's representation. The example below, taken from their analysis, illustrates how the interpreter's literal translation strengthens the illocutionary force of the utterance, hence reinforcing the face-threatening element, when translated into English. In this example, under cross-examination[62], the witness Rosa López was confronted by the cross-examining attorney about the fact that she did not want to return to El Salvador. At some point Rosa was invited to confirm to the attorney the (exact) number of years she had been in the U.S. and she knew that, as a standard legal practice, the attorney already had the answer to this type of question. In her answer (see extract 3 - nº11), it is clear that she knew the year she came to the U.S. but she seemed not to have calculated the exact number of years (line 11), which she invited the attorney to calculate. This invitation was expressed in Spanish by the imperative form *haga*, which was also confirmed by her intonation (which expressed an invitation and not a challenge). However, when interpreted into English, the threat to face was emphasised by the lexical choice *figure out* (implicating a difficult task) and the stress on the pronoun YOU (line 12), which would be conveyed as "if you really want to know, work it out for yourself" (Mason and Stewart 2001: 60), which was what the court understood since they laughed (line 12).

Extract 3

1. Att: Didn't you tell her that you didn't want to go back to El Salvador?
2. Int: +++
3. W: +++
4. Int: Why not? That's my country. I love it very much
5. Att: Well, are you a U.S. citizen?

[62] Cross-examination refers to "the examination of a witness who has already testified in order to check or discredit the witness's testimony, knowledge, or credibility" (Merriam-Webster dictionary).

6. Int: +++
7. W:+++
8. Int: No, I'm a legal resident
9. Att: Okay
   And you've been here 27 years, correct?
10. Int:+++
11. W: Haga la cuen/ Vine en 69. Haga la cuenta
    Calcula/ I came in 69. Calculate
12. Int: I came in '69. YOU figure it out. (laughter in courtroom)
13. Att: Okay
    Why don't YOU tell me, how long you've been here
14. Int:+++
15. W: Póngale 34 años
    Put it at 34 years
16. Int: Let's say 34 years

(Mason and Stewart 2001: 59-60)

This example illustrates how the presence of an interpreter plays an important role in the modification of face-threatening acts.

Other studies on legal interpreting analyse pragmatic variables and illustrate how the interpreter impacts on the outcomes of the interaction. For example, Berk-Seligson (1990) in her study on court interpreting in the U.S., revealed that interpreters tend to use a more formal register in the interpreting renditions (compared to the original renditions) in the witness testimony, as a way of being perceived as competent professionals in the courtroom. She also highlighted that interpreters added features of "powerless speech" in their renditions, such as polite markers and hedges, which were perceived as significantly more negatively by the monolingual English jurors than they would have been had the jurors been fluent in Spanish. Bilingual jurors would have been able to follow the exchanges in the original language, Spanish, which did not contain these markers of powerlessness.

In the field of interpreter-mediated police interviews, Gallai (2017) also focused specifically on the pragmatic aspects of the interaction. In his analysis of interpreter-mediated police interviews with suspects, he observed that interpreters tend to omit or add discourse markers (i.e. *well*, *so*) in their renditions, which deprives police interviewers of questioning strategies. Interpreter's shifts in *footing*, linked to the variation in discourse markers, ultimately affects the various stages of the Cognitive Interview, including rapport-building, retrieval strategy and, more generally, information-gathering. This is supported by another study on scripted police interview excerpts (Lai and Mulayim 2014), where interpreters modified the illocutionary force of the questions, by changing the specific discourse strategies used by police interviewers.

All these studies indicate the importance of facework in legal settings when an interpreter is present. They illustrate that there is a lack of awareness of the complexities of the interaction and the cross-linguistic aspects that play a role in the interpreter's renditions, and the need for further research on cross-linguistic equivalence in pragmatic meaning when the interaction is mediated by an interpreter (Mason and Stewart 2001). However, no study of interactional pragmatics variables has, to this date, provided an analysis of face and other realisations of politeness relevant to the impact that interpreters have in rapport-building techniques when a victim is interviewed in a police investigative process.

4.4 Interpreting facework: Discourse analytical approaches

As stated in the previous section, the complexities of facework in interpreting have been mostly explored through discourse analytical approaches and interactional pragmatics. Discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary field, which variously involves sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, corpus linguistics, pragmatics, ethnography and sociology (Mason 2015: 112). It focuses "on the ways in which language users achieve their communicative goals over a whole text or sequence of talk" (op. cit.), which is undoubtedly relevant to interpreting studies. Research on interpreting has followed different methodological approaches when applying discourse analysis, including conversation analysis. Broadly speaking, discourse analysis and conversation analysis deal with study of language in action and how it is utilised (Brown and Yule 1983). Discourse analysis is the general term introduced by Harris (1952) with reference to analysis of both speech and writing. It deals with language patterns and how the use of language confers different views and

understandings of the world and how identities are constructed through the use of language. It also considers how linguistic expression is influenced by the relationships among participants and how language has an effect on social identities and relations, as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the language is used (Meyerhoff 2011). This contextual focus relates specifically to the pragmatic aspect of language, which covers the analysis of the meaning expressed by a speaker and understood by a listener (Yule 1996: 3) and is concerned with aspects of meaning that are altered through context.

Conversation analysis, on the other hand, specifically examines patterns of conversational discourse. Although it was first a sub-discipline in sociology, it is now considered a discipline in itself, while influencing other fields such as sociolinguistics and discourse analysis (Suurmond 2005: 10). According to Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008: 11), conversation analysis refers to "the systematic analysis of the talk produced in everyday situations of human interactions: talk-in-interaction". This is in line with the speech act theory developed by Austin (1962), where talk is a performative act. Conversation analysis also follows Sacks et al. (1974), for whom interactional meaning is key in the production and interpretation of talk. This means that it examines interactional features more explicitly than other forms of discourse, such as paralinguistic features, turn taking, pauses, interruptions, or repetitions. The analysis of ordinary conversation in everyday contexts is twofold; on the one hand, it helps understanding the interaction modes between different people in ordinary conversations. On the other hand, it shows systematic variations and restrictions in interactions held in institutional settings and organisations, allowing a comparative analysis between the two settings (Drew and Heritage 1992).

In the field of legal interpreting, a few studies have applied discourse analytical approaches to the description of interpreters' behaviour by analysing interpreters' renditions and their interaction patterns (Hale 2004; Mason and Stewart 2001; Russell 2002; Gavioli and Baraldi 2011; Pöllabauer 2004; Berk-Seligson, 2009; Lee 2013). However, none of these studies have focused on politeness/face aspects in police interviews with victims. In fact, from a linguistic point of view, the notions of politeness and face have been scarcely applied to rapport-building in (monolingual) police interviews. Pounds (2019) is the only researcher that has conducted an analysis of linguistic rapport in monolingual police interviews with suspects, with special reference

to empathic communication and face. This study centres on linguistic features of rapport, elicited from analysis of real police interview data in the British context, with noteworthy conclusive remarks on the interplay between rapport-building and information-gathering functions of particular expressions, as well as insights into the value of linguistic expressions that may contribute or hinder rapport-building with suspects. Her classification identifies the following rapport categories (the examples are adapted from authentic data):

a. Acknowledging feelings (displayed or verbalised). The police interviewer responds to the interviewee being emotionally driven. This can be displayed physically or verbally (she/he cries, appears emotional, shows discomfort, stops talking, slurs, bites lips, trembles…). Examples such as *I can see that you are upset* or *I appreciate this may be something that is difficult to talk about*, belong to this category.

b. Express positive regard. The police interviewer expresses positive comments to the interviewee. It can be in relation to her/his interests or abilities, a praise, a comment related to potential innocence in the case of a suspect, or the importance of the interviewee's role in the declaration process, in the case of a witness or victim. It is crucial for the utterance not to be expressed in the case of suspects when it may appear to condone criminal action. Examples such as *Thank you for your account* or *You are clearly more knowledgeable about computers that I am* belong to this category.

c. Build solidarity. The police officer may smile or chuckle (non-verbal features) or refer to previous comments made by the interviewee non-related with the investigation. The aim is to establish a closer relationship with the interviewee. For instance, expressions like *Yes, you don't like parties* or *Yes, you never travel by train* would be included in this category.

d. Adapt to the interviewee's expressive style. The interviewer uses the same register or some of the words said by the interviewee. In expressions like *And you thought he is a "dodgy fucker"?* or *What was that "little voice" telling you?*, the interviewee had previously used the words inside the inverted commas.

e. Use humour. The interviewer includes some humorous remarks in relation to peripheral aspects of the interview. The aim may be to reduce or relieve interviewee's stress, or to be approachable to him/her. *You thought you were getting away with using those colour pens again* would be included in this category.

f. Mitigate face-threats when challenging suspects. In police interview contexts, the power asymmetry between the police officer and the suspect may lead to face-threatening acts towards the suspects such as challenging their honesty and integrity. The interviewer may employ mitigation strategies to soften the challenging component of their statements and attempt to maintain rapport. Sentences like *Our investigators found that you were opening only sites displaying pornography involving children. Can you explain this?*, or *Should any of those facts, even the smallest detail change, the court may be less likely to believe you*, would belong to this category.

Pounds' classification illustrated above will be applied to the taxonomy of interpreter-mediated rapport features of my study which will be further explained in section 6.6.

4.5 Summary

Previous research reveals that interpreters and trainee interpreters may unwittingly impact the content of the original utterances as a result of their interpreting. In most cases, this does not have to do with terminology or propositional content, but with pragmatic meaning and issues related to face, such as polite markers, style, footing or illocutionary force. Therefore, it is clear that this level of competence requires further attention in order to ensure the appropriateness of legal interpreting. The analysis of facework issues in interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims can help identify some of the challenges that trainee interpreters face when conveying rapport and draw attention to the possibility that a lack of training on rapport and rapport-related issues influence the investigative interview outcomes.

The following chapter is devoted to describing translation shifts that may take place in the interpreting process as a result of cross-linguistic differences. This will help to gain a clearer understanding of whether and how trainee interpreters actually deal with linguistic rapport in simulated police scenarios in interpreting training contexts in the UK and Spain.

CHAPTER 5: TRANSLATION SHIFTS IN INTERPRETER-MEDIATED INTERACTIONS

5.1 Introduction

In the last twenty years, seminal research in the field of legal interpreting has revealed that most of the problems in court and police interpreting arise from pragmatic aspects of the discourse. In this field, interpreting accuracy relates to linguistic forms as much as to the speaker's intention. The way a rapport-building expression is interpreted becomes important for the purpose of the investigative interview and this needs to be acknowledged in the interpreting process. By examining the translation shifts that may occur in the interpretation process, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of the challenges that trainee interpreters face when interpreting rapport features and whether, and how, these shifts may impact interpretation accuracy.

This chapter provides an overview of prior research in interpreter-mediated interactions focusing on the relevance of pragmatic accuracy in the rendition of interpreting utterances. Section 5.2 provides the definition of the term *translation shift*. Section 5.3 addresses the concept of accuracy in relation to cross-linguistic features and translation shifts in pragmatic meaning. Section 5.4 focuses on the linguistic differences in the expression of rapport and engages with the latest research that explores rapport-relevant features in terms of linguistic differences across languages (particularly British English and Peninsular Spanish). Finally, section 5.5 offers a brief chapter summary.

5.2 Definition of translation shift

In Interpreting research, many empirical studies describe and analyse interpreters' performance in a systematic and descriptive, rather than prescriptive, way. These studies take into account *translation shifts* to examine issues concerning accuracy and cross-linguistic differences across languages (Mason and Stewart 2001; Hale 2004; Berk-Seligson 2009; Nakane 2014; Gallai 2017; Lai and Mulayim 2014; Vargas-Urpi and Arumí-Ribas 2014). The concept of *translation shift* applies here to changes that occur in the process of interpreting, related to any difference from the original text to the source text (Baker and Saldanha 2009). This refers to deviations from the original utterance (i.e. omissions, additions, modifications in meaning or intensity) with special emphasis to

changes in the pragmatic meaning of the original utterance (Vargas-Urpi 2019; Monacelli 2005; Mason and Stewart 2001).

For instance, in interpreter-mediated police interactions, changes (discrepancies), or shifts, in the illocutionary force of a rapport expression may have an impact on the outcomes of investigations. The translation shifts that are examined in this research project are those arising from cross-linguistic differences between the two languages, English and Spanish, and between the different patterns in language use in the two locales. This also includes changes at the pragmatic level resulting from omissions, additions or transformations in register, hedging, modality and/or police interview-specific formulations. Such pragmatic-level factors may affect the relevant pragmatic function of conveying rapport, as uncovered in previous research in legal interpreting (Berk-Seligson 1990; Hale 1997, 2004; Krouglov 1999; Mason and Stewart 2001; Liu 2020). Chapter 6 – Methodology (section 6.7) provides a detailed classification of these shifts.

5.3 Translation shifts in relation to cross-linguistic differences

Rapport may be expressed differently in different cultural and linguistic contexts, including in police interviews with victims. As Matsumoto and Hwang (2021: 990) suggest, the concept of rapport may differ across cultures and this may relate to communication styles and linguistic or pragmatic bounded differences, in this case, when interpreting rapport into English or into Spanish. Therefore, trainee interpreters need to strive for both linguistic and pragmatic accuracy in order to convey rapport accurately. This means that they have to understand speaker's intentions in the interview context, when using a specific utterance or structure, in order to be able to convey it accurately in the TL.

Linguistic shifts concern differences arising from variation in the language systems. Language grammatical, semantic, syntactic and pragmatic patterns differ from each other. For example, English and Spanish are inflected languages, which means that, in both, some words are modified to express grammatical functions or categories. However, whereas in English inflections of the verbs are very few, limited to three or four conjugated forms, Spanish makes extensive use of verbal inflections and some verbs have more than fifty conjugated forms.

In legal interpreting, subtle linguistic shifts from one language to another can lead to inaccuracies in interpreting utterances (Hale 2010). This has been studied in witness and suspect interviews, for instance, with regard to motion event descriptions, whereby certain language contrasts can be of crucial importance for police investigations. Filipović (2007) examined expressions of manner of motion in authentic interpreter-assisted police interviews conducted in English and Spanish. English speakers expressed manner of motion with ease in their account, and often added it in translation from Spanish even though manner of motion was not originally given in the Spanish original accounts. Spanish speakers tended not to refer to manner of motion since Spanish has very few types of manner verbs available (compared to English) and Spanish grammar restricts the instances in which manner of motion verbs can be used. This resulted in differences in the expression of motion:

> As a result of the habitual need to express Manner in English, different lexical choices are made in the English translation that add information about the manner of motion, not present in the Spanish original due to the use of manner-neutral lexical item, which could result in different interpretation of the situation described.
> (Filipović 2007: 252)

As Filipović explains, the expression of manner could be relevant in the context of policing, since it could lead to establish intentionality, speed or intensity in the action. An illustration of this is provided from a witness testimony describing the motion of a suspect:

Se metió para el Carl's Junior
Literal translation: 'He put himself in the Carl's Junior' (a name of a restaurant).
Transcript translation (Interpreter): 'He ran into Carl's Junior'.

pero... salió por la seven
Literal translation: 'But ...he went onto 7th street'.
Transcript translation (Interpreter): 'The suspect ran up 7th street'.

In these two examples, the interpreter adds information about the running (the manner) of the suspect, which is absent in the Spanish original. Although, in the broader interview, the witness mentions that the suspect was running at some point, the translation suggests that the suspect was running all the time. This may be due to the underlying linguistic preferences of expression that operate in each language, and the interpreter's apparent lack of awareness about the possible issues that may arise based on their interpreted outputs.

Another cross-linguistic example between English and Spanish is provided by Filipović (2007) on the interpreting of a Spanish non-agentive construction called 'reflexive pseudo-passive with dative of interest' (Gibbons 2001) as in the example below:

Se me cayó en las escaleras
Literal translation: 'To-me-it-happened that she fell on the stairs'.
(Filipović 2007: 262).

This expression was used extensively by a suspect, accused of murder, who was asked nine times during the police questioning about the dropping of the victim. In Spanish, the construction is not ambiguous, the suspect is expressing that, although he was involved in carrying the victim, it was accidentally that the victim fell out of the suspect's hold. However, the construction in *se me cayó en las escaleras* poses a challenge for translation into English, since there is no direct equivalence for it in that language. The interpreter in this case used the option "I dropped her", which is ambiguous with respect to whether the action was performed with or without intention, and therefore can (and did) lead to confusion, and to the understanding of something as an admission of guilt in translation (e.g. of causing intentional harm) while in fact the opposite, the denial of intentional involvement, was given in the original language (see Filipović 2021 for more examples and further discussion). This is something that is potentially critical in criminal procedures and that can have significant consequences for both the individuals involved and the justice system on the whole.

The general message from this and other cross-linguistic research in this area points to the need for a detailed examination of how different languages express the same or similar meanings and how interpreters cope with the contrasts in meaning and use that may be

particularly critical for sensitive communicative contexts such as police interviews and other legal communication (Rojo and Cifuentes-Férez 2017; Hijazo-Gascón 2019). The shifts illustrated in the examples in this section are motivated by the language contrast at the lexical and syntactic level, and we now turn to cross-linguistic differences at the pragmatic level, which is the focus of our current study.

Linguistic shifts that are pragmatic in nature are defined within the domain of language use, since Pragmatics is defined as "the study of language use" (Verschueren 1999: 1), and is concerned with "the study of how people use language differently in different contexts, taking world knowledge and knowledge about the specific communicative circumstances into account in choosing the exact wording" (De Groot 2011: 2). According to Yule (1996: 3), Pragmatics deals with four different areas. Firstly, it looks at meaning, at what people mean by their utterances rather than what the words or phrases might mean by themselves. Secondly, it involves how context and contextual circumstances influence what speakers say, in terms of who they are talking to, where, when and with what purpose. Thirdly, it explores how speakers infer what is unsaid as part of what is communicated. And finally, it is concerned with what determines what is said and also unsaid in relation to how close or distant the speaker is from the listener. For instance, in terms of rapport, an expression uttered by a British police interviewer, such as *Sorry for my terrible accent in Spanish*, may not only mean that his Spanish is not good, but it has the intention of building rapport by reducing distance and achieving a level of familiarity or closeness with the victim. Likewise, an expression such as *Are you comfortable sitting there?* does not refer to the comfort of the victim's chair, but aims at acknowledging that the interviewer cares about her emotional state.

The areas that Pragmatics is concerned with, are related to conventions and principles that underlie different languages and cultures. Some of these are more linguistic and others are more social in nature. Leech (1983: 10-11) uses the terms "pragmalinguistics" and "sociopragmatics" to distinguish between them. Pragmalinguistics refer to "the linguistic resources available and conventionally used for conveying a given pragmatic meaning in a given context", whereas sociopragmatics deals with "social appropriateness in language use". Pragmalinguistics includes linguistic resources for conveying illocutionary meaning and also the vast resources available for managing relationships (Kasper 1992: 208). Žegarac and Pennington (2000), in their chapter on pragmatic

transfer, bring both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic examples from Tyler's research (1995) on a tutoring session between a Korean teacher and an American student. In one moment of this exchange, the student asks the teacher whether he knows how to score in bowling, as can be observed in the extract below:

Student: *Well, do you know how to score the game?*
Teacher: *Yeah,* ***approximately***
(Tyler 1995: 149)

In this case, the word *approximately* illustrates a pragmalinguistic example of pragmatic transfer, since *approximately* is used by the teacher as a politeness indicator of modesty, whereas from the student point of view it is perceived as a hedge on the propositional content of the utterance. In terms of sociopragmatics, the study describes the social bases of this exchange. For instance, from the teacher point of view, in classroom interactions, the teacher knowledge is presumed by both the teacher and the student to be adequate and superior to the student's knowledge. In contrast, from the student's point of view, the details of the student-teacher role are negotiated, taking into account the main competences of both teacher and student.

Thomas (1983) uses the term pragmalinguistic failure to refer to the type of misunderstanding or mismatches that occur between the teacher's intended meaning and the student's constructed meaning:

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

The author distinguishes between this type of failure and sociopragmatic failure, the latter stemming "from cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour" (Thomas 1983: 99). As Hale et al. (2020: 375) suggest, pragmalinguistic failure can be applied to interpreting, when utterances are translated

semantically, that means that the translation accounts for meaning out of context. For example, when interpreting profanity in police interactions, the semantic English expletive *bloody* does not have a usage equivalent in Spanish. This would mean a challenge for the interpreter, who would need to find another Spanish word that would have an adequately equivalent illocutionary force in the specific context use. Moreover, *bloody* would pose a challenge in other English-speaking countries, such as the U.S., which means that the interpreter needs to identify an equivalent expression in terms of its meaning in this specific usage context that could achieve the same potential effect in the hearer. On the other hand, from a sociopragmatic perspective, the interpreter would need to take into account cultural factors, such as whether certain taboo words would be appropriate in the target language or culture, or whether swearing is more accepted in some cultures than in others.

This distinction between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatics is considered relevant to the analysis of pragmatic transfers between languages and cultures. As my research project focuses on linguistic instances of rapport-building, I mainly explore issues relating to pragmalinguistics. However, for our present purposes, I will not make a distinction between the terms pragmalinguictics and sociopragmatics. As Kasper maintains, "the fuzzy edges between the two pragmatic domains will be noticeable" (Kasper 1992: 10), as linguistic expressions are conventionally related to social knowledge about communication.

This pragmatic focus is directly related to the term *accuracy* explained in section 3.3, which can be misunderstood as meaning "literal translation". However, in the data analysis presented in chapter 7, accuracy in interpreter-mediated utterances is seen from a pragmatic perspective (Hale 2004), since it is observed that in most cases interpreting challenges are not related to the propositional meaning of the words used. Therefore, in this research project, accuracy is defined following interpreting research in the legal system, which advocates maintaining not only the original propositional content but also the original intention and effect (Hale 2004; Berk-Seligson 1990; Fowler 1997; Dueñas González et al. 2012; Krouglov 1999; Liu 2020). As Hatim and Mason (1990) state "equivalence is to be achieved not only of propositional content but also of illocutionary force" (1990: 76).

On many occasions, problems arising in pragmatic accuracy refer to semantic equivalent terms across languages that are not pragmatically equivalent (Hale 2004: 6). In relation to rapport in police interviews, this may be observed in expressions related to acknowledging the victim's feelings, which can be fully translated into the other language in terms of the semantic content. However, the intended meaning, or force, may not be equivalent. Following this line of thought, Hale (1999:57) quotes Hatim and Mason's (1990: 63-64) with the following observation:

> It is perfectly possible for the interpreter to translate competently the locutionary act involved in an utterance (in the sense of finding appropriate equivalents for Source Text words and relating them correctly and appropriately in Target Language syntax) while failing to perceive or otherwise misrepresenting the illocutionary force of the utterance in context.

In this sense, it is important to define pragmatic force. This term is associated with Speech Act Theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969). The notion of speech act was first introduced by Austin (1962), and developed by his student, Searle (1969). They define a *speech act* as a basic unit of linguistic communication with which an action is conducted. Austin suggests that when producing a speech act, three acts are activated simultaneously: the *locutionary act*, which is the utterance itself; the *illocutionary act*, which is the intended meaning of the utterance, and the *perlocutionary act*, which is the reaction that the utterance produces in the hearer. Following Searle (1969) and his joint work with Vanderveken (Searle and Vanderveken 1985), Hale's (2004) notion of pragmatic accuracy in legal interpreting includes awareness of an utterance's illocutionary point and illocutionary force. Illocutionary point refers to the communicative intention of the speaker, whereas illocutionary force is "the strength with which the illocutionary point is portrayed" (2004: 6). For instance, *Would you like to close the door?* semantically would be a question of whether the hearer would like to do something, whereas pragmatically, it holds the illocutionary point of a request (to close the door), with the force of a polite request. Therefore, both a request and a command can have the same illocutionary point (to get somebody to do or say something) but a command has a stronger degree of force than a request. In relation to legal interpreting, the interpreter would need to find an equivalent utterance that takes into account these aspects, for example, achieving the

same level of politeness may involve addition of polite markers or word order in the interpreted language.

This is intrinsically related to the expression of rapport-building, where pragmatic aspects such as polite markers, directness/indirectness, intonation or interpreter's footing, can affect the illocutionary force of linguistic expressions when conveyed into English and into Spanish. It is worth remembering that rapport in interviews with victims is usually related to making the victim feel at ease and eliciting truthful information. Therefore, interpreters need to achieve an equivalence in the interpreting utterance that keeps the accuracy not only at the semantic but also at the pragmatic level (Hale 2004: 6).

Pragmatic differences can also play a role at the formulaic level, that is in relation to conventionalised expressions. House (1986) noted that English is a language rich in routine expressions of politeness. For example, De Pablos-Ortega (2010) analysed the speech act of thanking among Americans, Britons and Spaniards, and the attitude of English speakers towards thanking in Spanish. This study suggests that thanking formulae, related to formulaic politeness markers were expected and part of the expressions of gratitude in British English, but not in Spanish, where speakers' preference is the omission of thanks in some contexts. Polite formulae such as *gracias* (thank you) is not deemed necessary in response to good wishes, when receiving a compliment or when being granted permission, but it is expected in British English. This leads to negative attitudes from English speakers to the absence of thanking in Spanish, which, in contrast, Spanish speakers claim to be an integral part of interacting in the Spanish culture. These differences in the use of polite devices and formulaic politeness between English and Spanish may prove challenging to interpreters in general and with specific reference to conveying rapport.

5.4 Cross-linguistic differences in the expression of rapport

To date, there is an absence of studies specifically investigating police interviews with victims and whether rapport is linguistically conveyed differently across different language and cultures. However, issues related to rapport, such as politeness, facework and other interactional variables have been extensively studied in other domains, particularly the medical field.

Some researchers (i.e. Hernández-López 2008; Bravo 2008; De Pablos-Ortega 2010) have indicated differences in face orientation styles between Spanish and British culture. In Britain, there is an orientation towards the addressee, which means that there is a stronger emphasis on building consensus with the hearer, acknowledging and respecting speakers' autonomy and face-saving indirectness, whereas for Spaniards, there is a stronger emphasis on showing camaraderie and spontaneity (Hernández-López 2008: 60). This is shown in a preference for direct expressions of communication in Spanish and indirect manners of communication in English. For instance, Spanish requests tend to be much more direct than English requests (Hernández-López 2008; De Pablos-Ortega 2010). However, there is an exception in this preference for directness in the Spanish context, related to requests when these refer to something that is considered beyond the role assumed by the interlocutors (Hernández-López 2008: 60). This is the case in police interactions, where there is a difference in power relations. Here, Spanish speakers may prefer a more indirect form for requesting.

In relation to this, in analysing rapport in British and Spanish interactions in another sensitive communicative context, the medical context, Hernández-López (2008) follows the Spencer-Oatey's RMT (outlined in section 4.2) to describe the complexity of rapport management in these encounters, touching on small talk, disagreement, humour, power, emotions, interaction of voices, and institutional versus individual rights and obligations. The researcher purports that Spanish interactions show more flexibility in their structure, where patients can initiate turns, express their emotions and even suggest their diagnosis to their doctor whereas in British interactions, British doctors take full responsibility for the management of rapport throughout the interaction, by the use of humour, small talk and showing interest in the patient's wellbeing (Hernández-López 2008: 81). Findings illustrate how rapport management is influenced by linguistic choices reflecting cultural norms, in the particular situation of medical encounters.

In another study on interpreted medical interactions with English speaking practitioners and Spanish speaking patients, Allison and Hardin (2020) explained how devices that contribute to rapport and politeness are usually reduced, omitted or revised, especially by untrained interpreters. They examined cross-cultural verbal behaviour of rapport, including affiliative humour, mitigation of directives, inclusive pronouns used for

solidarity, words of empathy, apologies, compliments, and ritual greetings and leave-takings. Results revealed that non-interpretation of the mitigation in originally mitigated directives, such as *I know that sounds kinda weird* or *Just relax*, may result in the perception of impoliteness by speakers of Mexican Spanish. The researchers also noticed that the omission of pronouns showing solidarity (*we*, *us*) missed the opportunities to increase rapport in Spanish, particularly considering that Spanish-speaking societies are generally collectivistic and community oriented, and solidarity-building is essential to rapport (op. cit.). Therefore, doctors' attempts at rapport were rendered less efficiently due to the interpreters' unfamiliarity with linguistic features of rapport.

In another study on simulated interpreted interactions between parents and teachers, Vargas-Urpi (2019) analysed cross-linguistic politeness issues in the combinations Chinese-Catalan and Arabic-Catalan, in relation to power distance, social distance and rank of imposition. Although rapport is not specifically explored in Vargas-Urpi's study, the author describes omissions, additions and distorted meanings in relation to politeness. She discovered that interpreters omit specific politeness strategies to mitigate potential face-threatening acts (section 4.2) due to the lack of awareness of politeness strategies in interpersonal communication (Vargas-Urpi 2019: 350), and therefore, affecting rapport.

Studies on rapport management have also taken place in computer-mediated communication. A cross-linguistic research in Italian, English and Dutch (Cenni and Goethals 2020) analysed online responses to negative hotel reviews in terms of communicative strategies from a cross-linguistic perspective. It is interesting to observe that, although English and Dutch responses employed substantially similar communicative strategies, Italian responses used significantly different linguistic strategies. Divergences included the preference, in the Italian responses, for a more defensive communicative style, that is opposing the opinions of the guest-reviewers and prioritising defence of their staff and hotel, showing that Italian response writers are more sensitive to online negative evaluations, as observed in the example below, where two response writers display explicit defensive answers when addressing criticism:

- Purtroppo sono cose che possono capitare ovunque, anche a casa vostra!!

(Unfortunately these are things that can happen anywhere, even at your own place!!)

- Siamo davvero sbalorditi dalla sua recensione. Come è possibile scrivere delle falsità simili?

(We are really astonished by your review. How is it possible to write such lies?)

(Cenni and Goethals 2020: 7-8)

In contrast, British and Dutch speakers used more rapport-saving moves, although they were concerned with the public nature of the criticism expressed on an online travel platform, as observed in the examples below, where the review writers ask for a second opportunity to get things right or for discussing the issues in a private sphere:

Examples:

- I would greatly like a second chance to host you again

- I would sincerely appreciate if you could get in touch with us via email or phone

(Cenni and Goethals 2020: 8-9)

Although this latter study on managing rapport in written communication does not focus on face-to-face rapport which is the aim of my research project, it highlights how cross-linguistic differences can influence communication strategies and discourse habits, which can affect interpreters' renditions. Since interpreters are not specifically trained to convey rapport, they may not be aware of these cross-linguistic subtleties and, therefore, they may inadvertently transfer discourse and pragmatic habits into their interpreting renditions.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has described the main concepts in relation to translation shifts, specifically the potential for cross-linguistic challenges in conveying rapport-building in police interviews, with special emphasis on pragmatic differences. In police interpreting, as in many other contexts, the interpreter's main aim is to convey not only the semantic but also the pragmatic meaning of the original utterances, with the purpose of achieving the same effect that the original utterance would have attained in the source language listener

(Hale 2004: 4). However, this may go unnoticed by interpreters and trainee interpreters who are not usually aware of these subtleties.

The notion of translation shift is revisited in more detail in chapter 6 – Methodology, which illustrates how trainee interpreters' utterances are classified and analysed in the context of this research. The identification of shifts provides direct insights into trainee interpreters' performance and tendencies when interpreting rapport-building features into English and Spanish.

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY

6.1 Introduction

As established at the outset of the thesis, my research studies whether and how MA students of interpreting deal with rapport features in simulations of interpreter-mediated police scenarios with victims. To do this, I examined students' interpreting renditions into English and into Spanish to analyse how, and to which extent they convey linguistic expressions of rapport-building. The underlying working assumption is that there may be cross-linguistic differences that affect the way in which rapport in police interviews is conveyed, which then leads to challenges for interpreting.

The previous chapter provided a theoretical review of the research concerned with interpreter-mediated interviews, particularly in relation to translation shifts, and cross-linguistic differences in relation to conveying rapport. Following on from this review, this chapter discusses the research design and the methodological aspects of the data design and data analysis. Section 6.2 is an introduction of the methodological background of the study, which allows me to describe the ethnographic approach to the study design in section 6.3 and the discourse-pragmatic approach to the data analysis in section 6.4. Section 6.5 illustrates the data collection process and its specificities, paying particular attention to the types of participants that took part in the research, the scenarios used for analysis and the contextual variables in each context of training. Section 6.6 explains the rapport-building taxonomy used for the data analysis, which is complemented by a clarification of the coding used for the analysis of the interpreted utterances, in section 6.7. Section 6.8 details the steps taken to ensure the ethical rigour of my research. Finally, section 6.9 offers a brief chapter summary.

6.2 Methodological background of the study

This research combines a discourse-pragmatic and ethnographic approach in order to investigate how rapport is conveyed in police interview scenarios with trainee interpreters, with particular emphasis on the translation shifts used by trainee interpreters and the cross-linguistic issues that impact the outcome of the interpretation. The combined approach taken in the current study facilitates the analysis of the data for the twofold

purpose of my study: the analysis of translation shifts (in relation to research Q2), and cross-linguistic issues that impact the interpretation (in relation to research Q3). On the one hand, a discourse-pragmatic approach is key to the analysis of the linguistic instances of rapport in interpreter-mediated police scenarios with victims, where the communication takes places in English and Spanish, or Spanish and English, with the presence of a trainee interpreter who interprets into both language directions. Rapport is expressed at a pragmatic level, which is sensitive to contextual variation, specifically institutional differences in interpreters' training practice, interpreters' first language (interpreters' L1) or direction of translation (interpreting into their first language – L1, or into their second language – L2). On the other hand, variation in police interviewing practice in Spain and the UK also needs to be accounted for. For this reason, the ethnographic approach is crucial to the analysis, since it, firstly, drives the design of the scenarios in both contexts, the UK and Spain and, secondly, informs the identification of the instances of rapport in the data sets.

The main aim of the data analysis is to observe how, and to which extent, trainee interpreters convey rapport into English and into Spanish. Hence, my analysis illustrates how linguistic rapport-building is interpreter-mediated in the two contexts of training. In this sense, I follow Wadensjö's approach, using qualitative analysis to "describe and explore the dynamics of interpreters communicative behaviour" (Wadensjö 1998: 81). The analysis of the data is, therefore, predominantly qualitative – namely the discourse-pragmatic analysis of spoken data (original and interpreted utterances) by means of a theory- and discourse-driven framework, which is outlined in section 6.6. This approach allows me to describe in detail how rapport features are rendered (or not) within the context of interpreting training.

However, the analysis also allows me to detect certain tendencies or preferences to the extent that some translation shifts appear to be more frequent than others. In this case, when relevant, the analysis provides information about the number of instances and frequency of the different translation shift types, in order to make generalisations of results from the representative samples in my data. As Gile suggests:

> Quantification in the behavioural sciences is not tantamount to attempting to equate a behaviour with a set of equations or figures. The idea is to find indicators

> that can be 'measured', if only approximately, and yield data that will better contribute to a better knowledge of the phenomenon.
> (Gile 1994: 46)

Taking Gile's perspective, the quantification of instances and translation shift tendencies are used "descriptively" (Gile 1994: 43), in order to raise awareness of what kind of phenomenon occurs and how trainee interpreters deal with this.

I will now explain in detail the ethnographic observations through which I gained an understanding of how rapport is operationalised in police interviewing both in the UK and Spain and which then allowed me to design the scenarios for the data collection. Subsequently, I describe the discourse-pragmatic approach which facilitated the data analysis in both contexts of interpreting training.

6.3 Ethnographic observation of police interviews in the UK and Spain

Ethnographic observation aims to study a social group or an individual (or persons) as representatives of that group on direct observation of their behaviour (Willis and Trondman 2000). This means observing people's behaviour directly during their daily interactions rather than in experimental contexts (Hammersley 1990: 2-3). In interpreting studies this approach is undertaken when the interpreting activity is seen as an activity influenced by linguistic and cultural factors within a social context (Hale and Napier 2013: 87).

In order to analyse how trainee interpreters convey rapport-building features in interpreter-mediated police interviews, one needs to understand the cultural and institutional patterns of language use adopted by police practitioners to build rapport with victims in their daily practice both in the British and Spanish police contexts. This understanding has informed the development of the interpreter-mediated scenarios used in this research. The design of the scenarios responds to decisions taken after my ethnographic observation and close analysis of linguistic rapport features in English and Spanish, as well as contextual variables (explained in section 6.5.7) in the interpreting training contexts explored. As the aim of this research project is to analyse both contexts where interpreters will ultimately undertake their professional practice, this required a

clear notion of what happens in each context and whether linguistic and, particularly, pragmatic differences could play a part in the interpretation of rapport features.

As explained in section 2.2, both in the UK and Spain, police interviewers are trained to follow information-gathering methods, which take rapport-building as one of the main components of the investigative interviewing process. As outlined in section 2.3.2, police guidelines in both countries recommend very similar interviewing techniques and rapport-building strategies. However, in the linguistic expression of rapport, consideration needs to be taken of certain norms and preferences that are tied to specific cultures and how these may influence variations in communication (Hernández-López 2008). This arguably influences variations in the expressions of rapport in English and Spanish, which is not specifically accounted in police guidelines. Therefore, I conducted ethnographic observation of police practice and training in the UK and Spain, in order to access first-hand how rapport is operationalised in authentic investigative interviewing.

For the British context, ethnographic observation was facilitated through access to authentic police interview data through TACIT[63], and attendance of the training course on Best Practice with Vulnerable Victims, from the College of Policing. Both access to authentic data and completion of the training course took place in 2019. In addition, the College of Policing (UK) gives access to main guidelines for investigative interviewing, including working with victims and witnesses, such as the ABE guidelines, explained in section 2.3.2. These guidelines and materials were carefully examined with the help of police practitioners from an English constabulary[64], through whom I also had access to the Force Policy Document (FPD) – Translation and Interpreting, which contains specific guidelines used in the training of police interviewers involved in interpreter-mediated interviews. The analysis of all this documentation and guidelines, together with the previously mentioned course materials, contributed to the understanding of the British police interviewing context and allowed me to observe authentic examples of linguistic

[63] TACIT stands for Translation and Communication in Training and it is a research and engagement project with multiple international stakeholders including academics, police forces and language professionals (further information can be conferred at https://www.tacit.org.uk/). The project obtained full ethical approval to analyse the data of 50 authentic investigative interviews from two UK constabularies.
[64] The name of the constabulary and the police practitioners have been withheld due to confidentiality requirements.

rapport-building in interviews with victims, which were subsequently included in the scenarios used for the data collection.

In the case of Spain, police interviews are not usually audio or video recorded so there is no option to access information once the interview has taken place. In this case, I participated in real police interviews as an observer, after being granted special permission from the Spanish Ministry of Justice. The observations took place during 2018 in a Spanish constabulary[65], where I was able to witness ten police interviews and take notes. In relation to the police guidelines, the corresponding College of Policing in Spain, the Cuerpo Nacional de Policía, does not include guidelines for interviewing victims on their official website, but I could access this information by consulting police training guidelines, such as the MPIEDOD, explained in section 2.3.2. In addition, I took part in a 45-hour training course on Communication Techniques applied to Police Interview during October and November 2018 at the School of Prevention and National Security (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona). This course is intended to provide an understanding of the main techniques used in police interviews in the Spanish context, by focusing on the systematic review of the interview process and by imparting practical knowledge. It provided me with a theoretical background and practical understanding of the different methods used when interviewing in a Spanish police context. Together with the police interview observations, the course inspired me to address the difficulty of not having access to recorded police interview data.

In sum, the ethnographic research into how police interviews are conducted in Britain and in Spain enabled me to account for similarities and differences in how linguistic rapport is built (or not) in both contexts. This then facilitated, firstly, the design of the interpreting scenarios, secondly, the development of the relevant rapport categories, and, thirdly, the interpretation of the findings. In the next section, I explain the rapport-relevant linguistic differences and similarities identified through my ethnographic observations.

[65] The name of the constabulary has been withheld due to confidentiality requirements.

6.3.1 Feature 1: Preference for direct or indirect requests

As explained in section 4.3, research on face and politeness theory indicates differences in face orientation styles between British and Spanish cultures. This is sometimes observed in a preference for directness in expressions in Spanish and indirectness in communication in English, for instance in the formulation of requests, which tend to be more direct in Spanish and more indirect in English (Hernández-López 2008; Bravo 2008; De Pablos-Ortega 2010). This was confirmed in my ethnographic observation, where the preference for directness is noticeable in Spanish, whilst indirectness is more frequent in English when it comes to requesting. Table 1 below illustrates examples of this feature taken from the British and the Spanish interviews observed and recorded in my notes.

Table 1. Police requests

British police context	Spanish police context
Example 1 Police officer (PO): *Would it be fair to say that he was under the influence of alcohol?*	Example 1 Police officer (PO): *¿Se encontraba bajo los efectos del alcohol?* (Was he under the influence of alcohol?)
Example 2 PO: *Would you say he was drunk?*	Example 2 PO: *¿Había bebido alcohol?* (Had he drunk alcohol?)

6.3.2 Feature 2: Hedges and intensifiers

In relation to the degree of directness-indirectness, the presence of hedges is also observed in the interviews in both contexts. Within the Theory of Politeness, a *hedge* is defined as "a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership in a set; it says of that membership that it is partial, or true only in certain respects, or that it is more true and complete than perhaps might be expected" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 145). Later on, the concept was extended to any expression that has a hedging function, as follows:

> There is no limit to the linguistic expressions that can be considered as hedges [...]. The difficulty with these functional definitions is that almost any linguistic item or expression can be interpreted as a hedge [...]. No linguistic items are inherently hedges but can acquire this quality depending on the communicative context or the co-text. This also means that no clear-cut lists of hedging expressions are possible.
> (Clemen 1997: 6)

Therefore, hedges can include a number of expressions and particles that may express different intentions and may contain various potential meanings, changing the illocutionary force of an utterance. In this research, I follow Hale and use the word *hedge* to refer to "any word or phrase that attenuates the force of an utterance by reducing the level of certainty or by deliberately making an utterance more vague" (Hale 2002: 29). This includes words such as *I think*, *more or less*, and modal adverbs like *probably* or *maybe*. In the observed interviews, police officers sometimes use hedges, for instance in requests, to reduce or weaken the illocutionary force. Table 2 shows examples of hedges used by police interviewers.

Table 2. Hedges

British police context	Spanish police context
PO: *Maybe it's difficult for you*	PO: *¿Hace cuánto tiempo? Más o menos, que se acuerde…* (How long ago? More or less, that you remember…)

In addition, intensifiers in expressions of gratitude or apologies were also observed in both contexts. These intensifiers are used in order to strengthen the positive impact of the gratitude or apology towards the victim, as illustrated in table 3.

Table 3. Intensifiers

British police context	Spanish police context
PO: *I'm <u>really</u> not good at Spanish*	PO: *No se preocupes, <u>de verdad</u>* (Don't worry, <u>really</u>)

6.3.3 Feature 3: Conversational markers – diminutives and repetitions

Police interviewing guidelines encourage police interviewers to express general emotional support in interviewing processes with victims, for example by providing physical comfort or using emotional language. This may take the form of clarifications, for instance, emphasising that the victim can take a break or as much time as needed to answer questions. In Spanish, this type of utterance was sometimes observed to include diminutives. The use of diminutives is a very common resource for politeness, in Spanish, to mitigate a threat, but also to create a closer relationship with the other interactional party - the victim in the case of this study - since diminutives connote an affective proximity with the hearer in the interaction (Inchaurralde 1997). Table 4 illustrates linguistic examples of the police officers providing this general emotional support.

Table 4. Providing general emotional support

British police context	Spanish police context
Example 1: PO: *Don't worry, we can take a little break*	Example 1: PO: *No se preocupe, podemos descansar unos minutillos* (Don't worry, we can rest a few *little [Dim.] minutes)
Example 2: PO: *I will bring you some water*	Example 2: PO: *Le voy a traer un poquito de agua* (I'm going to bring you a little bit [Dim.] of water)

In relation to this, another feature noticed in the observations was a higher amount of wordiness and lexical repetition in the Spanish utterances, used to emphasise or stress certain points or words, and specifically in some expressions of rapport. In contrast, similar interactional goals were achieved, in English, through a marked tone of voice in some words, rather than through repetition. This is in line with research on repetition and other conversational markers in English and Spanish where it has been observed that repetition of discourse markers is more frequent in Spanish than in English (Crible and Pascual 2020). This repetition feature reflects general conversation habits in Spanish and it can aim at speeding up comprehension (i.e. relevant to rapport-building) (op. cit.). Table 5 illustrates an example of this difference in the studied contexts.

Table 5. Emphasis

British police context	Spanish police context
PO: *I SEE*	PO: *Ya veo, ya veo* (I see, I see)

6.3.4 Feature 4: Preferred form of address

One of the rapport-building techniques used in investigative interviews, in both contexts, is to address the interviewee by "their first or preferred name" (ABE 2011: 75; MPIEDOD 2015: 338). The use of the preferred form of address when addressing an interviewee is observed both in the UK and Spain. Table 6 illustrates examples of interviewing interactions in each context.

Table 6. Preferred form of address

British police context	Spanish police context
PO: *Is it ok to call you Ruth?*	PO: *¿Cómo quiere que la llame?* (How do you want me to address you?)

6.3.5 Feature 5: Use of personal pronouns

Based on my ethnographic observations, there are two noteworthy aspects in relation to rapport-building and the use of personal pronouns. Firstly, the use of second person singular *you* can have a formal (*usted*) and an informal (*tú*) form in Spanish. Spanish police guidelines recommend the use of *tú* or *usted* depending on the interviewee's characteristics (MPIEDOD 2015: 338). This is different in English, where the pronoun formality or informality distinction does not take place due to the obligatory use of the undistinguished pronoun *you*, so there is no mention of any distinction in the British guidelines. In the interviews observed in Spain, the use of *usted* was noticed in all of the interactions examined, with only one exception in which *tú* was used on the explicit request of the victim in one of the interviews[66]. Table 7 illustrates two examples of the use of the second person singular in each context.

Table 7. Second person singular pronouns

British police context	Spanish police context
PO: *Are you ok?*	PO: *¿Está usted cómoda ahí?* (Are you [formal] comfortable there?)

Secondly, police interviewers, in both contexts, use both the first-person singular pronoun *I* and the first-person plural *we* when building rapport with the victim. Table 8 includes examples from both contexts, where the police interviewers use *I* in one example and *we* in another example.

Table 8. First-person pronouns

British police context	Spanish police context
Example 1: PO: *I know it's difficult to talk about it*	Example 1: PO: *Sé que es difícil para usted* (I know it's difficult for you)

[66] This interaction refers to a case where the victim was a 70-year-old woman who specifically asked the police officer to be treated informally by using the words *Trátame de tú* (address me as *tú*).

Example 2: PO: *We are here to help*	Example 2: PO: *Podemos ayudarla con las copias* (We can help you with the copies)

Although there is no reference to the use of first-person pronouns in police and police training guidelines, it is interesting to highlight it in relation to rapport-building. Following Stewart (2001), the use of the "corporate we" by the police officer may imply support from the institution where they work, the police forces. In carrying out a police interview, which is in essence a face-threatening act, the use of *we* allows the police interviewer to share responsibility with the institution and it implies external support. The first-person singular *I*, however, may also be used when the police interviewer wants to show themselves as an individual speaker and establish a closer relationship with the victim. Therefore, following the ethnographic observation, both pronouns have been incorporated in the scenarios for data analysis.

6.3.6 Feature 6: Active listening – Paraphrasing and backchanneling

Observations of interviews in both contexts highlighted the use of paraphrasing by police interviewers (i.e. paraphrasing words or sentences employed by the interviewee) as a way of demonstrating their active listening, as recommended in police training guidelines. Examples are presented in table 9.

Table 9. Paraphrasing

British police context	Spanish police context
[Victim: He was following me around] PO: *And you said that he was following you around*	[Victim: Comenzó a insultarme (He started to insult me)] PO: *Y dijo que comenzó a insultarla* (And you said that he started to insult you)

Backchanneling[67] is also used to demonstrate active listening by the police interviewers. Table 10 illustrates examples of backchannelling in both the UK and Spain.

Table 10. Backchannelling

British police context	Spanish police context
[Victim: He was following me around] PO: *Uh-huh*	[Victim: Comenzó a insultarme (He started to insult me)] PO: *Mmm*

In the case of interpreter-mediated police interviews, Jönsson's research (1990: 84) showed that, when backchanneling is used by police interviewers to demonstrate active listening in interpreter-mediated legal encounters, the backchanneling signals (*uh-huh*, *mhm*…) are not really conveyed between the interviewer and the interviewee, but between the interpreter and the respective parties (interpreter and police officer, and interpreter and victim). This means that the use of backchanneling occurs in two simultaneously ongoing dialogues. This is also something I noticed in the context of my study. As a result, the use of backchanneling has not been included in my scenarios.

6.3.7 Feature 7: Small talk and self-disclosure information

In police investigative interviews, small talk[68] and self-disclosure are considered verbal rapport-building techniques used to facilitate the interaction between the police interviewer and the interviewee. It has been found, for instance, that disclosing personal information can increase positivity in the interaction (Collins and Miller 1994) and lead to more accurate information (Vallano and Schreiber Compo 2011) and that small talk can facilitate legal negotiations through rapport-building (Nadler 2004). In the case of both small talk and self-disclosure information, it is important to highlight that, despite

[67] We follow Carter and McCarthy in the definition of backchanneling as "[N]oises (which are not full words) and short verbal responses made by listeners which acknowledge the incoming talk and react to it, without wishing to take over the speaking turn" (Carter and McCarthy 1997: 12).
[68] We follow McCarthy in the definition of small talk as "non-obligatory talk in terms of task requirements" (McCarthy 2000: 84). Holmes (2000: 47-48) outlines the main two functions of interactional talk. The first one is small talk as a discourse strategy to manage social interactions (for instance to ease transitions in and out of different issues or activities), and the second one is small talk as a tool which serves social functions in the way of "constructing, expressing, maintaining and reinforcing interpersonal relationships".

being a rapport-building technique recommended under the PEACE model training guidelines (Shepherd 2007), very few instances of these techniques in real cases with victims were observed. Both in the police interviews in the UK and Spain, small talk and self-disclosure information from the police officers were mainly present when the interviews with victims were related to minor issues (i.e. small robbery/burglary) and the whole interviewing process would take a short time (less than 30 minutes), and in all cases, only when the victim was a native speaker and would not need an interpreter. Examples of small talk from these interviews are included in table 11.

Table 11. Small talk

British police context	Spanish police context
PO: *It's chilly outside*	PO: *En esa calle han abierto un centro comercial enorme* (They've opened a huge shopping centre in that street)

6.3.8 Feature 8: Colloquialisms and humour

The use of colloquialisms was not observed in the ethnographic research. In the case of humour, no instances of humorous language were observed either in the British or in the Spanish police contexts in relation to interviews with victims. This goes in line with recommendations from the British police guidelines on interviewing victims (ABE 2011) and the Spanish police guidelines (MPIEDOD 2015) where no humorous language is recommended. As in the case of small talk, instances of humorous expressions were only observed in short interviews related to minor issues, and only in the Spanish context. Table 12 illustrates an example of this.

Table 12. Humour

British police context	Spanish police context
	PO: *¡Pero si es usted muy joven todavía!* (But you are still very young!) (to a 70-year-old woman)

Following the outline of the most prominent interactional similarities and differences in the British and Spanish police interviewing contexts arising from my ethnographic observations, I now turn to detailing the discourse-pragmatic approach that was used for the analysis of the interview data, including clarification of how the ethnographic observations were drawn on to design the interpreting scenarios used for data collection.

6.4 Discourse-pragmatic approach for data analysis

The research questions in this project intend to address both cross-linguistic issues impacting the translation of rapport-building in trainee interpreters as well as the translation shifts they use in the context of interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims. Since the focus is mainly on linguistic choices in two different interpreting training contexts, I needed an approach that takes into account not only discursive-conversational patterns but also the pragmatic element established by the context where the data was collected.

Following Pounds (2019: 96), the discourse-pragmatic analysis of the data focuses on two expressive dimensions of rapport-building: empathic communication and face. The rationale behind this is that rapport-building in police interviews tends to use face-enhancing expressions to mitigate the potential face-threatening communication inherent to the nature of the interaction (section 2.3). The analysis reflects this through the classification of linguistic instances of rapport into different rapport categories, explained in section 6.6.

As discussed in section 4.4, the pragmatic focus, in the analysis of the data, follows the seminal work by Austin (1962) based on the maxim "saying is doing" and adhering to the principle that talk-in interaction is at the core of linguistic expression. As a consequence, meaning is conveyed and is transformed as a result of the interaction (Bakhtin 1986). This assumes a pragmatic focus on the interactional function that particular lexico-grammatical features assume in conversation in a specific context. This overriding concern with interactional issues, communicative functions and participant practices in social interactions, does overall fall within the field of discourse-pragmatics (Barron and Schneider 2014: 2). A discourse-pragmatic approach then makes it possible to examine

linguistic units of analysis that are overarchingly pragmatic in nature and focused on the achievement of interactional goals. In my own analysis this refers to rapport-building in interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims. Following Mason (2006), this type of analysis, in PSI, takes into account the interpreter-mediated interaction as well as the role of the interpreters as social beings (Inghilleri 2003), hence the effect of their interpretation on the linguistic rapport component in specific communications.

It is important to underline that discursive-conversational patterns that perform rapport-relevant functions have been considered in my research, with special attention to pragmatic aspects (as explained in section 4.4). The analysis focuses on linguistic instances of rapport expressed by the interviewer as part of the rapport-building techniques used in police interviews with victims. These instances are classified into rapport categories depending on their objective within the interaction. The rapport classification is detailed in section 6.6. Questions and requests are also examined in relation to rapport, in order to see whether trainee interpreters modify the original pragmatic force of these utterances when interpreted, and what impact this may have on rapport-building.

The victim's expressions of feelings and emotions are also considered since they are key to rapport-building throughout the interview, therefore it is important to analyse how the victim's experiences are interpreted. This goes in line with police guidelines recommending that the interviewee's feelings are taken into account (ABE 2011: 35). In this respect, the ethnographic research revealed that some prosodic features, particularly the victim's voice intonation, are essential to rapport-building techniques, since the victim usually reveals emotional effort and distress through their intonation. Some examples include the victim weeping or their voice trembling or faltering at certain points while speaking, showing that they feel affected, distressed or desperate. This is pertinent to rapport-building and is, therefore, also included in the analysis.

6.5 Data collection methods

This section explains the data collection methods used in the study as well as the rationale behind the selection. It also describes the interpreting training contexts chosen for the gathering of the data and the description of the data collection tools. This description

focuses on the specificities in the design of the scenarios derived from the implemented ethnographic research and how this approach adheres to the aim of this research.

6.5.1 The interpreting training contexts

Two MA interpreting programmes were chosen for the purpose of this research: the MA in Interpreting at Heriot-Watt University (hereafter HW) and the MA in Traducción Jurídica e Interpretación Judicial (MA in Legal Translation and Interpreting) at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (hereafter UAB). The data collection took place during the assessment of the police interpreting module of each respective programme. These programmes and institutions were chosen because of their prestige and recognition in their respective countries, especially in the Translation and Interpreting field. A description is provided below detailing the main characteristics of each programme and the modules from which the data was collected.

- **MSc Interpreting – Heriot-Watt University:** This Master degree in Interpreting is designed for those who want to work as professional interpreters and is targeted at native/near native speakers (C1/C2 of the CEFRL[69]) of two of the following language combinations: English and one of either Chinese, French, German or Spanish. Each of the combinations are taught as separate programmes. The data was collected from the students participating in the English/Spanish option. The course lasts one academic year (full time) and includes a course on Liaison and Public Service Interpreting during semester 1 (autumn semester), with a specific part on police interpreting. This module specifically covers interpreter-mediated police interviewing from which the data was collected during the 2018-19 and 2019-20 academic years.

- **MA Traducción Jurídica e Interpretación Judicial (MA in Legal Translation and Interpreting) – Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona:** This Master degree in Translation and Interpreting is aimed at those who want to specialise in legal translation and legal interpreting and is aimed at students with a C2 proficiency level

[69] CEFRL stands for Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment. CEFRL is an instrumental publication from the Council of Europe, with the aim of providing a common basis for the teaching and learning in second and foreign language education. It describes six common language reference levels which defines the learner/user's language proficiency at each level: A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2. This allows scaled descriptions of the language competence in each level (Council of Europe 2022).

in Spanish and a C1/C2 proficiency level in English. The language option Spanish/English is the only combination in the Master programme, consequently, the data was collected from this option. It has a duration of one academic year and includes a module on Introducción a la interpretación en los servicios públicos (Introduction to public service interpreting) in the autumn semester, which concretely covers police interpreting. This is the module from which the data was collected during the academic years 2019-20 and 2020-21.

Both of the modules chosen for the data collection develop theoretical and practical skills of legal interpreting with a workload of 9 ECTS[70], which means from 225 to 270 hours of training, over a period of one semester (autumn semester: September – November or October – December). Specifically, the two modules have several sessions on police interpreting, which include theory and practice, and develop the following content with a total duration of 8 contact hours:

- Interpreting and hate crimes
- Interpreting and discrimination
- Interpreting and domestic violence
- Interpreting for the police

Although the content modules seem comparable and similar, it was necessary to ensure that students were exposed to highly similar interpreter-mediated scenarios in their police interpreting practice, so that they had similar training and preparation with regard to the assessment where the data was going to be collected. In order to overcome this issue, students from both institutions were exposed, in their police interpreting practice, to similar interpreter-mediated police scenarios designed for the purpose of this research. The scenarios were designed in line with their typical assessment requirements. This approach was taken to ensure that all students had been exposed to the same training practice before the data collection. The fact that trainee interpreters where exposed to the same training practice made it possible to compare interpreting renditions from both institutions. At the same time, the fact that each programme had unique specificities (see section 6.5.2), also provided insights into how differences in training format may impact interpretation practice.

[70] ECTS refers to European Credit Transfer System. One ECTS credit is equivalent to 25-30 hours of training.

6.5.2 The assessment characteristics

As explained in the previous section, the instruments used to collect the data for analysis were the summative assessments for each of the previously mentioned modules. In both cases, the assessments were conducted using interpreter-mediated police scenarios designed by this researcher and adapted to the assessment requirements of the modules in each of the institutions, as follows:

- **MSc Interpreting – Heriot-Watt University**

The scenarios used for the assessment were interpreter-mediated scenarios with a victim of crime, presented as a role-play where the trainee interpreter acted as a police interpreter. As the data was collected in two consecutive years, 2018-19 and 2019-20, two scenarios were created, one for each academic year. The first one was an interview with a victim of domestic violence, the second was an interview with a victim of discrimination in the workplace. All trainee interpreters individually role-played the scenario corresponding to their year of assessment. The whole role-play was approximately 20 minutes long, and the general interpreting mode was consecutive. Within the scenario, a 1-to-2-minute part of simultaneous interpreting had to be incorporated. This was the part where the victim describes facts. Another part included a sight translation regarding some official documentation that needed to be translated by the trainee interpreter. Therefore, the consecutive interpretation lasted approximately 15 minutes. The data was only collected in the consecutive interpretation, since it was the only interpreting mode observed in the ethnographic research and where the police rapport-building took place.

In both scenarios, the police officer's role was played in English, and the victim' role was played in Spanish. Both the police officer and the victim were role-played by the two lecturers teaching the module. In 2018-19 assessment, where trainee interpreters role-played the domestic violence scenario, the lecturers stopped the assessment after 20 minutes, meaning that some interpreters interpreted the scenario in full while others were stopped before they had completed the whole scenario. During the 2019-20 assessment, the trainees were not stopped at any time, so the scenario on discrimination in the workplace was fully interpreted by all participants. It must also be highlighted that the

lecturers role-playing the police officer and the victim did not always follow the script with the exact words and, on some occasions, they slightly modified the existing rapport expressions, as became apparent later during the data analysis.

- **MA Traducción Jurídica e Interpretación Judicial – Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona**

Similarly to HW, the scenarios used for the assessment were interpreter-mediated scenarios with victims, where the trainee interpreter acted as a police interpreter. Two scenarios were created for the 2019-20 academic year, one with a victim of domestic violence and one with a victim of discrimination in the workplace. In this case, half of the trainee interpreters role-played the scenario on domestic violence, and the other half role-played the scenario on work discrimination. This was chosen randomly. The police officer role-play was in Spanish, and consequently, the victim role-play was in English. For the academic year 2020-21, there was only one scenario with a victim of domestic violence, which all trainee interpreters role-played individually. On this occasion, the police officer was role-played in English and the victim was role-played in Spanish. This made it possible for me to gain valuable insights into the Spanish training context in relation to direction of translation (into L1 and into L2), which are detailed in section 7.3.

Again, both the police officer and the victim were role-played by lecturers. However, differently from HW, the lecturers followed the script with no changes, which had implications for the analysis of the data, as detailed in section 6.5.7. The whole scenario lasted approximately 15 minutes and all the participants interpreted the whole scenario. The interpreting followed a consecutive mode and did not include any other interpreting option.

The decision to use the summative assessment for the data collection was motivated by the fact that, under assessment conditions, trainee interpreters were under some pressure, which could be comparable with the pressure felt in an authentic situation. In both assessments the logistics were very similar: one participant was scheduled to interpret the scenario at a time, on the same day. All participants knew in advance the characteristics of the interpreter-mediated police scenario and the topic they were going to be assessed on.

For each participant, video-recording was used for the purpose of quality-assessment. This is common practice to assess students' performance on Interpreting modules in higher education both in the UK and Spain. For the purpose of this research, non-verbal cues were not included as part of the analysis. However, the visual cues and lip-reading from the video-recordings could be used to disambiguate some inaudible words.

6.5.3 The participants

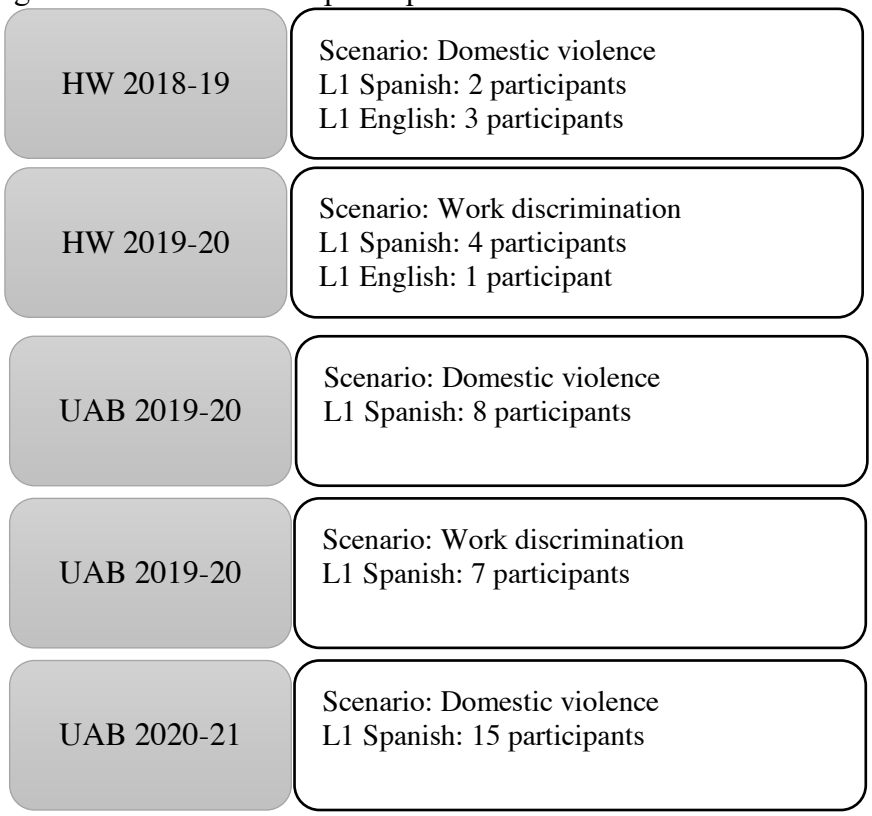
This research compares the data elicited from a total of 40 trainee interpreters in the interpreting training at Heriot-Watt University and at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Initially, I had intended to include all trainee interpreters in their respective university for the 2018-19 and 2019-20 academic years. However, the preliminary data analysis resulted in a more focused choice of participants based on the following reasons:

- One of the requirements for enrolling in the MA programme of both institutions is to hold a certified C1 or C2 (CEFRL), in both working languages of interpreting, for English and Spanish, or a C1 or C2 in English or Spanish, in addition to being a native speaker of the other tongue. However, the data collection showed that one participant at HW seemed to have a lower proficiency level in Spanish. This participant was removed from the data analysis.
- Since the languages of comparison in this study are English and Spanish, participants who had a different native language were not included in this research. Working with different L1 English or Spanish would elicit results where cross-linguistic differences would not fit the variables considered in this study to address the specific research questions.
- As stated previously, in the end, the study opted to include 40 trainee interpreters' assessments for analysis. All participants from UAB were native Spanish speakers, whereas in HW, there were some native Spanish speakers and some native English speakers. The fact that some native Spanish speakers were trained in the British programme have implications that are described in the data analysis (section 7.3).

It must also be highlighted that all participants had the same interpreting training in their MA programme, either in HW or UAB, with no specific training on police rapport. This meant police interpreting training of 8 contact hours plus 12-13 hours of individual study

work per contact hour. The distribution of the trainee interpreters in relation to the data collection is detailed in figure 12.

Figure 12. Distribution of participants



Having data from 40 participants provided mapping data for qualitative analysis as well as enabling some quantitative insights about possible common trends and challenges. However, it must be pointed out that there were only 4 L1 English participants, compared to 36 L1 Spanish, which means that results regarding L1 Spanish speakers have a higher degree of generalisability.

6.5.4 The interpreter-mediated scenarios

Taking into account the assessment requirements established by each institution, I designed five scenarios, based on police interviews with victims. The scenarios incorporated rapport-building expressions illustrated in police guidelines and extracted from the ethnographic observation, so that they included material that would realistically occur in interviewing practice. As explained in section 2.2, and supported by my ethnographic research, the UK and Spain follow interviewing techniques based on

information-gathering methods, so rapport-building techniques are based on the same principles. Therefore, the scenarios are very similar in the sense that they display identical rapport-building expressions and other rapport-related features (i.e. victims' feelings). There are few cases where the scenarios present differences, which again are based on ethnographic observation and do not interfere with rapport. For instance, this happens in the domestic violence scenarios; when describing verbal abuse, different insults are used by the victim speaking Spanish and the victim speaking English.

Two types of victims were selected for the scenarios. The first one was based on a victim of domestic violence (DV) and the second one was a victim of discrimination in the workplace (WD). The choice of topics was made in consultation with the university lecturers and the content they had covered during the module, as well as the exercises undertaken during the interpreting practical sessions of the modules. In addition, in the case of domestic violence, it was one of the most recurrent topics noticed in police interviews observations with interpreter-mediated victims. A matter of profound significance is that more instances of rapport features are present in the domestic violence scenario compared to the one on discrimination in the workplace. This is due to specific guidelines regarding domestic violence interviewing and rapport with victims in these cases. In terms of data analysis, one of my aims was to observe whether the trainee interpreters maintained the stronger emphasis on linguistic rapport features in the former scenario, or not.

All the scenarios were scripted in consultation with police interviewers working in the UK and Spain. Additionally, they were piloted and reviewed by experts in police interpreting and interpreting training, as well as the module organisers and the lecturers teaching in the modules where the scenarios were used for data collection. The scenarios were then adapted not only to realistic interpreting challenges in terms of rapport, but also to the specificities of the assessment requirements in each institution, as stated in the preceding section.

6.5.5 Description of the data coding system

The data analysis required a clear coding frame to identify several specificities both in the original utterances and in the interpreted utterances: training context, type of scenario,

type of utterance, and trainee interpreter. Figure 13 and figure 14 show the coding used to distinguish these variables.

Figure 13. British context: coding

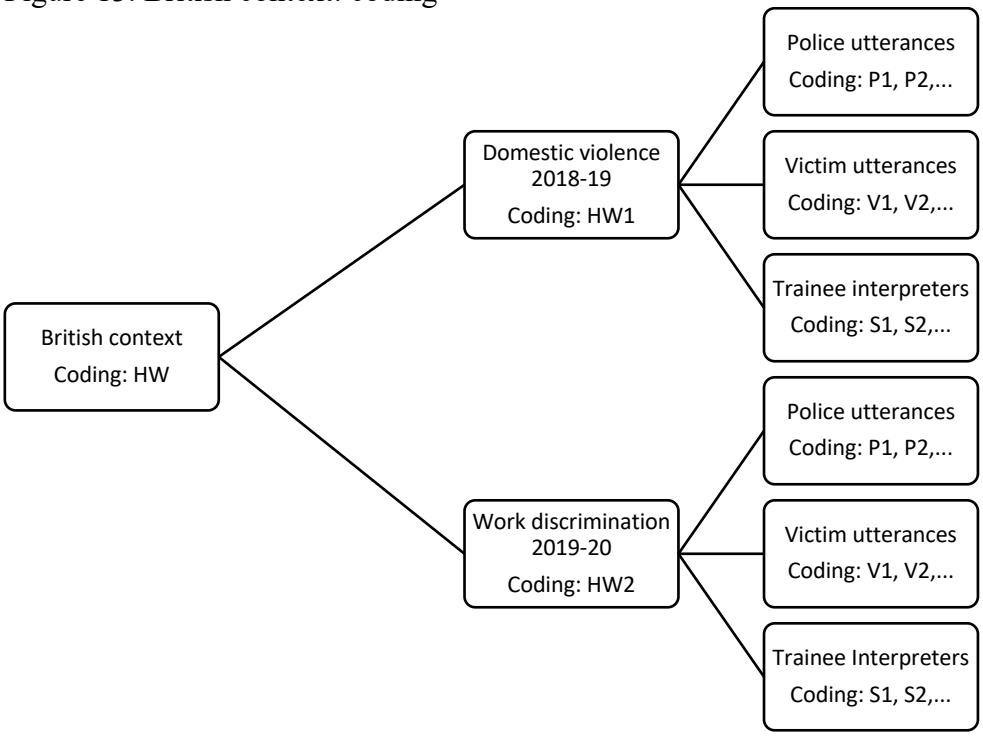
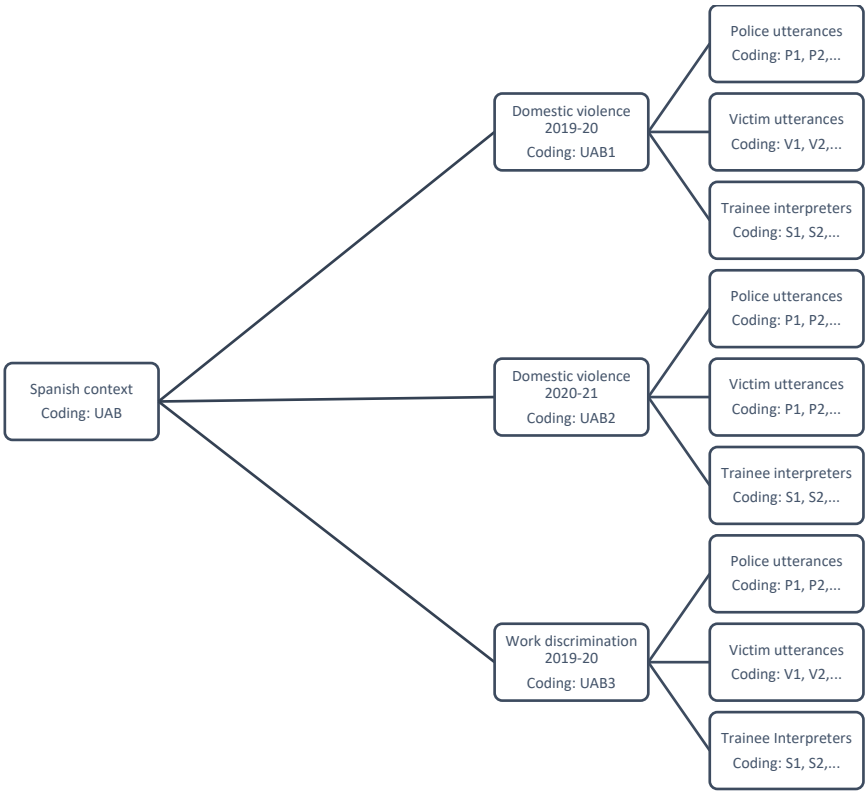


Figure 14. Spanish training context: coding



Therefore, original utterances are coded following the order of: context, type of scenario, and either police or victim utterance. For example, police utterance number 2, which would be the second time the police officer speaks in the scenario of domestic violence in the British context, would be coded as HW1.P2, whereas victim utterance number 2 in the same context and scenario would be coded as HW1.V2. When the utterances are interpreted, the trainee interpreter who has conducted the translation is indicated in the coding. For example, for HW1.P2, S1 would be displayed if this was conveyed by trainee interpreter number 1, or S4 if conveyed by trainee interpreter number 4.

In relation to the trainee interpreters' L1 across the two training contexts, 88% of the total are L1 Spanish, compared to 12% whose L1 is English. Figure 15 details the number of individuals who performed each of the scenarios in the training contexts and its coding. Although the numerical coding states S1, S2, S3 and so on in each of the scenarios, the coding refers to different interpreters. This means that S1 in HW1 is a different individual to S1 in HW2 or in UAB1. In addition, individuals are not always numbered consecutively. This is because trainee interpreters whose L1 was different from Spanish or English were later removed from the data, as explained in section 6.5.3.

Figure 15. Participants coding

HW	HW1 - Domestic violence L1 Spanish: S4, S6 L1 English: S2, S5, S8
	HW2 - Work discrimination L1 Spanish: S2, S3, S4, S5 L1 English: S1
UAB	UAB1 - Domestic violence L1 Spanish: S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, S7, S8, S10
	UAB2 - Domestic violence L1 Spanish: S1, S2 S3, S4, S5, S6, S7, S8, S10, S11, S12, S13, S14, S15, S16
	UAB3 - Work discrimination L1 Spanish: S1, S2, S4, S6, S7, S8, S9

6.5.6 Transcription conventions

To ensure analytical consistency, the thesis adopted a standardised verbatim (i.e. orthographic) transcription system. This means that only the relevant rapport-building and rapport-related expressions were transcribed, paying particular attention to the interpreter-mediated rapport features in both languages. As illustrated in previous studies with trainee interpreters, the use of verbatim transcription facilitates the comparison between the original utterances and the renditions (Hale et al. 2020; Arumí-Ribas 2018; Berk-Seligson 1990, 2009; Liu 2020). Following Hale et al. (2020), the transcriptions also incorporated repetitions and relevant intonation features, since those are elements from conversation analysis that may also impact on rapport. In the case of intonation, this is especially relevant when transcribing victim's utterances. Thus, the transcription uses capital letters when a participant stresses a specific word or syllable. Parenthesis were also used to indicate paraverbal comments at the end of the utterance (i.e. sobbing). Table 13 illustrates an example of how the analysis of an utterance is presented following these conventions.

Table 13. Transcription conventions

Example
I'm REALLY sorry. *This is affecting me a lot, I am VERY nervous* [faltering]

6.5.7 Study variables

The discourse-pragmatic approach taken in this research was intended to account for the contextual variables that are pertinent to rapport-building expressions both in the British and Spanish training contexts, as outlined in this section. Based on that, the following variables were considered for their potential implications in the data analysis:

a. Characteristics of the training assessment

The police scenarios used for the data analysis are based on police interviewing guidelines and ethnographic observation in the UK and Spain. As explained in section 6.3 and previously in section 2.2, both in the UK and in Spain, police interviewers follow the

same interview principles and use the same techniques when interviewing victims. However, the interpreting contexts in which the data was collected followed different applications of the role-playing interviewer and interviewee interpreter-mediated police scenarios. As explained in section 6.5.2, in the Spanish university, the role-playing followed the script to the letter, whereas in the British university, the script was used as a base rather than a document for precise emulation of the role-play scenarios. This had an impact on the use of some of the rapport features, which only appeared in either one or the other of the training contexts. This is explained in section 6.6.

b. Nature of the scenario

Based on interpreting training contexts preferences, I created the interpreter-mediated police scenarios in relation to two types of victims: a victim who has suffered domestic violence, and a victim who has suffered discrimination in the workplace. The design of the scenarios followed police interviewing guidelines and incorporated rapport-building expressions extracted from the ethnographic research undertaken in both countries. In both types of scenarios, verbal abuse as insults and threats is part of the victim's account of facts and what the victim has been subjected to. In the domestic violence scenarios, this verbal abuse is also accompanied by physical abuse and description of injuries suffered by the victim. In both cases, they act as potential triggers for the police officers to express their acknowledgement about what the victim has endured. However, some of the translation shifts (reduction, augmentation or modification) might be more consequential when affecting rapport features in those scenarios with victims of more serious violence (i.e. DV as opposed to WD in this case).

c. Trainee interpreters' L1

Trainee interpreters' L1 is also taken into consideration, since differences in L1 may involve translation shifts when a rapport-building expression is conveyed in the interpreter-mediated scenarios. For this thesis, L1 refers either to English or to Spanish.

d. Trainee interpreters' cultural and linguistic environment

Regarding the above, the language of the training context does not always match the trainee interpreters' L1. Although in the Spanish training context all trainee interpreters' L1 is Spanish, in the British context interpreters' L1 is either English or Spanish, since there are some Spaniards who have travelled to the UK to study their interpreting

programme. In this sense, the British linguistic and cultural environment may have an influence on some Spanish linguistic patterns when these L1 Spanish interpreters convey rapport into Spanish. Conversely, they may also be more aware of some linguistic patterns that are idiosyncratic to the English language.

e. Direction of translation (into L1 or into L2)

Interpreting rapport into L1 or into L2 may also have implications in terms of translation shifts used by the trainee interpreters. Therefore, this is a variable that has been taken into account as a factor impacting the conveyance of rapport.

f. Trainee interpreters' level of empathy - EQ test score

Preliminary data analysis uncovered a marked trend among some trainee interpreters who would intensify both police rapport-building expressions and victim's feelings, especially when the victim's feelings coincided with some of the prosodic features observed in the ethnographic research (mentioned in section 6.4). As per the observation with regard to police officers (Bull 2018), this could be linked to trainee interpreters' individual differences, in this case in relation to their individual level of empathy. In order to uncover whether the use of these intensification devices had any correlation with individual interpreters' level of empathy, each trainee interpreter completed the Empathy Quotient (EQ) test (Baron-Cohen and Wheelwright 2004) in their L1, which aims to measure individual empathy. The Spanish version of this test can be found in appendix 6.

These variables are taken into account in the data analysis when applicable, in order to explore whether and to what extent they impact on how rapport is conveyed (or not) in the interpreter-mediated scenarios. The following section describes the categorisation used to classify linguistic expressions of rapport-building in police interviews with victims (in English and Spanish). This categorisation, together with the coding of interpreting renditions (section 6.7), enables the analysis and classification of the trainee interpreters' renditions of rapport-building features in the scenarios.

6.6 Taxonomy of rapport categories

The design of a rapport-building taxonomy aims at accounting for the different expressions of rapport-building included in the interpreter-mediated police scenarios,

both in the English and in the Spanish training contexts. As stated in previous sections, the final taxonomy used responds to ethnographic observation, preliminary analysis of the data, as well as policing guidelines and characteristics of the interpreting training contexts.

To my knowledge, two studies have focused on operationalising measure indicators of rapport in investigative interviews: Collins and Carthy (2019) and Pounds (2019). Both taxonomies are based on the concept of rapport in Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's rapport framework, discussed in section 2.3 and used in police interviews. Within this influential framework different rapport components and indicators are classified into three main categories, which may be used to measure the relationship dynamics between the two parties in the police interaction: *positivity*, *attention* and *coordination*. As further explained in the literature review (section 2.3), being able to build and maintain rapport does not mean that the relationship is close or even positive, but it allows smoothness during the interaction (Abbe and Brandon 2012: 238), facilitating the main purpose of the police investigative task, namely gathering relevant information as evidence in the legal process (Rock 2007; Heydon 2012). Collins and Carthy's classification takes a socio-psychological approach to data analysis by examining the relationship between rapport behaviours and communication in investigative interviews, and analysing interview transcripts of suspects from different countries, in order to measure how rapport relates to the amount of investigation relevant information. On the other hand, Pounds' taxonomy (explained in section 4.4) takes a linguistic approach, by looking at linguistic expression of rapport from a sample of audio files of interviews with suspects, and specifically analysing linguistic expressions of rapport-building (from police interviewers in the UK) with particular references to empathy and face, and how rapport-building opportunities are sometimes lost in the interviews.

Therefore, Pounds' taxonomy was chosen as the starting point for a classification of linguistic rapport instances in this thesis. However, based on preliminary analysis of the data, ethnographic research and policing guidelines, some categories within the taxonomy (section 4.4) were both added, removed or amended in order to reflect, on the one hand, interviews with victims, and on the other hand, the characteristics and regulations of the interpreting training contexts. This is explained below.

First of all, the rapport-building expressions are not distributed into Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal's rapport components: *attention*, *positivity* and *coordination*, since the training interactions (the interpreter-mediated scenarios) are relatively short. This is due to the interpreting training assessment characteristics, and coordination indicators, being less likely to appear explicitly since these are training contexts where trainee interpreters are under assessment conditions. In addition, rapport-building expressions included in the scenarios were mostly related to attention and positivity, as this was observed in the authentic interviews with victims: interviewers would typically attend to the participants' wellbeing (attention) and ensured a friendly nature of the interaction (positivity). This is in line with police guidelines related to interviewing victims. As explained before (section 2.3.2), ABE (2011) pays special attention to the opening phase of the interview where police interviewers are advised to introducing themselves and adapt their communication style to the witness or victim (i.e. by paraphrasing or using the same words "as it reduces the perceived authority differential between interviewer and interviewee" (ABE 2011: 187). In the MPIEDOD Spanish police manual (2015), the police interviewer is advised to introduce themselves and call the victim by their name and use the victim's name frequently. It is also advised that interviewers let the victim express their feelings and give empathic responses, use active listening and let the victim know that they can take as much time as needed to remember and answer (MPIEDOD 2015: 338). This is also in line with the College of Policing guidelines, where it is recognised that probing feelings at specific stages in the interview (i.e. in the initial part) or when the interviewee is visibly upset, facilitates rapport (Pounds 2019: 105). The following sections (6.6.1 and 6.6.2) describe and illustrate examples of the categories and subcategories within the rapport-building taxonomy. The categories were independently applied to samples of the data by my thesis supervisors and adjusted through discussion in the case of discrepancies. The full range of examples are included in the interpreter-mediated scenarios used for the data collection (appendices 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5).

6.6.1 Face-enhancing expressions

These (related) expressions observed and included in the scenarios were classified under the category *Face-enhancing expressions*, since they are aimed at building and maintaining rapport by addressing the positive face of the victim. Within *Face-enhancing*

expressions, five main subcategories were identified because of their frequency in both the UK and Spain. Table 14 includes these subcategories, which are described below.

Table 14. Face-enhancing expressions

Face-enhancing expressions	
Subcategory 1	*Active listening*
Subcategory 2	*Checking the victim's understanding*
Subcategory 3	*Acknowledging the victim's implied or stated feelings (empathy)*
Subcategory 4	*Appreciation for the victim's contribution*
Subcategory 5	*Affiliation with the victim*

i. Face-enhancing - Subcategory 1: *Active listening*

Expressions belonging to this subcategory are usually related to the *attention* component of rapport and are aimed at conveying and demonstrating active listening from the police interviewer. For instance, backchanneling[71] or repeating back the victim's speech, are some of the examples included under this heading[72]. Expressions included in the scenarios refer to the first confirmation and use of the victim's first name after she has stated that this is her preferred form of address, which indicates active listening from the police officer. Repeating back the victim's words or expressions to help memory recall is also included in this subcategory. Table 15 illustrates two examples that have been included in the scenarios for data analysis. In this case, example 1 refers to the police interviewer repeating the victim's first name after the victim has stated that. Example 2 refers to the police interviewer repeating an expression used by the victim.

Table 15. Face-enhancing - Subcategory 1: *Active listening*

Example 1 – Repeating back first name
Irene, ok

[71] As explained in section 6.3.5, backchannelling has not taken into account as the scenarios are interpreter-mediated.

[72] Non-verbal nodding would also be an example in this subcategory, however, preliminary data analysis showed that in the presence of an interpreter, there is not such feature between police interviewer and interviewee and nodding tends to be addressed to the interpreter. In addition, since the focus is on verbal expressions, nodding analysis is not included in the scenarios.

Example 2 - Paraphrasing
You said he started to insult you, could you remember any of the words he said?

ii. Face-enhancing - Subcategory 2: *Checking the victim's understanding*

Checking understanding also refers to the *attention* component of rapport and is also aimed at conveying active listening. However, these are expressions used by the police interviewer to check that the victim has understood what has been explained or stated, and also to check consent with the victim. In the scenarios, examples include confirmation cues after information has been provided, such as *ok?*, *is it like that?*, *is that ok?*, *right?*. Table 16 includes an example of this subcategory.

Table 16. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 2: *Checking the victim's understanding*

Example 1
You have filed a complaint about your employer, Holiday-with-us Ltd. on the grounds of unfair treatment and discrimination in the workplace, is that correct?

iii. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 3: *Acknowledging the victim's implied or stated feelings (empathy)*

Linguistic features under this category are related to the *positivity* component of rapport. They refer to expressions where the police interviewer aims at conveying empathy[73] with the victim. Examples included are related mostly to responses to the victim expressing her emotions or potential worry, attempting to maintaining rapport by identifying and recognising these feelings. The acknowledging of implied or stated emotions is the most frequent category in the scenarios, since in both scenarios, it is apparent that the victim is going through a hard time during the interview and she seems distressed, as denoted by her voice. Table 17 illustrates two examples included under this subcategory.

[73] The definition of empathy is explained in section 2.3.1.

Table 17. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 3: *Acknowledging the victim's implied or stated feelings (empathy)*

Example 1
I appreciate that this is really quite daunting
Example 2
Please don't worry, we are here to help you

iv. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 4: *Appreciation for the victim's contributions*

This category relates to the police interviewer aiming at conveying appreciation for the victim's contribution to the interview and encouraging the victim to contribute and cooperate further. Examples include expressions that value the victim's testimony and recognise her contributions to the interview, as illustrated in table 18.

Table 18. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 4: *Appreciation for the victim's contributions*

Example 1
You are doing very well
Example 2
You have been very brave to come to us

v. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 5: *Affiliation with the victim*

This subcategory includes expressions of affiliation which are the expressions aimed at reducing distance and achieving a level of familiarity, solidarity or closeness with the victim, such as using the preferred form of address (i.e. first name after checking with the victim), humour when/if appropriate, or information about the interview procedure, as well as expressions that involve explicit assistance to the victim.

Table 19. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 5: *Affiliation with the victim*

Example 1
You are all right sitting there?
Example 2
We're going to go through all this information and process it, and we'll let you know, we will let you know very soon what the next stage will be

In relation to this subcategory, and relevant to the affiliation domain, the translation of some personal pronouns is examined in the scenarios used for data analysis, including the second person singular pronoun *you*, which may take two forms in Spanish, a formal *usted* and an informal *tú*, traditionally seen as terms of address opposing formal versus informal or more polite versus less polite meanings (Serrano 2017). The data analysis explores how trainee interpreters convey the pronoun *you* into Spanish and whether there is a preference for a more formal or more informal form when addressing the victim, which can have implications for rapport-building.

The use of the first-person pronouns is also relevant to the affiliation with the victim. As observed in the ethnographic research, police interviewers use both first-person singular *I*, and first-person plural *we* throughout the interview. Following Stewart (2001), the use of *we* refers to a "corporate we", with which police officers imply support from the institution where they work, the police forces. In carrying out a police interview, which is in essence a face-threatening act, the use of *we* allows interviewers to share responsibility with the institution and it implicates external support. The use of the first-person singular *I* is, however, also used when interviewers want to show themselves as individual speakers. The data analysis describes whether trainee interpreters convey these pronouns accurately or whether there are any shifts, which can have an impact on rapport-building.

On preliminary analysis of the data, it was noticed that the following three utterances carry out a double rapport function:

- UAB2.P7. *You are doing really well, and this is really helpful*
- UAB3.P10. *Sé que está haciendo un esfuerzo, pero lo está haciendo muy bien* (I know you are making an effort, but you're doing very well)
- UAB3.P5. *Tranquila, tranquila* (it's ok, it's ok)

In the case of UAB2.P7 and UAB3.P10, with the first part of the utterance (before the comma), the police officer wants to acknowledge the victim's implied feeling or emotional effort whereas in the second part, the police officer wants to show appreciation for the victim's contribution. However, when looking at the expressions in the scenarios, one can observe that, in both cases, the rapport expression comes after the victim has detailed the physical consequences of her husband's attacks. Therefore, the main aim of the utterances overall is to show appreciation for this account, to encourage further contribution about the attacks. This is the reason why both utterances have been coded under subcategory 4 – *Appreciation for the victim's contributions*.

In the case of UAB3.P5. *Tranquila, tranquila*, when considered inside the scenario, this expression comes after the victim has expressed impotence towards the situation and she is actually sobbing, so the main function of the utterance is acknowledging her feelings, therefore, it has been included under the subcategory 3 – *Acknowledging the victim's implied or stated feelings*.

6.6.2 Face-saving expressions

Rapport-building expressions related to the victim's autonomy and privacy are categorised separately, since they address the victim's negative face. This category is called *Face-saving expressions*, and it includes utterances related to the recognition of imposition that arises from subjecting the victim to the emotional effort of recounting and remembering adverse events. The most common examples in the scenarios are expressions-like *please take your time*, where the police interviewer encourages the victim to keep talking in a way that acknowledges the emotional effort that this entails, thereby addressing the victim's negative face.

In relation to the victim's negative face, police questions and requests are also considered. As explained in section 2.2, both in the UK and in Spain, police interviewers are

encouraged to use primarily an open-ended and non-coercive questioning style, aimed at building and maintaining rapport with the interviewee (Milne and Bull 1999). However, police interviews share features with other forms of interviews, following a question-answer structure which pre allocates the distribution of turn types to the interviewer and the interviewee (Heydon 2005: 211). In interviews with victims, face-threatening acts are often mitigated to fit their non-adversarial and cooperative nature, and with the aim of making the victim feel at ease. It is therefore frequent that police requests may appear in the form of questions that function as indirect requests. However, it must be highlighted that the nature of the interaction is still tense in most cases, since the victim is asked to give detailed descriptions of experiences that imply both mental effort and emotional distress (Dando et al. 2016). Table 20 illustrates two examples of questions and requests that appear in the scenarios used for data analysis. As stated above, requests in interviews with victims frequently include some form of mitigation, which can be observed in example 2, where the request actually functions as an indirect request due to the mitigating features.

Table 20. Police questions and requests in relation to *face-saving expressions*

Example 1 (question)
Could you remember any of the words he said?
Example 2 (request)
The best thing to do as far as you are concerned will be to NOT stay in your house

Given their relevance to rapport-building, questions and requests from the police interviewer are included in the analysis in order to see how they are dealt with by trainee interpreters and whether there is any significant challenge that impact the translation of these formulations, hence impacting on rapport.

6.6.3 The victim's utterances: Feelings and emotions

In police interviews with victims, the victim's expression of feelings and emotions acts as a trigger to police interviewers' rapport-building responses. Ethnographic research shows that police officers are expected to acknowledge or appreciate these emotional

reactions and respond to them. Therefore, interpreting utterances of the victim's expression of feelings and emotions are included in the analysis, in order to observe how, and how fully, trainee interpreters convey these expressions and whether there is any significant effect on police rapport. In both the scenarios on domestic violence and the scenarios on work discrimination, the victim's expressions reveal their emotional effort and distress when recalling the experienced episode. Table 21 shows three examples of these utterances included in the scenarios.

Table 21. Feelings and emotions

Example 1
I feel embarrassed talking about it
Example 2
I'm a bit nervous
Example 3
This is affecting me a lot

6.6.4 The victim's utterances: Verbal and physical abuse

As stated before in section 6.5.7, the scenarios used for data collection include the victim's verbal abuse, where they describe the insults and threats they received as part of their interview account. In addition, in the scenarios on domestic violence, verbal abuse is accompanied by descriptions of physical abuse, such as description of injuries on the victim's body. Table 22 illustrates some examples included in the scenarios of both verbal and physical abuse expressed by the victims.

Table 22. Verbal and physical abuse

Example 1 – Verbal abuse
He also looks at my breast and makes inappropriate comments, you know? Like, "oh, nice rack" or something like that

Example 2 – Verbal abuse
"I am going to kill you", he said that many times

Example 3 – Physical abuse
He grabbed my neck with both hands and stared at me, like crazy, I thought he was going to strangle me

These expressions can act as potential triggers for the police interviewer to express their acknowledgment about what the victim has endured. Therefore, expressions of both verbal and physical abuse are analysed to observe how trainee interpreters convey these utterances, in consideration that reduction, augmentation or modification could potentially have implications for whether and how police officers respond, and thus also whether and how the overall police rapport is established and maintained.

6.6.5 The victim's utterances: Prosodic features

In line with police guidelines and their recommendation of taking into account the interviewee's feelings (ABE 2011: 35), and as observed in this study's ethnographic research, prosodic features such as the victim's voice intonation are pertinent to rapport-building, since they can reveal emotional effort and distress. This is illustrated in instances when the victim may weep or sob, and her voice trembles or falters at certain points while speaking, showing her distress, desperation or discomfort. Table 23 illustrates two examples included in the scenarios.

Table 23. Prosodic features

Example 1
That's why I got SO scared [sobbing]

Example 2 (request)
I'm REALLY sorry. This is affecting me a lot, I am VERY nervous [faltering]

These features are also pertinent to rapport-building and they are included in the analysis, in order to observe whether and how they are conveyed in the interpreting renditions.

6.6.6 Individual style in interpreting: Trainee interpreters' level of empathy

In addition, preliminary analysis of the data revealed that trainee interpreters presented significant differences when conveying rapport-building expressions, in the sense that some of them would have a tendency, for instance, to intensify the victim's feelings in the interpreting renditions, throughout the interpreter-mediated scenario. Consequently, the participants in this study were asked to complete the EQ test[74], which was designed to measure their individual level of empathy (section 7.5). This enabled me to observe and compare whether individual empathy had a correlation with rapport-building interpreting style.

The following section complements the rapport-building categories by explaining the coding used to classify translation shifts when trainee interpreters address rapport and rapport-related utterances in the scenarios.

6.7 Coding of interpreted utterances

The data analysis aims to examine the translation shifts used by trainee interpreters when addressing police rapport and whether (and how) there are cross-linguistic aspects that impact the outcome of the interpretation. In order to address this, interpreted utterances are coded.

In order to compare utterances from a translation point of view, the data analysis echoes Wadensjö's terminology (1998) and classifies interpreting renditions following the two central functions of interpreting: translating and coordinating the primary parties' utterances (the police interviewer and the victim in the case of my study). In relation to translation, Wadensjö uses the term *original* to refer to utterances voiced by primary interactants, which traditionally would be named source text in translation, specifically:

[74] L1 English and L1 Spanish participants completed the EQ test in their respective native languages. As stated in section 6.5.7, the EQ test is included in appendix 6.

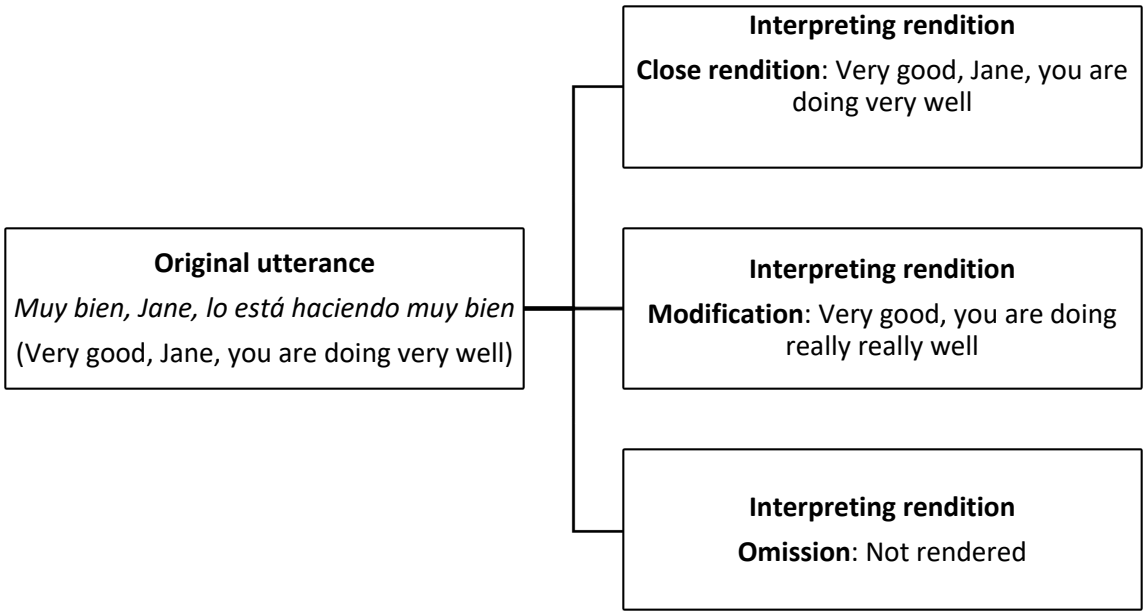
> An original starts where a primary interlocutor starts to talk and stops where he or she stops talking, that is, when leaving the floor open to someone else, when appointing someone else as the next speaker, when being interrupted by someone starting to talk (including providing support feedback) or, when there is a significant silence indicating the end of an utterance.
> (Wadensjö 1998: 106)

Therefore, the term *original utterance* is used to refer to the utterances voiced by primary interactants, in this case the lecturers role-playing the police officer or the victim. *Interpreting rendition* refers to the rendition of the original utterance by the trainee interpreter (Wadensjö 1998: 107). These interpreted utterances are then classified as follows:

- *Close renditions*: this category refers to renditions in which propositional content and degree of intensity (pragmatic force) remain equal or very similar in both the original utterance and the rendition.
- *Modifications*: this category refers to renditions where either the propositional content or the pragmatic force is modified.
- *Omissions*: omissions refer to utterances that are not rendered by the trainee interpreter. This is what Wadensjö calls *zero renditions* (1998: 108).

Figure 16 provides an example of an original utterance and three different renditions from my data illustrating these three categories.

Figure 16. Example of interpreting renditions taxonomy



As it can be observed in the figure, in the case of modification, the original *muy* (very) is rendered as *really really* in the interpreting rendition, which modifies the original utterance by intensifying its original meaning and, therefore, it changes its pragmatic force. For the purpose of this research, I follow Hale (2002) and I disregard the trainee interpreters' unidiomatic expressions or grammatical and lexical errors in English or in Spanish when interpreting the original utterances, as long as these mistakes do not interfere with the rapport component. If unidiomatic expressions appear in the translation of rapport or rapport-relevant expressions, they will be categorised as modifications. This is illustrated in the examples below.

Example 1 – Unidiomatic expression which does not interfere with rapport

Very good, Jane, you are doing very well. And could you give us a copy of the medical certification?

Example 2 – Unidiomatic expression in the rapport-relevant expression

Don't worry that so much

The interpreting categories classify the renditions following a "one-to-one correlation", that is, one rendition corresponds to one original utterance, which is the immediately prior utterance. There are no cases when renditions relate to originals in other than a one-to-one correlation [75] (Wadensjö 1998: 107). The interpreting coding combines the distribution of rapport and rapport-related original utterances with interpreting renditions, in order to facilitate the comparison between original and translation. Interpreting renditions that illustrate a marked trend or an interesting insight in relation to rapport-building are selected as representative and are described in the data analysis, with special attention to detailing translation shifts and whether cross-linguistic differences appear to play a role in the renditions. The trainee interpreter who has produced the rendition is identified and coded above the rendition. The interpreting rendition is accompanied by the correspondent original utterance, where context (HW or UAB), scenario and utterance number coding are included above the utterance. When the original utterance or the interpreting rendition are in Spanish, a translation is provided in brackets below the utterance or the rendition. An illustration of this layout is presented below:

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P5 *I need to know what happened last night*	S8 Me gustaría que me expliques un poco lo que pasó anoche (I would like you to explain to me a bit what happened last night)

In addition, several charts with numeric data appear in the data analysis. These charts are not intended to present statistical results from the findings, but only to illustrate some of the main trends observed in the study. As stated before, the analysis intends to observe the translation of police rapport in interpreting training and the main specificities faced by trainee interpreters when interpreting for victims. The main trends will help understand

[75] This latter option is not relevant to the interpreting practice explored in this thesis because the nature of the assessment makes the trainee interpreters follow a one-to-one correlation between their renditions and the immediately prior original.

the most prominent translation shifts and what this implies in terms of interpreter-mediated police rapport.

6.8. Ethical considerations

This project received ethical approval from the University of East Anglia's General Research Ethics Committee on October 16th, 2018, under the reference GREC 18-1166. The University's Ethics Committee stressed that I needed to obtain permission from the participants during data collection through a signed consent form. To uphold ethical research standards, the consent form I designed for participants was reviewed by UEA's Ethical Committee. A copy of the form can be seen in appendix 7. The process guaranteed participants rights of anonymity and confidentiality.

6.9 Summary

This chapter has provided a detailed outline of the methodological specificities and research design used in this study. The design was based on ethnographic police interviewing observation in the UK and Spain and the characteristics of the interpreting training contexts. The chapter also clarified the rationale for the discourse-pragmatic approach to the data analysis, as well as the selection of the interpreting training institutions, the participants, the data collection methods and the variables to be taken into account in the analysis of interpreting renditions. Section 6.6 and 6.7 illustrated how the rapport-building taxonomy and interpreting renditions coding were decided upon based on pertinent theory and the overall aims of the thesis. The penultimate section of the chapter outlined the ethical standards taken for the purpose of this research.

The following chapter examines and describes the findings from my data analysis, including the description of rapport and rapport-relevant translation shifts and the cross-linguistic aspects involved in the interpreting renditions.

CHAPTER 7: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to report and exemplify the results of the data analysis, namely the outputs produced by the trainee interpreters who took part in this study. This involves identifying and examining the translation shifts adopted by the trainee interpreters when rendering rapport features in their police interview practice, keeping in mind the specific British and Spanish rapport-relevant police guidelines, surveyed in section 2.3.2. The chapter also provides a detailed analysis of interpreters' shifts in their interpretation of victims' utterances that are equally pertinent to the rapport interaction within police interviewing.

The findings presented in this chapter help answer the thesis' second research question, namely:

- Q2: What are the translation shifts enacted by trainee interpreters when conveying rapport in police interviews with victims?

The findings are also used to address research question 3:

- Q3: What are the cross-linguistic factors that impact the outcome of the interpretation in the context of rapport-building translation?

Research Q3 is further addressed in terms of the findings' implications in Chapter 8.

The analysis was intended to examine interpreting renditions of police rapport-building features in two interpreting training contexts, and the main challenges faced by trainee interpreters when interpreting rapport and rapport-relevant utterances. The analysis is essentially qualitative in nature, but includes some quantification of instances of rapport and rapport-relevant issues, and their translation, so as to highlight the most prominent trends. Relevant cross-linguistic aspects are additionally illustrated with significant examples.

The current chapter comprises four sections. Section 7.2 provides a condensed overview of the main research findings. Section 7.3 illustrates these findings in relation to interpreting police rapport-building expressions. Section 7.4 explains how trainee interpreters deal with the victim's utterances, focusing on three main characteristics: the victim's expressions of feelings and emotions, the influence of prosodic features, and the difference in the scenarios (specifically, the degree of violence experienced by the victims). Section 7.5 considers the impact of individual trainee interpreters' outputs in relation to their EQ test scoring. Finally, section 7.6 offers a brief chapter summary.

7.2 Main research findings

This section outlines the main findings obtained from the data analysis, taking into account the variables that are pertinent to the interpreting training contexts, to the trainee interpreters and to the sets of scenarios for analysis.

7.2.1 Synopsis of the study variables

The dataset enabled me to address the research questions by providing information related to the study variables (such as the context of training, the trainee interpreters' L1, direction of translation or the type of scenario). In order to achieve this, careful control of differences in the data collection and data availability in each locale needed to be acknowledged to allow drawing controlled comparisons. These differences were taken into consideration in the analysis, as will be evident in this chapter. Therefore, the whole data analysis is presented with reference to the variables pertinent to the various sets of data. Figure 17 provides a synopsis of these variables, that are briefly characterised afterwards (a complete description of these variables is provided in section 6.5.7).

Figure 17. Study analysis variables

Training practice: Scenario script specifics	HW Flexibly following the scenario script
	UAB Strictly following the scenario script
Scenario: Degree of violence	HW Domestic violence: Physical and verbal Work discrimination: Only verbal
	UAB Domestic violence: Physical and verbal Work discrimination: Only verbal
L1: Trainee interpreters' L1	HW Spanish English
	UAB Spanish
Linguistic environment: L2 English speaking environment	HW In the L2 country (immersion)
	UAB In the L1 country (immersion not applicable)
Direction of translation: Police rapport expressions	HW Not applicable
	UAB - L1 Spanish Into L1 Into L2
Individual interpreting style: EQ test scoring	HW In relation to prosodic features
	UAB In relation to prosodic features

With regard to the training practice, it must be remembered that the approach to the police and victim role-play technique used at HW was different from the one used in UAB. In particular, the stimuli used in UAB were more uniform than those used in HW, allowing for a more uniform data comparison in the former than in the latter (section 6.5.7-a). This also led to differences in the presence-absence of some rapport-building features in one training context or in the other. Concretely, this refers to the preferred form of address which was missing in HW, and the paraphrasing technique lacking in UAB.

Another difference is that HW allowed for comparison between L1 Spanish trainee interpreters and L1 English trainee interpreters, whilst only the performance of L1 trainee interpreters could be observed in UAB (section 6.5.7-c). Moreover, variation in the direction of translation was only observed in UAB since the domestic violence scenario is role-played in both directions. This means that some trainee interpreters interpreted the scenario with an English-speaking police officer and a Spanish-speaking victim, and others interpreted the same scenario with the police officer speaking in Spanish and the victim speaking in English. This did not apply to HW, as here, the police officer was always role-played in English and the victim was always role-played in Spanish (section 6.5.7-e). These factors may have implications in the interpreting utterances of rapport, so they are examined in detail throughout this chapter, where findings in each training context are compared.

Thirdly, the research included a variable in the topic of the scenarios that was related to either domestic violence or work discrimination (section 6.5.7-b). Victims were subject to different levels of violence in the scenarios presented in this study. The case of domestic violence presented a higher level of violence than the case of discrimination in the workplace, since physical violence was present in the domestic violence scenario but not in the work discrimination case. This difference makes it possible to establish whether different levels of violence (absence and presence of physical assault) may impact the trainee interpreters' performance in relation to the rapport features expressed in each interview. This is addressed in section 7.4.3.

Lastly, individual differences regarding interpreting style have been shown to play a role in previous research (Akca and Eastwood 2021; Cifuentes-Férez and Fenollar-Cortés 2017). The elicited output by each individual trainee interpreter was further studied in

relation to the results of their EQ test, which was used to measure their degree of empathy. This was examined in relation to prosodic features in the victim's utterances to check whether there was a correlation between individual interpreters' scoring in the EQ test and their tendency to intensify the victim's expression of feelings throughout the police interview scenario. This is addressed in section 7.5.

7.2.2. Summary of the main findings

The analysis was conducted with a goal to observe whether trainee interpreters conveyed instances of rapport-building utterances contained in the original formulations and which translation shifts they were subject to. Translation shifts were also accounted for with reference to the rendering of the victim's feelings and emotions and their reports of the threats, insults and physical violence that they were subjected to, which constitute triggers for the police officer's rapport expressions.

Six main outcomes were derived from the data analysis. They are the following:

- Finding 1 in relation to the interpreting of rapport-building features employed by police interviewers.

In relation to research Q2, the data partially confirms my second hypothesis that instances of police rapport would tend to be omitted or modified because a) they do not carry content information and b) interpreter training does not incorporate explicit training in this domain. In general, trainee interpreters do tend to convey police instances of rapport, and in general, no tendency of omission is detected. However, as illustrated in section 7.3, there are differences as to which rapport categories are conveyed, as well as a significant tendency to modify the pragmatic force of the original police rapport utterances (accounted as modifications). In most cases, this results in intensifying linguistic rapport expressions. In addition, in instances where the police officer is asking or requesting information from the victim, trainee interpreters tend to attenuate the pragmatic force of these requests or questions in the cases where they appear together with a rapport-building expression. This is summarised in Table 24[76].

[76] All percentages were calculated based on the total number of rapport-relevant occurrences.

Table 24. Interpretation of rapport-building expressions

	Interpreting utterances		
	Close renditions	Modifications	Omissions
HW	65,24%	19,16%	15,6%
UAB	56,06%	23,07%	20,87%

- Finding 2 in relation to the interpreting of victim's feelings.

The data shows that, when conveying the victim's feelings, omissions account for less than 10%. However, trainee interpreters tend to intensify the expression of the original feeling and use different linguistic mechanisms to show this intensification. This is more prominent in the domestic violence scenarios in both contexts of training. Table 25 below illustrates the amount of close renditions and modifications per type of scenario in the interpretation of the victim's feelings.

Table 25. Interpretation of victim's feelings

	Interpreting utterances	
	Close renditions	Modifications
UAB		
UAB Domestic violence	22, 93%	70,08%
UAB Work discrimination	41,75%	50,19%
HW		
HW Domestic violence	10,55%	87,5%
HW Work discrimination	24,76%	66,67%

- Finding 3 in relation to level of violence.

As previously specified (section 6.5.4), the domestic violence scenarios included both verbal and physical violence as opposed to the work discrimination scenarios, which included only verbal violence. The difference in the level of violence linked to the difference in crime in each scenario does not seem to be linked to the conveyance of linguistic police rapport by the trainee interpreters, and the conveyance ratio is similar regardless of this factor (close renditions account for 33% in the DV scenarios and for

37% in the WD scenarios, with more than 60% of modifications in both cases). However, the level of violence seems to be relevant in relation to modifications, particularly the interpreting of the victim's feelings. The interpreting renditions of the victims' utterances in the DV scenarios seem to include more modifications compared to the WD scenarios. This is illustrated in Table 26.

Table 26. Interpretation of victims' feelings by scenarios. Level of violence

	Interpreting utterances
UAB	Modifications
UAB1 Domestic violence	77,5%
UAB2 Domestic violence	62,67%
UAB3 Work discrimination	50,19%
HW	
HW1 Domestic violence	87,5%
HW2 Work discrimination	66,67%

- Finding 4 in relation to L1 and direction of translation.

The data shows that trainee interpreters' L1 plays an important role in the cases when the rapport expressions are modified. In these cases, the shifts in the interpreting renditions may be influenced by the cross-linguistic differences between the trainee interpreters' condition of being L1 English speakers or L1 Spanish speakers. An example of these cross-linguistic differences is included below, where an L1 Spanish interpreter adds repetition when interpreting an English rapport expression into Spanish, and an L1 English interpreter adds *por favor* (please) when interpreting a Spanish rapport expression into English. This follows a tendency to include mitigation in English requests (section 5.3). This is further explained in section 7.3.

Original utterance	**Interpreting rendition**
Police rapport expression *Ya veo* (I see)	**L1 Spanish trainee interpreter** I see, I see

Police rapport expression	**L1 English trainee interpreter**
Don't worry	Por favor no se preocupe (Please don't worry)

In addition, the direction of translation is also relevant, especially with regard to accuracy, which is higher in renditions into the interpreters' L1, as illustrated in table 27. This could only be analysed in the Spanish training context.

Table 27. Rapport-building in relation to direction of translation

Interpreting utterances	
UAB	Close renditions
Into L1	68,35%
Into L2	54,12%

- Finding 5 in relation to scenario script features and linguistic environment.

The difference in the interpreting training practice (following the scenario script to the letter versus following it flexibly) does not seem to be relevant in the interpreting renditions of police rapport-building. However, in relation to the linguistic environment (L1 versus L2 linguistic environment), the renditions of L1 Spanish interpreters trained in the UK display some translation shifts which are not evident in the renditions conveyed by the L1 Spanish interpreters trained in Spain. This is further exemplified in section 7.3.1.

- Finding 6 in relation to trainee interpreters' individual differences.

The data shows that there are significant individual differences in relation to how accurately rapport is conveyed in interpreted outputs. Specifically, this is evident in the cases where trainees add more rapport in the interpreting renditions than in the original utterances, and in the cases where the victim's feelings are intensified in the translation. Both intensification of police rapport and intensification of the victim's feelings apply to trainee interpreters who scored significantly higher in the EQ test. This seems to indicate that individual differences in empathic attitude play a role when conveying rapport.

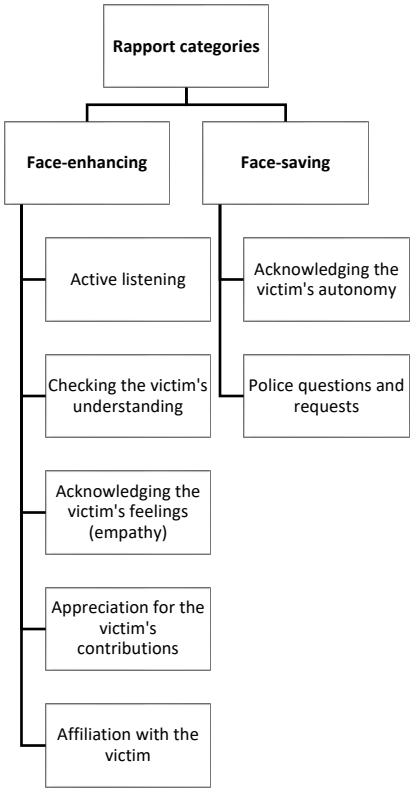
The following sections expand on these main findings, with examples that show original utterances and interpreted utterances. Examples have been chosen taking into account frequency and significance to rapport-building with victims. For each finding, examples provide meaningful insights into the trainee interpreters' renditions.

7.3 Rapport-building categories: Illustration of the main findings

As explained in the previous chapter (section 6.6), instances of rapport in police utterances were classified into categories in relation to face. In the case of police interviewing, rapport-building helps towards the balance of the interview interaction, regardless of the overall mutual interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee (Abbe and Brandon 2012), and both interpreter-mediated or not, do inherently contain a degree of threat to face (Mason and Stewart 2001: 51).

The rapport taxonomy in this study was used as a tool to classify different instances of police rapport employed in interviews with victims. This taxonomy made it possible to account for the different expressions of police rapport included in the interpreter-mediated scenarios in both training contexts, the UK and Spain. It must be stressed that all classifications are context related, i.e. relevant expressions were classified based on their functional meaning within the specific context of the training scenarios where they appeared. Figure 18 includes a brief summary of the main rapport categories previously explained in more detail in section 6.6.

Figure 18. Rapport-building taxonomy



Observation of trainee interpreters' translation of each of the categories, and related items, is important since it helps to examine whether some rapport categories are conveyed more frequently or more closely than others, consider the possible reasons for this in terms of cross-linguistic differences or other factors and the implications for interpreter-mediated police interview practice involving British English and Peninsular Spanish.

As explained in section 6.7, the term *original utterance* is used to refer to the utterances voiced by the lecturers (playing either the police officer or the victim), and the term *interpreting renditions* for the trainee interpreters' interpreted utterances. *Interpreting renditions* are then classified as a) *close renditions* (Wadensjö 1998), when both propositional content and degree of intensity (pragmatic force) of the original are maintained in the rendition or as b) *modifications*, in the cases when the propositional content or the pragmatic force is modified, or as c) *omissions* if they are not rendered in the interpreting utterance.

7.3.1 Conveying face-enhancing expressions

The most common rapport expressions in police interviews with victims are face-enhancing expressions, which aim to mitigate potential face-threatening communication and communicate with empathy, as stated in police guidelines (ABE 2007). These expressions are also the most common ones in the interpreter-mediated scenarios used for data collection. Table 28 shows that most expressions are conveyed as close renditions by the trainee interpreters, both in the British (HW) and the Spanish (UAB) context of training. It also shows similar frequencies for the modifications and omissions instances.

Table 28. Face-enhancing expressions

	Interpreting utterances		
Face-enhancing	Close renditions	Modifications	Omissions
HW	64,18%	19,22%	15,6%
UAB	57,8%	22,33%	19,87%

However, variation in relation to different types of subcategories within face-enhancing expressions is also noticed in the contexts of training. Shifts and factors that challenge the translation of these utterances are described below, as well as the different variables that play a role in the variation, with illustrations through relevant examples.

With regard to the face-enhancing subcategories, it can be observed that some of them present more challenges that others. Features that challenge the translation of these utterances are described per category in the coming subsections.

i. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 1: *Active listening*

The subcategory *Active listening* relates to the conveyance of active listening (*attention* component of rapport) from the police interviewer. Table 29 illustrates the percentages of close renditions, modifications and omissions in both contexts of training.

Table 29. Active listening. Spanish and British training context

	Interpreting utterances		
Active listening	Close renditions	Modifications	Omissions
UAB (repeating back the victim's first name)	91,07%	4,68%	4,25%
HW (repeating back words or expressions)	88%	8,35%	3,65%

In the Spanish training context (UAB), the subcategory *Active listening* does not seem to present a challenge and it is mostly conveyed with no modification or omission. Instances from this subcategory include examples of repeating the victim's first name to indicate active listening both when interpreted into L1 Spanish and into L2 English, as observed with trainee interpreter S7 in example 1, and trainee interpreter S2 in example 2. Rapport-relevant expressions are in black, the rest is in grey. Only the Spanish renditions of rapport-relevant expressions are included in the interpreting column.

Example 1

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P1 *Good afternoon, Ms Rodríguez, I am Detective Sergeant Matt Harris and this is my colleague, who will be interpreting*	
UAB2.V1 *Me podéis llamar Irene* (You can call me Irene)	
UAB2.P2 *Irene, ok*	S7 Irene, de acuerdo (Irene, ok)

Example 2

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB3.P1 *Buenas tardes, señora Smith, soy el agente que le va a tomar la declaración y esta es Carolina, que será su intérprete* (Good afternoon, Ms Smith, I am the police officer who is going to take your statement and this is Carolina, who will be your interpreter)	
UAB3.V1 *You can call me Brooke*	
UAB3.P2 *Brooke, de acuerdo*	S2 Brooke, ok

Examples from the British training context (HW) are not relevant here since the lecturer role-playing the police officer did not repeat back the victim's name after it had been uttered by the victim. Therefore, the rapport technique to repeat the victim's first name was missing.

Moreover, expressions under the subcategory *Active listening* would also include repeating back words or expressions used by the victim. This is rather difficult to observe in UAB, since the lecturers followed the same script regardless of the words or expressions chosen by the trainee interpreters. However, it could be observed in HW, since the script was flexibly followed and the lecturer role-playing the police officer repeated back the expressions used by the trainee interpreters in each case. Trainee interpreters do employ this technique with hardly any modifications or omissions, as seen in example 3.

Example 3

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW2.P8 *Ok. Earlier you said that they made comments during the interview and then "it got worse". What do you mean by "it got worse"?*	S4 Antes ha dicho que le hicieron comentarios durante la entrevista y que a partir de entonces "fue a peor", ¿a qué se refiere exactamente con que "fue a peor"? (Before you have said that they made comments during the interview and from there "it got worse". What do you mean exactly by "it got worse"?)

ii. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 2: *Checking the victim's understanding*

Within the subcategory of *Checking the victim's understanding*, instances include brief confirmation cues and similar confirmation expressions after information has been provided, such as *ok?*, *right?*, or *is that ok?*, *is that correct?*

In the British training context, most of these expressions were omitted by the lecturer role-playing the police officer, who only used the expression *is that correct*? once in five out of the ten role-plays. In these few instances, however, trainee interpreters seem to convey this expression, both into L2 Spanish and into L1 Spanish, as can be observed in example 4.

Example 4

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW2.P14 *Is that correct?*	S2 ¿Es eso correcto? (Is that correct?)

In the Spanish context, instances belonging to this subcategory are used throughout the scenarios, both very brief confirmation cues, such as *ok?* and *right?*, or confirmation expressions such as *is it like that?* or *is that correct?* Results from the data analysis shows that, whereas the longer confirmation expressions are mostly conveyed by trainee interpreters, the brief confirmation cues are mostly omitted, regardless of the direction of translation. This is summarised in Table 30.

Table 30. Checking understanding. Spanish training context

	Interpreting utterances	
Checking understanding	Close renditions	Omissions
Very brief confirmation cues: *ok? Right?*	26,67%	73,33%
Confirmation expressions: *is it like that? Is that correct?*	78,13%	21,87%

Example 5 illustrates how a very brief confirmation cue is omitted by the trainee interpreter, whereas a longer expression is not omitted in example 6.

Example 5

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB3.P5 *I'd like to ask you to explain, in your own words, at your own pace what happened, ok?*	S7 Me gustaría que me explicara qué pasó, con sus propias palabras y a su ritmo (I'd like you to explain what happened, in your own words and at you pace)

Example 6

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB3.P4 *Usted está aquí para poner una denuncia contra su empleador, Gutiérrez y Asociados, porque siente que la han discriminado y la han tratado de forma injusta, ¿es así?* (You are here to report against your employer, Gutiérrez y Asociados, because you feel they've discriminated you and they've treated you unfairly, is that so?)	S7 You're here today because you made a complaint against your employer, Gutiérrez & Asociados, because you feel you have been discriminated, is it like that?

The high percentage of omissions regarding the very brief confirmation cues aligns with previous research on legal interpreting, which shows how interpreters focus on content rather than on form, which means that they disregard what they do not consider as relevant (Hale 2001: 47). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 – Discussion.

iii. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 3: Acknowledging the victim's implied or stated feelings (empathy)

Linguistic features under this subcategory refer to empathic expressions where the police interviewer responds to the victim expressing her emotions or potential worry, attempting to maintaining rapport by identifying and recognising these feelings. As explained in section 6.6.1, the acknowledging of implied or stated emotions is the most frequent category in both contexts, since, in all scenarios, it is apparent that the victim is going through a hard time during the interview and she seems distressed, as denoted by her voice. In both training contexts, there is a prevalent trend for original utterances under this category to be interpreted, often with a shift in their pragmatic force.

Table 31 shows that, in UAB, modification percentages in interpreted utterances are similar regardless of the scenario or the direction of translation. It also illustrates a trend for original utterances under this subcategory to be interpreted with a shift in their pragmatic force.

Table 31. Acknowledging feelings. Spanish training context

	Interpreting utterances			
	Close renditions	Modifications		Omissions
			Change in pragmatic force (from the total amount of modifications)	
UAB1 (DV L1 Spanish → L2 English)	37,50%	56,25%	**67,86%**	6,25%
UAB2 (DV L2 English → L1 Spanish)	41,67%	50,83%	**68,85%**	7,50%
UAB3 (WD L1 Spanish → L2 English	42,86%	52,38%	**70,59%**	4,76%

Examples reveal that trainee interpreters seem to modify the pragmatic force in an attempt to show extra rapport with the victim or to minimise the victim's concern regarding the situation. From the total amount of modifications, there is a change in the pragmatic force in 67,86% of the instances in UAB1, 68,85% in UAB2, and 70,59% in UAB3. An illustration of this is observed in the translation of the word *daunting* in scenario UAB2. It appears in the first part of the scenario when the police officer tries to acknowledge the challenge of being interviewed as a victim. In the interpreting renditions, there is a noticeable trend of a lexical shift when this word is interpreted into Spanish. Trainee interpreters either attenuate the original meaning of *daunting* with other lexical choices with a softer expressive meaning, as rendered by trainee interpreter S6 in example 7, or they add qualifiers that convey the meaning more vaguely, as rendered by trainee

interpreter S13. At the same time, there is a tendency for making the verb *appreciate* more assertive, in an attempt to change the original illocutionary force of *I appreciate* and stress the fact that the police officer acknowledges the difficult situation, by using *I know*, as rendered by interpreter S13.

Example 7

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P2 *I appreciate that this is really quite daunting*	S6 Puedo entender que esta no sea una situación cómoda (I can understand that this is not a comfortable situation) S13 Sé y tengo en cuenta que esto puede ser un poco molesto (I know and I have in mind that this can be a bit annoying)

This intensification in the translation appears in other examples where intensifiers are added in the interpreted rendition of the feeling itself. This is a way of emphasising the interviewer's acknowledgement of the victim's emotions. In example 8 from UAB2, the interpreter adds the intensifiers *de verdad* (really) and *sobre todo* (especially), as well as the superlative form *muchísimo*, which intensifies the empathy towards the victim.

Example 8

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P9 *I am very sorry that you have to go through all this again*	S8 De verdad que lo siento muchísimo, y sobre todo porque lo tengas que volver a vivir

	(I really am sorry, and especially because you have to go through it again)

In scenario UAB1, where the direction of translation is in reverse, and trainee interpreters interpret the police utterances into their L2 English, it seems that the same phenomenon occurs. Example 9 shows how trainee interpreter S2 appears to intensify the original rapport expression by adding *for you* in the interpreting rendition, which stresses the acknowledgment of feelings by the police officer.

Example 9

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB1.P3 *Sabemos que esta situación no es fácil* (We know this situation is not easy)	S2 We know this is not easy for you

However, there is one expression included in this subcategory that seems to posit a real challenge when translated into English, as can be observed in Example 10:

Example 10

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB3.P12 *Tranquila, tranquila* (It's ok, it's ok)	S4 Calm down S8 Relax

A cross-linguistic difference must be noted here since the word *tranquila* can be translated as *calm* or *quiet* when acting as an adjective. Dispensing with the verb to be, it can also express an imperative, meaning *be relaxed/ relax* or *calm down*, as in (*estate*) *tranquilo/a*, which may be interpreted as a face-threatening act by the hearer. However,

when used as an appellative like in this example, the most appropriate translation would be *it's ok*[77]. When interpreted into English, the trainee interpreters in the Spanish context seem to convey the adjectival meaning of the word in an imperative form, which modifies the illocutionary force of the expression and loses its rapport meaning. Out of the 21 instances in which the word *tranquila* appears in the scenarios, 13 instances lose the original rapport-building meaning. As Hale (2001: 47) suggests, the use of the imperative form is much more frequent in Spanish than in English, so it may be cognitively easier for the trainee interpreters to access the equivalent (imperative) form in their L2 under time constraints, as is the case in interpreting. This is discussed further in chapter 8 (section 8.4.2).

Similarly, trainee interpreters in the British training context tend to modify expressions under this subcategory by also changing the pragmatic force. Table 32 shows this tendency, which modifications seemingly occurring more frequently in scenario HW1 – Domestic violence.

Table 32. Acknowledging feelings. British training context

	Interpreting utterances		
	Close renditions	Modifications	Omissions
HW1 (DV L1 Spanish and L1 English → Spanish)	18,75%	71,88%	9,37%
HW2 (WD L1 Spanish and L1 English → Spanish)	31,37%	45,10%	23,53%

However, as explained in previous sections, this training context has both L1 Spanish trainee interpreters and L1 English trainee interpreters, and both groups interpret the police utterances into Spanish, since the police officer is always role-played in English. Table 32 shows that, when conveying the expressions belonging to the subcategory 3 – *Acknowledging the victim's implied or stated feelings*, into Spanish, the type of scenario (DV versus WD) is relevant. This can be observed in the modifications of the original

[77] The translation of the appellative *tranquila* as *it's ok* has been documented in Spanish dubbed versions of English original films (Lento 2013).

utterances, where there is a tendency for both L1 English and L1 Spanish trainee interpreters to change the pragmatic force and intensify linguistic rapport.

In the HW – Domestic violence scenario, trainee interpreters in general present a more pronounced tendency to modify the original utterances that in the WD scenario. This shows that the type of scenario is relevant in this subcategory, as can be observed in table 33.

Table 33. Acknowledging feelings-modifications. British training context

	Interpreting utterances-modification	
	Change in the pragmatic force	
HW1- DV	L1 Spanish	92,31%
	L1 English	95%
HW2 - WD	L1 Spanish	88,89%
	L1 English	80%

Regarding the translation shifts, it is interesting to observe that both L1 Spanish and L1 English trainee interpreters seem to produce similar translation shifts when interpreting these utterances. Again, example 11 shows that there is a tendency for the interpreters to modify the pragmatic force of the word *daunting*, this time with a completely different clause addressed at acknowledging the victim's feelings with *te sientes bien* (you feel ok). At the same time, the original *I know* is shifted into *quiero asegurarme* (I want to make sure), which shows more involvement from the interpreter. This can also be observed in example 12, where the original *I can't imagine* is shifted to *entiendo* (I understand), which additionally implies a shift from a negative structure to a positive structure, again in an attempt to express support for the victim as a reaction to what she is going through.

Example 11

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P2 *I can appreciate that this is really daunting*	S6 Quiero asegurarse de que te sientes bien (I want to make sure you feel ok)

Example 12

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P6 *I can't imagine how hard this whole thing must be for you*	S8 Entiendo que es una situación súper difícil para ti (I understand that it's a super difficult situation for you)

This type of shifts, which modifies the pragmatic force of the utterance, can be also observed when rendering the verb tense. Example 13 shows how the trainee interpreter modifies the original present tense and uses a past tense, specifically a present perfect form, placing the abusive action experienced by the victim at a time before the present. This shift adds a distancing nuance to the original utterance, which can be perceived as moving away from the victim's present.

Example 13

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P6 *I know it must be hard for you*	S6 Sé que ha tenido que ser duro para usted (I know it must have been hard for you)

On the other hand, as illustrated previously in example 11 and 12, there is a tendency, by the interpreters, to intensify their acknowledgement of the victim's difficult situation, by changing the original illocutionary force of expressions like *I appreciate*, or by adding fillers. In example 14, the L1 Spanish interpreter tries to achieve this effect by shifting the pause, indicated by the comma in the transcription of the original utterance with the filler *porque* (because) in the rendition.

Example 14

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P3 *Don't worry, we are here to help you*	S4 No se preocupe porque estamos aquí para ayudarle (Don't worry because we are here to help you)

iv. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 4: Appreciation for the victim's contributions

This subcategory relates to the police interviewer aiming to convey appreciation for the victim's contributions to the interview and encouraging the victim to contribute and cooperate further, as illustrated in section 6.6.1. Table 34 illustrates that both close renditions and modifications are common when interpreting expressions belonging to this subcategory regardless of the type of scenario and direction of translation.

Table 34. Appreciation for the victim's contributions. Spanish training context

	Interpreting utterances		
	Close renditions	Modifications	Omissions
UAB1 (DV L1 Spanish → L2 English)	48,61%	32,25%	19,14%
UAB2 (DV L2 English → L1 Spanish)	51,11%	41,11%	7,78%
UAB 3 (WD L1 Spanish → L2 English	52,38%	30,95%	16,67%

When undertaking modifications, trainee interpreters usually change the pragmatic force of the original utterance, both into L2 English and into L1 Spanish, in both types of scenarios. Modifications from Spanish into English are illustrated in example 15 and 16. In example 15 trainee interpreter S5 modifies the appreciative rapport device by adding the expression *I want to repeat* and the adjective *vital*, which strengthens the illocutionary force of the original utterance, giving greater value to the testimony that the victim has just expressed. In example 16, S7 adds the pronoun *yourself*, addressed directly to the victim, which strengthens again the original force.

Example 15

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB1.P12 *Así que todo el esfuerzo que está haciendo, de verdad que se lo agradecemos mucho* (So we are really thankful for all the effort you are making)	S5 I want to repeat that all the effort that you are doing for us is vital for this investigation

Example 16

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB3.P13 *Lo está explicando muy bien* (You are explaining it very well)	S7 You are explaining yourself very well

When interpreting from English into Spanish, the influence of the trainee interpreters' L1 can be observed in the form of repetition as a common translation shift, which is frequently used as an intensification device in Spanish. This device emphasises the appreciative expression for the victim's contribution, as illustrated in example 17, where the trainee interpreter repeats the expression *de verdad* (really) in an attempt to encourage further contributions from the victim.

Example 17

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P9 *So I really appreciate your efforts to help us in this respect*	S8 Así que agradezco de verdad que nos lo estés contando porque de verdad nos es de ayuda (So I really appreciate that you're telling us this because it's really helpful for us)

In HW, there is a higher frequency of omissions than in UAB, as can be observed in table 35. This is mainly due to the serial-position effect, which will be further explained in section 7.3.3.

Table 35. Appreciation for the victim's contributions. British training context

	Interpreting utterances		
	Close renditions	Modifications	Omissions
HW1 (DV L1 Spanish and L1 English → Spanish)	44,44%	25,93%	29,63%
HW2 (WD L1 Spanish and L1 English → Spanish)	37,50%	18,75%	43,75%

In relation to the modification category, it seems that changes in the pragmatic force are undertaken similarly by both L1 English and L1 Spanish trainee interpreters. Example 18 illustrates the type of translation shift observed, where the intensifier *realmente* (really) is added to the interpreting rendition. However, this type of intensifier is more common in the modifications of trainee interpreters in HW, who, unlike L1 Spanish interpreters in UAB, do not use that much repetition for intensification. This may indicate that different strategies are adopted due to the L2 English environment being different for L1 Spanish trainee interpreters. This is further explained in the coming discussion chapter (section 8.4.2).

Example 18

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P7 *You are doing very well*	S6 Realmente lo estás haciendo muy bien (Really, you are doing very well)

However, a common thread in both training contexts is that changes in the pragmatic force as a way of emphasising police appreciation for the victim's contributions become more common towards the second part of the scenarios, once the victim's distress is

manifest, which may be one of the reasons for this type of shifts in the translation of appreciation. This is further explained in section 8.4.4 in relation to emotional contagion.

v. Face-enhancing – Subcategory 5: Affiliation with the victim

Expressions of affiliation aim at reducing distance and achieving a level of familiarity, solidarity or closeness with the victim. Different expressions are used to make the victim feel at ease, and they vary significantly across the training contexts and scenarios, as explained in section 6.6.1. Although the type of affiliative expressions included in the scenarios are diverse, in general and in both contexts of training, renditions are generally very close and trainee interpreters do seem to convey these expressions with low percentages of modification or omission, as displayed in table 36 below.

Table 36. Affiliation with the victim. Spanish and British training context

	Interpreting utterances		
Affiliative expressions	Close renditions	Modifications	Omissions
UAB	76,57%	19,03%	4,40%
HW	70,17%	22,96%	6,87%

Illustrations from UAB are displayed in example 19 and 20. Example 19 includes an affiliative expression at the very beginning of the scenario, where there is an introduction of the police officer and the interpreter. In this instance, as seen below, the interpreted utterance is rendered closely.

Example 19

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB1.P1 *Buenas tardes, señora Smith, soy el agente de policía que le va a tomar declaración, y esta es Andrea, que será su intérprete* (Good morning, Ms. Smith, I am the police officer who is going to take your	S1 Good morning, Ms Smith, I am the policeman that is going to take your declaration, and this is your interpreter, Andrea

statement, and this is Andrea, who will be your interpreter)	

In example 20, the affiliative expression appears also in the first part of the scenario in the form of a comment expressed by the police officer with the aim of reducing distance with the victim. The officer makes a soft humorous comment about his own accent, which does not seem to present any challenges for the trainee interpreter.

Example 20

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P2 *Irene, ok, sorry for my terrible accent, my Spanish is dreadful*	S12 Ok, Irene, perdón por mi horrible acento, mi español es horrible (Ok, Irene, sorry for my terrible accent, my Spanish is terrible)

In HW, a very similar pattern can be observed in this subcategory and trainee interpreters mostly convey these expressions in both scenarios and with no major differences between the L1 Spanish and L1 English trainee interpreters. Example 21 shows a similar affiliative expression to the one displayed in example 20. In this case, the police officer says that their accent in Spanish is not so good, in an attempt to reduce distance with the victim. As the example shows, trainee interpreters do not seem to struggle with these expressions.

Example 21

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW2.P2 *I'm not very good at Spanish but I will try to pronounce it (the victim's name) correctly*	S1 No soy muy buena en español pero intentaré pronunciarlo correctamente (I'm not very good at Spanish but I will try to pronounce it correctly)

In the case of omissions, this seems to be due to the affiliative expression being in the middle of a long utterance. This type of omissions is explained in section 7.3.3.

- **Using preferred form of address**

One feature that is highlighted under the affiliative domain of police rapport is the use of the victim's preferred form of address after checking with her. Both the ABE (2007: 187) and the MPIEDOD (2015: 338) police guidelines specifically advocate the use of the victim's preferred form of address to reduce the perceived authority between the interviewer and the interviewee. This a common rapport-building technique which helps the police interviewer to "contribute as an interested party, not simply asking a series of census-like questions" (Milne 2004: 6-7). This is also supported by brain research which provides evidence that there is a unique pattern of brain activation when hearing one's own name (Carmody and Lewis 2006).

As explained in section 6.5.7, this rapport feature is not accounted for in the British training context since the lecturer role-playing the police officer does not use the victim's preferred form of address throughout the scenarios. However, one can observe this feature in the Spanish training context, since the victim's preferred form of address is specified at the beginning of the scenario, being *Jane* in UAB1, *Irene* in UAB2, and *Brooke* in UAB3. The lecturer role-playing the police officer uses this rapport-building feature recurrently throughout the interview as a way of affiliating with the victim. Table 37 shows the frequency rate of this feature in the scenarios and how frequently it is interpreted into L2 English and into L1 Spanish.

Table 37. Preferred form of address. Spanish training context

	Original utterance	Interpreting rendition	Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
	Spanish	→ L2 English	English	→ L1 Spanish
UAB2 DV (*Irene*)			75	67 (89%)
UAB1 DV (*Jane*)	45	27 (60%)		
UAB3 WD (*Brooke*)	28	17 (61%)		

This table shows that, unlike professional police interpreters, who were found to omit the interviewee's first name (Gallai 2013: 184), trainee interpreters do convey this rapport-building element, especially into their L1 Spanish, as observed in the UAB2 scenario, which displays a rendition of 89%. The use of first names in Mediterranean cultures, including Peninsular Spanish, is usually sensitive to social context and is less prevalent than in English-speaking countries. So, in Spain, it would not generally be used unless the social conditions also exist for the use of the informal or familiar *you* pronoun (tú) (Gallai 2013: 184). Therefore, a possible rationale for rendering the first name more frequently into Spanish is that *Irene* is a Spanish name as opposed to *Jane* and *Brooke*. This is further explained in section 8.4.3.

- **Using personal pronouns**

Relevant to the interpreting of rapport, and specifically to the affiliation domain, is also the translation of certain pronouns, which have an impact both on the police rapport-building and the interview in general.

First of all, Spanish, as opposed to English, tends to encode the person in the verb ending, therefore, pronominal absence is the norm. This means that, in Spanish, the presence of the personal pronoun is usually pragmatically significant and it tends to act as a strengthening hedge (Stewart 2001; Mason and Stewart 2001). This can be observed, on some occasions, in HW, where trainee interpreters convey an original English utterance into Spanish without leaving out the pronoun, thereby changing the pragmatic effect. Examples 22 and 23 show the addition of the first-person pronoun *yo* (I) to the verbal form *sé* (know) by one L1 Spanish interpreter (example 22) and one L1 English interpreter (example 23).

Example 22

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P7 *I appreciate everything you are going through is not particularly pleasant*	S6 Yo sé que es muy duro por lo que está pasando

	(I firmly know that it's very hard what you're going through)

Example 23

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P2 *I know that this is very daunting, coming in and talking to us*	S2 Yo sé que le puede hacer sentir incómoda estar aquí con nosotros (I firmly know that it can make you feel uneasy being here with us)

The addition of this first-person pronoun adds a higher degree of commitment than in the original, which has also been observed by professional interpreters in court (Mason and Stewart 2001). In this case, the effect on rapport-building could potentially be related to an emphasis on the understanding of what the victim is going or has been going through.

Although the presence of the personal pronoun is observed in some Spanish renditions in the British context by both L1 English and L1 Spanish trainee interpreters, this is not observed in the Spanish context in any of the cases where L1 trainee interpreters interpret into Spanish, which could mean that the L2 speaking environment may play an important role in this type of shift used by the L1 Spanish trainee interpreters.

The second trait with regard to personal pronouns of address is the translation of the second person singular pronoun *you* into Spanish. As mentioned in section 6.3.4, this pronoun allows for two variations, a formal *usted* and an informal *tú*, traditionally seen as terms of address opposing formal and polite versus informal or friendly ways of address (Serrano 2017). However, research studies on these forms have shown that rather than the traditional assumption of correlation with power or psychological features such as age or professional status, these forms are used as resources related to social identities and face, by addressing the social image of the speakers (Spencer-Oatey 1996; Serrano 2001). In the case of interpreter-mediated legal interviews, the use of the *tú* form is

discouraged when interpreting. For example, Berk-Seligson (1990: 230) refers to codes of standards for interpreters in Texas which states that "familiar forms of address, such as the *tú* in Spanish, shall be avoided".

The data analysis shows that trainee interpreters may prefer to use either *tú* or *usted* when interpreting from English into Spanish in order to address the victim, or they use both forms. Table 38 includes the forms preferred by 25 trainee interpreters when translating original police utterances into Spanish in scenarios UAB2 (Spanish training context), HW1 and HW2 (British training context), where the police officer is speaking in English and the interpreting is done into Spanish.

Table 38. Use of personal pronouns. Spanish and British training context

	Preferred form of address – personal pronouns		
UAB2	Tú	Usted	Tú and usted
L1 Spanish	2 (13%)	6 (40%)	7 (47%)
HW1 and HW2			
L1 Spanish	0	1(17%)	5 (83%)
L1 English	0	3 (75%)	1 (25%)

Interestingly, the table shows that, although the use of *usted* prevails over the use of *tú*, in both UAB and HW, a considerable amount of trainee interpreters uses both forms throughout the scenario they interpret. This is illustrated in the following examples, where trainee interpreters shift the pronoun (underlined) when addressing the victim. In example 24 (taken from UAB), interpreter S14 uses the informal you form (tú) in the first interpreting rendition and the formal you form (usted) in the subsequent interpreting rendition.

Example 24

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P7 *Thank you, Irene, you are doing really well and this is really helpful. Could*	S14 Gracias, Irene, lo <u>estás</u> haciendo muy bien, es muy útil lo que nos <u>estás</u> diciendo.

you also provide us with a copy of the medical report?	¿Podrías facilitarnos algún informe médico? (Thank you, Irene, you [informal] are doing very well, it's very useful what you [informal] are telling us. Could you [informal] provide us with some medical report?)
UAB2.P8 *Ok, regarding that, could we also take this a little bit back and talk about the insults? You said that he started to insult you, could you remember any of the words he said?*	S14 Está bien, en cuanto a eso ¿podemos volver a lo que ocurrió? Dice que empezó a insultarla, ¿recuerda alguno de los insultos que le dijo? (Ok, regarding that, could we go back to what happened? You [formal] say that he started to insult you [formal], do you [formal] remember any of the insults he said?)

Example 25 illustrates an interpreting rendition in HW, where the same phenomenon occurs. On this occasion, the trainee interpreter S4 uses both forms (*tú* and *usted*) within the same rendition.

Example 25

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P3 *Don't worry, we are here to help you. And you've been very brave coming to see us today, and I do need to check some information. You have said to my colleague that you wanted to report an episode of domestic abuse?*	S4 No se preocupe porque estamos aquí para ayudarle, para ayudarte. Y lo primero tengo que verificar algún tipo de información, y por cierto creo que es muy valiente por tu parte que hayas venido. Y ¿usted ha dicho a mi compañero que ha

	sufrido un incidente de violencia doméstica? (Don't worry because we are here to help you. And firstly I need to check some kind of information, and by the way I think it's very brave of you to have come. And you said to my colleague that you have suffered an episode of domestic abuse?

In this example 25, the trainee interpreter starts the rendition by using you formal (*usted*) but then she seems to correct herself and changes to the informal form (*tú*) in the rendition *para ayudarle, para ayudarte* (in order to help you [formal], in order to help you [informal]), and continues using this informal form in the following rapport-building expression: *es muy valiente por tu parte que hayas venido* (it's very brave of you [informal] to have come). In the final part of the rendition, where the original utterance is a police question regarding the incident, the interpreter changes again back to the formal form. This switching may indicate that, when interpreting police interviewing questions, the interpreter tries to follow the use of the formal form *usted* as advised in legal interpreting, but switches to an informal form *tú* when expressing rapport, as an unconscious way of reducing distance with the victim.

In these cases where interpreters use both *tú* and *usted*, the reason may be found in the use of *tú* associated with solidarity and closeness to the interlocutor, in an attempt to subjectivise the content of the utterance and feel closer to the victim (Serrano 2017). As observed, examples of *tú* are frequently used in rapport expressions and this seems to be an unconscious way of aligning with the victim.

In the cases where *tú* is used throughout the scenario, this may be due to familiarity with the victim, which is role-played by a lecturer who, in all cases, is a woman between the ages of 28 and 38. The *tú* form may then be preferred since trainee interpreters may feel close to the generation group of the lecturer, or otherwise because there is a degree of familiarity between the lecturer and the trainee interpreters, since they already know each

other (Blas Arroyo 1998: 185). This may not happen in a real situation where the trainee interpreters do not know the police interviewer and the victim.

In addition, it is worth highlighting shifts in the use of the first-person pronoun since trainee interpreters do not always convey them accurately. In the original police utterances, the police officer uses both the first-person singular *I*, and the first-person plural *we*, as observed in ethnographic research in both the UK and Spain (chapter 6 – section 6.3.4). On the one hand, the use of *we* means that the police is displaying themselves as an institution, enabling a shared responsibility in the expression of the utterance. On the other hand, the use of *I* allows the police officer to express themselves as an individual speaker (Stewart 2001). These shifts are included in tables 39 and 40.

Table 39. Shifts in the use of first-person pronouns: *We* into *I*

Spanish training context	Original utterance: We	Interpreters' translation to I
UAB1	56	13 (23%)
UAB2	60	15 (25%)
UAB3	21	9 (42,8%)
British training context		
HW1	24	5 (20,8%)
HW2	18	3 (16,6%)

Table 40. Shifts in the use of first-person pronouns: *I* into *we*

Spanish training context	Original utterance: I	Interpreters' translation to We
UAB1	24	8 (33%)
UAB2	45	10 (22%)
UAB3	14	7 (50%)
British training context		
HW1	34	5 (14,7%)
HW2	44	5 (11,36%)

The tables indicate that, in both contexts of training, these pronouns are sometimes swapped when interpreted, regardless of whether the original utterance includes the first-person plural (*we*) or the first-person singular (*I*). For instance, example 26 shows how the trainee interpreter shifts from the original first-person plural pronoun *we* to a singular *I*.

Example 26

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB1.P3 *¿Está usted cómoda ahí? Sabemos que esta situación no es fácil* (Are you comfortable there? We know this situation is not easy)	S8 Are you feeling comfortable there? I know the situation is not easy

This example illustrates how the trainee interpreter tries to increase their personal responsibility in an attempt to empathise with the victim. This goes in line with Wadensjö concept of footing (1998: 87), based of Goffman's participation framework (1981), which refers to the different entities that can be evoked by a speaker during an interaction (section 4.3). The pronominal shift in the translation may indicate that the trainee interpreter is acting as a *principal* officially responsible for what is being said, taking personal "ownership" of the words (Wadensjö 2008: 189) and increasing their personal responsibility, which is more conducive to rapport-building.

On the other hand, example 27 shows the opposite phenomenon. This time, the trainee interpreter shifts from the original first-person singular pronoun *I* to the plural *we*.

Example 27

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P5 *I'll ask the interpreter to interpret while you are speaking, if that's ok, so that I don't interrupt you*	S2 Voy a pedir a la intérprete que ella interprete todo lo que está diciendo para

	que no tengamos que interrumpirle, ¿ok?, ¿está bien? (I'm going to ask the interpreter to interpret everything that you are saying so that we don't have to interrupt you, ok? Is that right?)

In this example, the original utterance states that the police officer will use the interpreter to avoid interrupting the victim's testimony. The trainee interpreter shifts from the original first-person singular pronoun (*so that I don't interrupt you*) to the first-person plural pronoun (*so that we don't have to interrupt you*), which seems to include themselves in the utterance of the original speaker. This has also been observed in medical interpreting, where professional interpreters use the first-person plural to include themselves in the original utterance, and the alignment has been described as "pseudo-co-principal" (Merlini and Faravon 2003: 225). In relation to rapport-building, it may indicate that the trainee interpreter wants to reassure the victim that there will be no interruption either from the police officer or the interpreter themselves.

In both cases, this can be described as a type of shift that can have an effect on rapport-building in the domain of affiliation, as a way to align with the victim.

7.3.2 Conveying face-saving expressions

As previously stated (section 6.6.2), face-saving expressions relate to the victim's autonomy and privacy by addressing negative face, for instance in relation to forms of imposition, such as acknowledging the victim's emotional effort during the interview. Table 41 illustrates the conveyance of face-saving expressions for each context of training.

Table 41. Face-saving expressions

	Interpreting utterances		
Face-saving	Close renditions	Modifications	Omissions
HW	50%	36,84%	13,16%
UAB	53,33%	26,67%	20%

Several aspects were noticed in relation to this category. First of all, trainee interpreters do seem to convey these expressions when they appear on their own or in short original utterances, however, they tend to omit them mainly due to the serial-position effect in longer original utterances (section 7.3.3). This can be observed in both training contexts, regardless of trainee interpreters' L1, direction of translation or scenario. Example 28 illustrates an omission of the face-saving expression (*do take your time*), which, in this case, appears in the middle of the original utterance.

Example 28

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW2.P4 *I appreciate that being here and being interviewed is not particularly nice, so do take your time, do not worry, we are here to help you, Ms Fernández. Could you tell me how long you have worked for this company?*	S2 Entiendo que estar aquí y ser interrogada no es plato de buen gusto pero estamos aquí para ayudarle. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva trabajando para la empresa? (I understand that being interviewed is not everyone's cup of tea but we're here to help you. How long have you been working for the company?)

On the other hand, in short utterances where these expressions are usually interpreted, the analysis shows two significant trends. In UAB, when interpreting into L2 English, there is a redressive linguistic device in the cases where the original utterance is *tómese su tiempo* (take your time). In those cases, trainee interpreters add the polite adverb *please* or a modal verb, as seen in example 29:

Example 29

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB3.P5 *Tómese su tiempo* (Take your time)	S9 Please take your time

	S6 You can take your time

This redressive action undertaken by L1 Spanish interpreters may indicate an intention to attenuate the original imperative structure and further soften the potential face-threat into English, following common patterns in English, such as the addition of *please*, or the addition of a modal verb (De Pablos-Ortega 2019). Conversely, when conveying the police original renditions into Spanish, as in scenario UAB2, 14 out of 15 trainee interpreters removed the polite adverb *por favor* (please), which is present in the original utterance. The withdrawal of *please* may be due to a pragmatic difference between English and Spanish, since the use of this polite device is considerably less frequent in Peninsular Spanish (De Pablos-Ortega 2019) than in British English. However, despite the omission of *por favor*, example 30 illustrates that other translation shifts are used in order to attenuate the potential face-threat in the interpreted utterance; in the first interpreted rendition, trainee interpreter S2 adds *el tiempo que necesites* (the time you need), and in the second interpreted rendition, interpreter S10 adds a modal verb *puede* (you can) in addition to *tomarse el tiempo que necesite*. These shifts indicate a tendency by these trainee interpreters to adopt L1 Spanish-appropriate face-threatening mitigation devices.

Example 30

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P5 *Please take your time*	S2 Tómate el tiempo que necesites (Take the time you need) S10 Puede tomarse el tiempo que necesite (You can take the time you need)

In HW, where trainee interpreters are both L1 Spanish and L1 English, all police original utterances are conveyed into English, which means that L1 Spanish trainee interpreters interpret into their L1 Spanish, and L1 English trainee interpreters translate into their L2 Spanish. Moreover, in the instances of expressions such as *please take your time,* the lecturer role-playing the police officer, usually removes the softening *please* in the original utterance, and the face-saving original expression becomes *do take your time* or *take your time*. When interpreting these expressions into Spanish, L1 Spanish interpreters usually modify the original utterance by adding redressive linguistic devices. This is observed in example 31, where the same translation shift described in example 30 (S10) is used by S4. In example 32, S3 trainee interpreter adds the softening *por favor* (please) in their interpreting rendition into Spanish, achieving the same effect. This means that L1 Spanish interpreters, both in UAB and in HW, add Spanish mitigation devices when interpreting these face-saving expressions.

Example 31

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW2.P4 *Take your time*	S4 Puede tomarse el tiempo que necesite (You can take the time you need)

Example 32

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW2.P10 *Take your time*	S3 Por favor tómate tu tiempo (Please take your time)

i. Police interview questions and requests

The data analysis examined police interviewer's questions and requests[78] to obverse whether the original pragmatic force of this type of utterances was modified in the interpreted renditions, as research on legal interpreting suggests (Hale 1999; Berk-Seligson 1990, 2009; Krouglov 1999; Mason and Stewart 2001; Liu 2020).

Tables 42 and 43 below display percentages regarding close renditions and modifications in the Spanish training context (table 42) and the British training context (table 43)[79], where one can observe that modification is a common trend in both training contexts when interpreting this type of utterances.

Table 42. Police questions and requests. Spanish training context

	Interpreting utterances	
Spanish training context	Close renditions	Modifications
UAB1 (DV L1 Spanish → L2 English)	19,14%	79,56%
UAB2 (DV L2 English → L1 Spanish)	23,90%	74,19%
UAB 3 (WD L1 Spanish → L2 English)	54,90%	43,25%

Table 43. Police questions and requests. British training context

	Interpreting renditions	
British training context	Close renditions	Modifications
HW1 (DV L1 Spanish → L1 Spanish	30,21%	67,71%
HW2 (WD L1 English → L2 Spanish)	23,76%	73,33%

[78] As previously explained (section 6.6.2), in interviews with victims police requests are often expressed in the form of questions that function as indirect requests.
[79] Omissions are rare and they only account for less than 3% of the total amount of questions and requests, so they have not been included.

When looking at modification instances from the data, it can be observed that L1 Spanish interpreters have a tendency to interpret questions and requests into Spanish in a more direct way. They undertake translation shifts that make the English original utterances more assertive into Spanish. This happens in both UAB and HW. In addition, when interpreting into English, the tendency leans towards a more indirect form, which means that they tend to attenuate the meaning of the Spanish original utterances into English, which is observed in scenario UAB2.

This is illustrated in the following examples. In example 33 from the Spanish training context, shifts to a more direct rendition include the withdrawal of the modal clause, which, in the original utterance, is used with the aim of checking the victim's ability to meet the request, thus reducing the face-threat inherent to the request. In the interpreted rendition, this clause shifts into the imperative clause *vayamos* (let's go on), with a higher degree of imposition on the victim.

Example 33

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P8 *Ok, regarding that, could we also take this a little bit back and talk about the insults?*	S8 Vale, teniendo en cuenta lo que comentas, vayamos al tema de los insultos, vamos a hablar de ello (Ok, regarding what you are saying, let's go on to the topic of the insults, let's talk about it)

In example 34 from the British training context, the modal clause *Could you tell me* is omitted in the interpreted utterance, hence it changes the illocutionary meaning of the original utterance by removing the attenuation and imposing on the victim.

Example 34

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW2.P4 *Could you tell me how long you have worked for this company?*	S2 ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva trabajando para la empresa? (How long have you been working for the company?)

In example 35 the more direct rendition is achieved in the Spanish training context by withdrawing the original conditional form, which also illustrates this preference for directness.

Example 35

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P12 *Would you say he was drunk?*	S1 ¿Estaba su marido borracho? (Was your husband drunk?)

Example 36 shows another shift where the trainee interpreter withdraws the original conditional introductory clause *When would you say in your opinion*, which is a more indirect type of clause, but would sound unnatural if translated literally. Rather, this interpreter omits the conditional clause, leaving just the verb of opinion *considerar* (to think), which still attenuates the question but with a more direct structure.

Example 36

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P11 *When would you say in your opinion it started to change?*	S6 ¿Cuándo considera que empezó a cambiar? (When do you think it started to change?

In contrast, when interpreting into L2 Spanish, L1 English trainee interpreters tend to shift to a more indirect or attenuated utterance, which shows the importance of their L1 in the translation shifts they use. This can be observed in example 37, where the L1 English interpreter attenuates the original pragmatic force of the request by shifting the original semi-modal clause *I need to* into the conditional clause *Me gustaría que* (I would like to), which attenuates the face-threat of the original request.

Example 37

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.P5 *I need to know what happened last night*	S8 Me gustaría que me expliques un poco lo que pasó anoche (I would like you to explain to me a bit what happened last night)

All these examples illustrate that, firstly, interpreters' L1 is important, since L1 Spanish interpreters use more direct structures when interpreting questions and requests, and L1 English interpreters prefer a more indirect way of communication. Secondly, they illustrate that direction of translation is also relevant, which can be observed when L1 Spanish trainee interpreters use more direct devices when interpreting into Spanish and more indirect devices into English.

However, considerations of rapport-building seem to play an important role in the interpreting renditions of questions and requests. Analysis shows that, despite the apparent preference for less indirect forms in Spanish, when the question or request comes after a rapport-building expression, all trainee interpreters do keep some form of attenuation or mitigation when conveying them into Spanish. In most cases, this occurs through the insertion of a face-enhancing expression into the original request or question. This is illustrated in example 38, where trainee interpreters S3 and S14 attenuate the request in the original utterance from English into Spanish, through the conditional tense *Me gustaría que me explicara* (I would like you to explain to me) and *Necesitaría saber*

(I would need to know), which expresses a more tentative attitude and reduces the imposition of the request (on the victim).

Example 38

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P5 *We need to know what happened exactly last night*	S3 Me gustaría que me explicara qué pasó exactamente anoche (I would like you to explain to me what happened exactly last night) S14 Necesitaría saber y que me contara qué fue lo que pasó exactamente anoche (I would need to know and that you tell me what was what happened exactly yesterday night)

Example 39 illustrates how mitigation may also be achieved through a lexical shift when interpreting the word *attacks* into Spanish. The mitigation achieved with *a little bit more* in the original utterance (aimed at reducing imposition) is not present in the interpreting utterance. However, the semantic intensity of the word *attacks* is mitigated in the interpreting rendition, as if the interpreter was aware of the imposition, and this could have triggered a compensatory reduction when translating *attacks* in the interpreting rendition. It is interesting to observe that 10 out of the 15 trainee interpreters either omit this word or chose a softer lexical term or expression when conveying *attacks* into Spanish, which attenuates the pragmatic force of the whole sentence. Here, *about the attacks* is rendered as *sobre lo que pasó, sobre lo que ocurrió* (about what happened), *sobre el incidente* (about the incident). In terms of rapport, this transfer may be problematic since it seems to reduce the seriousness of the offence suffered by the victim.

Example 39

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P6 *Thank you, Irene, I can't imagine how hard this must be for you* ***but we need to ask a little bit more about the attacks***	S6 Pero necesito más detalles sobre lo que pasó (But I need more details about what happened) S7 Pero necesitaría saber un poco más acerca de lo que ocurrió (But I would need to know a bit more about what happened) S15 Pero necesitamos preguntarte más sobre el incidente (But we need to ask you more about the incident)

These examples are relevant because they show the significance of the context. In these cases, face-enhancing expressions seem to be used by the interpreters to redress the face-threat potential in the original question or request.

7.3.3 Omissions and the serial-position effect

Although the analysis shows that rapport conveyance is a marked trend, it is important to highlight when rapport is not conveyed and what might be the causes behind omissions of rapport-building expressions in interpreting utterances. In all contexts, interpreting practice is subject to subjective and objective factors that determine how data is stored in our memory and our capacity of remembering it. This depends on the amount of new information the data contains (Le Ny 1978) and individual judgements that decide what is important and relevant to storage as memory (Wortman et al. 1988). When conveying

long utterances[80], which is the condition for most of the rapport omissions in this study, interpreting research appeals to what is termed in Psychology as "retroactive interference" or "proactive interference" as the cause of omissions.

Retroactive interference refers to late input or information that interferes with remembering previous information. For example, when initial information is not strongly embedded, subsequent input may cause little or no retention of earlier data. Proactive interference is a phenomenon that involves data being stored first and making an impact on the individual, which causes a block in the storage of subsequent input (Dueñas González et al. 2012: 877). A person may also remember better what they heard first or last, two psychological phenomena known as the primacy effect and the recency effect. Research acknowledges that, if recall is delayed and there is no possible rehearsal, as is the case of long utterances in interpreting, individuals are likely to remember better first-heard items (Baddeley 1976). The combination of the primacy and recency effects results in our memory recall being better for the items both at the beginning and end of a series, but worse for those in the middle. This phenomenon is known in psychology as the serial-position effect (Ebbinghaus 2013), which states that individuals tend to remember the middle items of a series worse than the first and last items (Roediger and Crowder 1976).

The data analysis shows that most rapport omissions in long utterances have been observed to occur when the rapport expression is in the middle, which means that the serial-position effect is relevant in the omission of rapport. This is displayed in table 44, which shows how the serial-position effect affects rapport omissions in both contexts of training.

Table 44. Rapport-building omissions in long utterances

Rapport utterances	Total in serial-position	Omissions occurring in serial-position - middle position
UAB and HW Long utterances	32	22 (68,75%)

[80] In this study long utterances refer to original utterances of 40 words or more.

Example 40 illustrates this type of omission, where both trainee interpreter S1 and S6 omit the rapport expression that appear in the middle of the original utterance when interpreted.

Example 40

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB1.P10 ***(…)*** *Otra cosa, usted dijo que el comportamiento de su marido había cambiado últimamente. Más o menos ¿cuándo diría que esto ocurrió? Que se acuerde, vamos, más o menos, ¿desde cuándo hace que se comporta así?* (On another note, you said that your husband's behaviour had changed lately. More or less, when would you say that this happened? If you can remember, more or less, since when does he behave like that?)	S1 (…) you said that his behaviour changed lately, more or less when did this happen? From when did his behaviour change? S6 you said that his behaviour had changed recently, can you tell me when exactly what happened if you are able to remember? So since when he's been acting differently?

The serial-position effect also influences the renditions of the victim's utterances (section 7.4), where this condition seems to be the source of omissions in these interpreting renditions, both for omissions in the expression of feelings or in the account of physical/verbal abuse. This is displayed in table 45 below.

Table 45. Omissions in long utterances. Victim's utterances

Victim's utterances	Total in serial-position	Omissions occurring in serial-position - middle position
Omissions (long utterances) UAB and HW	33	30 (90%)

7.4 The victim's utterances

In addition to the rapport-building categories, the victim's utterances were also carefully analysed since they are key to rapport-building through the police interview. From these utterances, expressions of feelings, as well as those of physical and verbal violence, were analysed, shedding light on how victims' experiences are interpreted.

7.4.1 Feelings and emotions

The victim's expression of feelings and emotions were analysed since they act as triggers to police interviewers' rapport-building responses. In the scenarios used for the data analysis, the victim's emotional effort and distress is revealed when recalling the endured episode, in utterances such as *I'm scared*; *I'm a bit nervous*; *I feel embarrassed talking about it*; *This is affecting me a lot*, and so on. Tables 46 and 47 show that most expressions of the victim's feelings are conveyed with modifications, both in the Spanish training context (table 46) and in the British training context (table 47).

Table 46. Victim's feelings. Spanish training context

Interpreting utterances	
Spanish training context	Modifications
UAB1 (DV L2 English → L1 Spanish)	77,5%
UAB2 (DV L1 Spanish → L2 English)	62,67%
UAB 3 (WD L2 English → L1 Spanish	50,19%

Table 47. Victim's feelings. British training context

Interpreting utterances	
British training context	Modifications
HW1 (DV L1 Spanish and L1 English → English)	87,5%
HW2 (WD L1 Spanish and L1 English → English)	66,67%

When modifying these expressions, trainee interpreters tend to intensify the feelings linguistically in the interpreting renditions. Intensification of feelings is also more prominent in the domestic violence scenarios in both training contexts. In UAB, intensification is more prominent in the DV scenarios, both into interpreters' L1 Spanish (67,74%) and into interpreters' L2 English (61,7%), compared to 31,25% in the work discrimination scenario. In HW, the victim's feelings present 75% of intensification instances in the renditions undertaken by L1 English interpreters and 83,33% in those undertaken by L1 Spanish interpreters, compared to 25% in the work discrimination scenario. This may indicate that, regardless of the direction of translation or trainee interpreters' L1, there is a possible trend in intensifying the victim's feelings due to the type of scenario. It must be remembered that the DV scenarios bring an aspect of physical abuse that do not appear in the WD scenarios. This can act as a trigger to trainee interpreters who may feel the need to align with the victim. This may also explain why a higher degree of intensification can be found in utterances when recounting a description or consequence of an abuse.

Regarding translation shifts, pragmatic intensification is achieved through different mechanisms, where it seems that L1 plays an important role. In both training contexts, L1 Spanish trainee interpreters tend to use intensifying adverbs when interpreting both into Spanish and into English. Example 41 shows an illustration from HW where the interpreter shifts from the original *un poco* (a little) to the intensifier *really* in the interpreted utterance. In example 42 from UAB, there is the addition of the intensifier *de verdad* (honestly, really) in the interpreted rendition.

Example 41

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.V8 *Es que estoy un poco nerviosa* [affected] (The thing is I'm a bit nervous)	S8 I'm just really nervous

Example 42

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB3.V13 *I am very nervous* [sobbing]	S2 Estoy de verdad muy nerviosa (I really am very nervous)

Repetition is also a recurrent intensification device used by L1 Spanish trainee interpreters in both training contexts, both into English and into Spanish. This is illustrated in example 43, where the original *tan* (so) is rendered as *so so* in UAB2. Example 44 also shows this shift from the original *muy* (very) to *really really* in the interpreted rendition. This may indicate a cross-linguistic feature applied by L1 Spanish interpreters since repetition is used more frequently in Spanish as an intensification device.

Example 43

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.V8 *Estaba TAN aterrorizada* [affected] (I was SO terrified)	S14 I was so so really terrified

Example 44

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.V2 *Estoy MUY asustada* [affected] (I'm VERY scared)	S6 I'm really really scared

By contrast, L1 English interpreters do not use repetition as often when interpreting into English. Intensification adverbs are also frequent in the interpreted utterances, although some interpreters add new whole clauses to the interpreted rendition, in an attempt to justify the victim's feelings. This can be observed in example 45, where trainee interpreter

S2 adds the fact that the victim's husband will be at home waiting to hurt the victim, and this is stated as the reason why the victim is scared, which does not appear in the original. This can also be observed in example 46, where trainee interpreter S8, as well as interpreting the original *un poco* (a bit) as *really*, adds a new whole clause that does not appear in the victim's original utterance: *I'm really sorry that it's taking me so long*. This may indicate that the trainee interpreter is affected by the victim's distress and feels the need to suggest that its intensity is such that it is affecting the length of the interview.

Example 45

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.V11 *Vale, yo quiero que lo que quede muy claro es que me da mucho miedo volver a casa por lo que me pueda llegar a hacer si vuelvo* [affected] (Ok, What I want to make really clear is that I'm very scared of going back home, because of what he'll be willing to do if I go back)	S2 I just want to make sure that's very clear that I'm afraid to go home, because I'm scared that he'll be there, you know, <u>waiting to hurt me</u>

Example 46

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.V8 *Sí, perdón, es que estoy un poco nerviosa* [affected] (Yeah, sorry, I'm just a bit nervous)	S8 Yeah, sure, I'm just really nervous and <u>I'm really sorry that it's taking me so long</u>

7.4.2 Prosodic features influencing the victim's interpreting renditions

As explained in section 6.6.5, prosodic features related to the victim's voice intonation were included in the scenarios and taken into account in the analysis. These features reveal emotional effort and distress in the form of the victim sobbing or the victim's voice

trembling or faltering at certain points while speaking. Results from the data analysis show that this intensity of emotion signalled via a raised voice or rising intonation in the original utterances, does drive the interpreters to add linguistic intensification, particularly in the domestic violence scenarios, in both contexts of training. This is displayed in table 48 and table 49.

Table 48. Intensification due to prosodic features. Spanish training context

	Interpreting utterances
Spanish training context	Linguistic intensification due to voice distress
UAB (DV)	64,72%
UAB (WD)	48%

Table 49. Intensification due to prosodic features. British training context

	Interpreting utterances
British training context	Linguistic intensification due to voice distress
HW1 (DV)	62,41%
HW2 (WD)	37,14%

In the Spanish training context, 64,72% of linguistic intensification, as a result of voice distress, can be observed in the renditions from the DV scenarios, whereas linguistic intensification amounts to 48% in the renditions from the WD scenario. In the British training context, it can be observed that the scenario also plays an important role in the addition of linguistic intensification, since trainee interpreters' utterances show a higher presence of this feature (62,41%) in the DV scenario, as opposed to 37,14% in the WD scenario.

Illustrations of the type of shifts that is at play in the trainee interpreters' renditions are displayed in example 47 to 51. In examples 47 and 48, trainee interpreters seem to add different degrees of intensification into English in response to the prosodic features in the original utterances. In example 47, trainee interpreter S16 shifts the adverb *a little* (un poco) to *so*, which she also adds in front of *sorry*, which does not appear in the original. In example 48, S2 modifies the pragmatic force of the original utterance by interpreting

the lexical expression *Me da mucha vergüenza* (I feel embarrassed) to *I feel so ashamed*, (Me da tanta vergüenza). Both *I feel embarrassed* and *I feel ashamed* can be translated as *Me da vergüenza* into Spanish, however, there is a difference in English. Whereas the word *embarrassed* is more general towards the feeling of negativity, the choice of *ashamed* implies personal misconduct and a feeling of guilt, which is not present in the original.

Example 47

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P6 [Sobbing] *Lo SIENTO, es que estoy un poco nerviosa*. (I'm sorry, it's just that I'm a bit nervous)	S16 I'm so sorry, I'm so nervous

Example 48

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.P8 *Sí, bueno, me da mucha vergüenza decirlo* [trembling] (Yes, well, I feel embarrassed talking about it)	S2 Yes, well, I'm very ashamed to tell you this

In examples 49 and 50 into Spanish, intensification is also added through diverse shifts. In example 49, the shift occurs in the verb tense, which is simple past in the original utterance (*I got*) and is shifted to the present tense *estoy* (I'm), which brings the action of feeling scared to the present of the victim.

Example 49

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB1.P8 *That's why I got SO scared* [sobbing]	S3 Es por lo que estoy tan asustada (That's why I'm so scared)

In example 50, the shift appears in the feelings expressed by the victim. The trainee interpreter modifies the lexical item *nervous* and uses *alterada* (disturbed), which implies a higher degree of distress.

Example 50

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB3.V13 *I'm REALLY sorry. This is affecting me a lot, I am VERY nervous* [faltering]	S4 Me disculpo, le pido disculpas, esto me está afectado mucho y me siento muy alterada (I'm sorry, I apologise, this is affecting me a lot, I feel very disturbed)

This type of shift is also observed in example 51 into English, where *esto me afecta mucho* is shifted into *this makes me really anxious*, which again implies more distress than in the original utterance.

Example 51

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW2.V12 *Lo siento mucho, es que esto me afecta mucho* [sobbing] (I'm very sorry. The thing is this affects me a lot)	S1 I'm sorry, this is… makes me really anxious

It can also be noticed that the prosodic features in the scenarios are generally not interpreted as such and the intonation of the trainee interpreters does not usually express the distress that the victim is showing in the original utterances. This aligns with research in legal interpreting, which states that recreating the speaker's intonation is not an easy task for the interpreter (Mulayim et al. 2015: 79).

Since linguistic intensification frequently appears when the original prosodic features are not reproduced, it seems that adding linguistic features for intensification is a recurrent pattern to communicate this prosodic distress when interpreting. It is also pertinent to highlight that the relationship between the presence of a prosodic feature in the original utterance and linguistic intensification in the interpreted rendition is more frequent in some trainee interpreters than in others. This difference appears to be related to the interpreter's' EQ test result and their level of individual empathy, which is clarified in section 7.5.

7.4.3 Degree of violence

Description and expression of violence can act as potential triggers for the police interviewer when acknowledging what the victim has been and is currently going through. Therefore, the data analysis accounts for how abuse is conveyed by trainee interpreters, this means verbal abuse in the case of both types of scenarios (DV and WD) and also physical abuse in the DV scenarios.

In the case of insults and threats, both in UAB and in HW, trainee interpreters do tend to convey them in both directions of translation and regardless of their L1. Omission or modification only occurs in the cases where no evident equivalent term is found in the other language. For example, insults like *silly cow* or *hija de puta* (whore, bitch) seem to present a challenge when interpreted. In the case of *silly cow*, most lexical shifts result in *vaca gorda* (fat cow), which does not equate to the original insult. The latter expresses the fact that the victim's husband is doubting his wife's intellectual abilities, whereas in the translation into Spanish, reference is only made to the wife's physical appearance. In the case of *hija de puta*, the common lexical shift is its translation as *son of a bitch* or *daughter of a bitch*, whereas the closest equivalent would be the same translation as for

puta (whore, bitch). This means that the translation loses the pragmatic force of the original Spanish insult, since *son of a bitch* refers to a man and not a woman, and *daughter of a bitch* is not a normative translation of this term.

In the case of physical abuse, which is only recounted in the DV scenarios as opposed to the WD scenarios, I have observed that this type of abuse acts as a trigger in the trainee interpreters' utterances, resulting in more intensification in their interpretation of the victim's feelings both in the British and in the Spanish training context.

Regarding the interpreting of these utterances in UAB, table 50 shows that percentages of close renditions are similar in both DV scenarios, namely UAB1, where renditions are interpreted into Spanish and UAB2 where they are interpreted into English.

Table 50. Physical violence and injuries. Spanish training context

Spanish training context	Close renditions
UAB1 (DV L2 English → L1 Spanish)	60,42%
UAB2 (DV L1 Spanish → L2 English)	59,8%

Omissions are very infrequent in these utterances. However, when these expressions are not interpreted as close renditions, trainee interpreters tend to either intensify the degree of the abuse, which is illustrated in example 52, or modify not only the pragmatic force of the utterance but also its propositional meaning. This is illustrated in example 53.

Example 52

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB2.V5 *De repente me empujó contra la pared, muy fuerte* (Suddenly he pushed me against the wall, very strongly)	S2 At one point he slapped me against the wall, he slapped me really, really violently

Example 53

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB1.V5 *I thought he was going to strangle me*	S1 Empezó a estrangularme (He started to strangle me)

Example 54 illustrates, however, an attenuation, where the trainee interpreter S3 conveys the original *grabbed* with the less intense *llegó a cogerme* (he even got to the point of).

Example 54

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
UAB1.V5 *He grabbed my neck with both hands*	S3 Incluso llegó a cogerme del cuello (He even got to the point of grabbing my neck)

In HW, it seems that L1 English interpreters do convey physical assault mostly with no modification into L1 English, as opposed to L1 Spanish interpreters rendering into L2 English, whose rate of close renditions is much lower, as displayed in table 51. This is discussed in section 8.4.2 in relation to L1 versus L2 renditions.

Table 51. Physical violence and injuries. British training context

British training context		Close renditions
HW1 (DV L1 Spanish and L1 English interpreters → English)	L1 English → L1	93,75%
	L1 Spanish → L2	40%

L1 Spanish trainee interpreters tend to modify these utterances by using similar shifts to the ones observed in UAB, as illustrated in examples 55, where trainee interpreter S6 shifts *una costilla rota* (one broken rib) into *some broken ribs*.

Example 55

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.V8 *He ido al médico, y dice que tengo también una costilla rota y una luxación en el hombro* (I have gone to the doctor and he said that I also have a broken rib and a shoulder luxation)	S6 I also have some broken ribs, and also I have a dislocation on my shoulders

All these examples show that the precision needed for interpreting descriptions of both verbal and physical abuse present a challenge to trainee interpreters. These results are in line with research findings in professional interpreting with victims of domestic abuse, where some interpreting practices seem to limit police interviewers' ability to assess the risk faced by the victim (Tipton 2021).

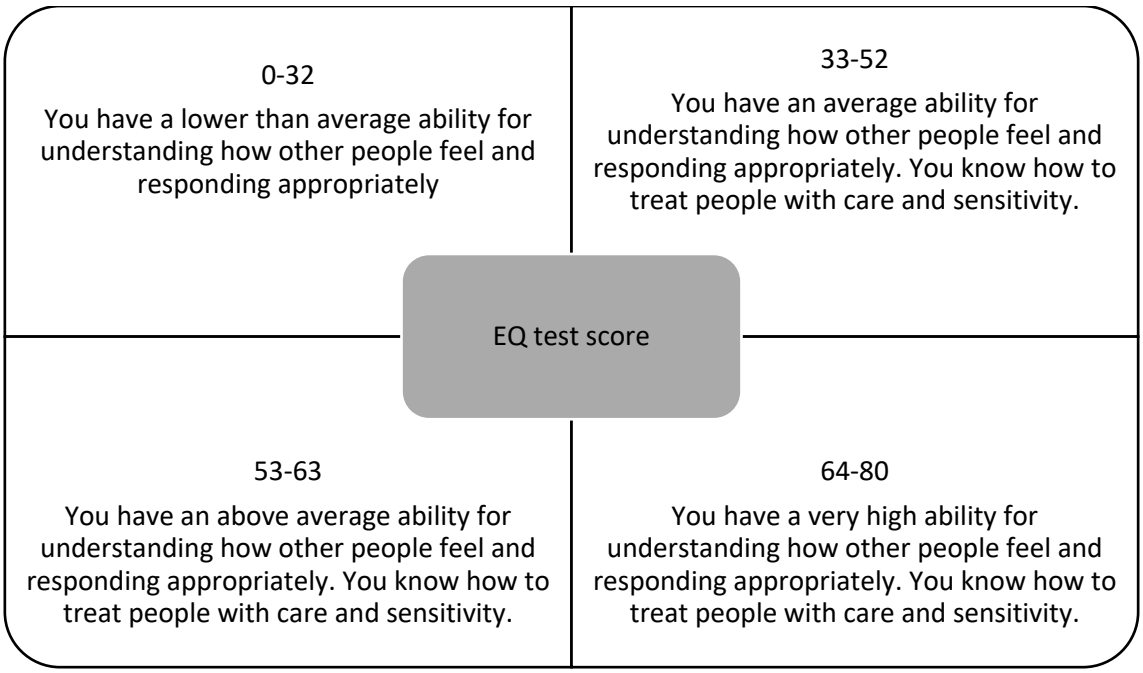
7.5 Individual style in interpreting related to the EQ test scoring

This chapter's data analysis reveals that, when conveying rapport in the interpreter-mediated training scenarios, trainee interpreters present significant differences between one and another, in relation to how accurately they convey rapport, but specifically in the cases where intensification is added in the interpreter's renditions compared to the original utterances. It seems that some trainee interpreters use more linguistic mechanisms to strengthen rapport-building with the victim throughout the scenarios than others. These interpreters change the pragmatic force of rapport-building expressions, resulting in an addition of rapport more frequently, as well as intensifying more frequently the victim's feelings in the interpreted utterances.

As explained in section 6.6.6, the trainee interpreters participating in this project completed individually the EQ test, aimed at measuring their level of empathy. The test score reports four bands in relation to individual empathy. A score of 0 to 32 is lower than an average empathic ability, 33 to 52 represents average empathic ability, 53-63 is

above average, and 64 to 80 demonstrates very high empathic ability. This is illustrated in figure 19.

Figure 19. EQ test scoring



(From: https://psychology-tools.com/test/empathy-quotient)

Table 52 includes trainee interpreters scoring into the different categories suggested by the test.

Table 52. Trainee interpreters EQ test scoring

EQ scoring	Trainee interpreters
0-32	0
33-52	24
53-63	10
64-80	6

Interestingly, trainee interpreters who scored significantly higher in the test (53 or more) tend to change more frequently the pragmatic force of the rapport-building expressions when interpreting, mainly adding intensification to the original meaning. This is also

observed in the victim's utterances, where linguistic intensification is also added more frequently in relation to prosodic features, especially when the victim's voice shows distress. Table 53 illustrates this tendency, which accounts for the amount of intensifications matching voice distress with the EQ score of the trainee interpreters.

Table 53. EQ test score and linguistic intensification

Trainee interpreter EQ score	Average of linguistic intensifications matching original prosodic features
UAB	
<53	4
>53	1
HW	
<53	4
>53	1

Example 56 below illustrates an instance of the above. In this case, trainee interpreter S8 (whose EQ score is above average) seems to match the victim's voice trembling with a linguistic intensification in the interpreting rendition, where *un poco nerviosa* (a bit nervous) becomes *just really nervous*.

Example 56

Original utterance	Interpreting rendition
HW1.V8 *Es que estoy un poco nerviosa* [trembling] (It's that I'm a bit nervous)	S8 Yeah, I'm just really nervous

These results point out the importance of individual differences in interpreting style and align with other studies conducted in interpreting, where researchers found that interpreters affected by the speaker's emotions showed a more pronounced emotional speech in the interpretation during simultaneous mode (Korpal and Jasielska 2018). In this regard, other research on police interviewing styles shows that personality traits and

interviewing approach are closely related (Forero et al. 2009; Goldberg 1993; Akca and Eastwood 2021). It is not surprising that interpreting style may also be related to personality traits and individual differences, which should be taken into account when interpreting in highly emotional settings, as is the case of police interviews with victims. This matter is discussed further in section 8.4.4.

7.6 Summary

The above analysis sheds light on how trainee interpreters deal with rapport in simulations of interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims. As suggested in this chapter, some of the shifts may be due to cross-linguistic differences between English and Spanish, where it seems that pragmatic variation in language use is particularly relevant (Cifuentes-Férez 2020).

Results show that, although context of training does not seem as important, trainee interpreters' L1 and direction of translation need to be taken into account when considering how rapport is conveyed, as well as individual differences, like personal empathy traits, which may result in the addition of rapport. In scenarios with victims, it seems that some modifications in the interpreters' utterances are more likely to happen as the scenario progresses. In addition, trainee interpreters may attenuate police questions and requests, especially when they come after a rapport-building expression. The analysis of the victim's utterances also reveals that both prosodic features, like voice distress, and expression of victim's feelings, act as triggers for modifications in the interpreting renditions, which usually leads to a change in the pragmatic force of the original utterances.

The following chapter turns to contextualising the findings from the data analysis in relation to prior pertinent scholarly research, as well as outlining theoretical implications for interpreting studies and pedagogical implications for police interpreting training.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

8.1 Introduction

This study was centrally focussed on rapport-building in interpreted-mediated police interviews with victims. This focus has enabled us to examine to what extent trainee interpreters, in two different contexts of training, render rapport and rapport-relevant features during their assessed police interview scenarios with victims. The findings shed light on whether and why further training may be needed with reference to the interpreting of rapport features in police interviews in the UK and Spain.

The central findings are that omissions of rapport-building features in translation are not frequent, and a considerable amount of instances of rapport-building from the original utterance are modified in the interpreted renditions. Modifications in the conveyance of rapport and rapport-relevant expressions appear in both context of training and in both types of scenarios. The data analysis revealed that most modifications in interpreting renditions link to the pragmatic force of the utterance, which is mainly due to linguistic, interpreter-related and victim-type features. We also found out that some modifications of rapport are appropriate, in that they preserve pragmatic equivalence, but that the majority are not. In this chapter I discuss the main types of modifications during interpreting, or *translation shifts*, as the products of these modifications were labelled in this study, I offer explanations for their occurrence, particularly in relation to cross-linguistic factors, and contextualise the key findings within the current discussions in the field in terms of both theory and professional practice.

Based on the fact that trainee interpreters are mostly trained to focus on content and on transmitting the information as neutrally as possible (as explained in section 3.6.1), it was reasonable to expect that rapport features might be frequently omitted. In addition, a number of previous studies in interpreting practice provide evidence that rapport features are indeed omitted in the interpreting utterances (Li et al. 2010; Baker et al. 1998; Mason 2008), since interpreters focus on content rather than on form (Hijazo-Gascón 2019; Krouglov 1999). Contrary to this initial expectation, the results from this analysis reveal that, overall, trainee interpreters do tend to convey police rapport-building expressions most of the time, with 84% of conveyance in the British training context and 79% of

conveyance in the Spanish training context, in contrast to 16% and 21% of omissions respectively. However, the central observation strongly supported by the current data analysis is that the originally expressed rapport and rapport-related features are often not adequately conveyed in the interpreted outputs. Different factors may trigger these alterations in the interpreted renditions and we attend to those factors in detail in this chapter.

The chapter comprises five parts in addition to this introductory section. Section 8.2 provides a reminder of the study variables and their individual impact on the interpretation of rapport and rapport-relevant features. Section 8.3 provides an insight into the rapport and rapport-related renditions that were appropriate while section 8.4. deals with the multiple inappropriate rapport and rapport-related renditions that are due to different translation shifts. Theoretical implications, both general and specific for interpreting studies in the context of policing, and pedagogical implications for police interpreting training are outlined in section 8.5. Finally, section 8.6 offers a brief chapter summary.

8.2 Study variables and their effects

The relevant variables on the basis of which the analysis and the relevant comparisons were carried out were introduced in section 6.5.7 and illustrated in section 7.2.1. Figure 17 is reproduced below for ease of reference and it is followed by a brief summary of each variable and their impact in the interpreting renditions.

Figure 17: Study analysis variables

Training practice: Scenario script specifics	HW Flexibly following the scenario script
	UAB Strictly following the scenario script
Scenario: Degree of violence	HW Domestic violence: Physical and verbal Work discrimination: Only verbal
	UAB Domestic violence: Physical and verbal Work discrimination: Only verbal
L1: Trainee interpreters' L1	HW Spanish English
	UAB Spanish
Linguistic environment: L2 English speaking environment	HW In the L2 country (immersion)
	UAB In the L1 country
Direction of translation: Police rapport expressions	HW Not applicable
	UAB - L1 Spanish Into L1 Into L2
Individual interpreting style: EQ test scoring	HW In relation to prosodic features
	UAB In relation to prosodic features

- **Scenario script features**. The way the script of the interpreting scenario is adhered to (following the scenario script to the letter-UAB, versus following it flexibly-HW) hinders the observation of how some rapport-building features may be rendered. In the case of the subcategory *Active listening*, for example, it was not possible to observe whether the interpreting trainees at HW repeated back the victim's first name (or preferred form of address after confirmation) in their renditions, since the lecturer role-playing the police officer did not include this feature and did not call the victim

by her name, as suggested in the original script. Conversely, repeating back words or expressions used by the victim, or paraphrasing, could not be observed in the UAB scenarios, since the script was followed strictly. This means that this rapport feature of *active listening* could not be included in the relevant comparisons with the UK training context. This was also the case for brief confirmation cues such as *ok?*, that belong to the subcategory *Checking the victim's understanding*, which did not appear in the lecturer's role-play of the HW scenarios.

- **Type of scenario**. The degree of violence, (only verbal abuse-WD, versus both verbal and physical abuse-DV), has an impact particularly in the interpreting renditions of the victim's expression of feelings, which are usually intensified in the renditions corresponding to the domestic violence scenario in comparison to the work discrimination scenario. For example, we find examples in the original utterances, such as expression of feelings like *Es que estoy un poco nerviosa* (the thing is I'm a bit nervous) rendered as *I'm just really nervous* in the interpreting utterance. These examples are much more frequent in the domestic violence scenarios than in the work discrimination scenarios.

- **Trainee interpreters' L1**. The analysis revealed that trainee interpreters are influenced by their L1 and transfer L1 linguistic patterns and structures when interpreting rapport and rapport-relevant features from both police and victims' utterances into their L2. For instance, L1 English promotes the use of the overt personal pronouns like *yo* (I) in L2 Spanish. By the same token, L1 Spanish motivates the use of repetition in L2 English.

- **L2 linguistic environment**. The L2 linguistic and cultural environment (immersion in the L2 context) seems to impact L1 Spanish trainee interpreters being trained in the British training context since they show some features in line with their L1 English peers and not present in the renditions of the L1 Spanish interpreters in the Spanish training context, like the aforementioned use of the overt personal pronoun *yo* (I).

- **Direction of translation**. Trainee interpreters seem to undertake more translation shifts when interpreting police rapport-building features into their L2 than when interpreting into their L1. Direction of translation equally impacts the victim's

utterances since more modifications are undertaken into interpreters' L2, for example in relation to verbal abuse, like insults.

- **Individual characteristics and emotional contagion**. Trainee interpreters' EQ test scoring seems also relevant in the modification of rapport-building. This means that trainee interpreters with a higher than average EQ score showed more instances of intensification of the victim's feelings when rendering them, in comparison to the ones whose EQ score was average or lower that average. In particular, emotional contagion from the victim to the trainee interpreters seems to occur in relation to prosodic features, in the cases where the victim's voice expresses emotional effort and/or distress.

I now turn to the discussion of these variables with respect to more vs. less successful renditions and their role in the various translation shifts observed.

8.3 Close renditions and appropriate translation shifts

Close renditions of the rapport expressions amount to 65% in the British training context and 56% in the Spanish training context. The frequency of close renditions may be due to the fact that the scenarios are simulated scenarios that trainee interpreters are interpreting under assessment conditions. In addition, the type of police interview (victim interview) seems a relevant factor in relation to close renditions in the sense that it includes victims who are required to recall and talk about their harrowing experiences. This aligns with research in police interpreting with victims of domestic abuse, where interpreters usually retain the original formulation in "the majority of the cases" when interpreting questions addressed to the victim (Tipton 2021: 1066). This may be due to the simple and short nature of questions in this type of interview, as compared to other legal interactions, like cross-examinations in court (Hale 1997). In the case of the victim's expression of feelings, trainee interpreters tend to retain rapport expressions in an attempt to comfort or align with the victim.

Although there is no study to date sharing my PhD's research focus, other interpreting studies with trainee interpreters share similar percentages results in relation to close renditions. For instance, Liu and Hale (2017) examined how MA interpreting students

dealt with facework strategies used in cross-examination questions, finding that 51,64% of the facework strategies were accurately rendered from English into Mandarin (Liu and Hale 2017: 68). In the medical field, Krystallidou and colleagues (2018) explored the interpreter's effect on empathic communication in simulated interpreter-mediated consultations undertaken by MA students in interpreting. Results showed that students accurately conveyed 44 out of 70 empathic opportunities, which stands for 63% of the total (Krystallidou et al. 2018: 33). This suggests that there might be a difference between interpreting in training contexts and real interpreting practice, where omissions of rapport and other interpersonal linguistic features are more frequent (in real practice than in training practice). This can be related to research on real interpreting practice, which reveal that professional interpreters are subjected to demanding cognitive processes of interpreting under high pressure (Filipović and Hijazo-Gascón 2018). The fact that professional interpreters are asked to interpret for a significant longer time, compared to student interpreters (Moser-Mercer et al. 1998), also suggests that they get emotionally more engaged over time and this is likely to increase cognitive exhaustion and decrease their interpreting performance (Wilson and Walsh 2019).

Furthermore, there were also number of instances where the translation shifts made appear to be appropriate. For example, L1 Spanish trainee interpreters add mitigating features of politeness that do not appear in the original utterance but that are appropriate in the L2. For example, *Tómese su tiempo* (take your time) is rendered as *Please take your time.* The most common mitigating feature is the addition of the adverb *please*, but sometimes modal verbs like *can* or *could*, are also added, resulting in *You can take your* time, especially when the original utterance is an imperative structure in Spanish as in the above *Tómese su tiempo* (take your time). The use of these forms seems to be a redressive linguistic device to attenuate the original imperative Spanish structure, whose use carries a potential face-threat. Research on professional interpreting resonates with this finding, showing that the English conventional politeness tag *please* is added to the interpreted rendition when the interpreter tries to achieve a degree of mitigation. This has been observed when the interpretation is conducted from Russian into English, where it is assumed that "English speakers are generally more polite" (Krouglov 1999: 294). Conventional indirectness, like the use of a modal form, has also been examined with professional interpreters from Spanish into English, as a way of reducing any face-threatening force (Mason and Stewart 2001: 58).

In contrast to the frequent addition of *please* when L1 Spanish interpreters interpret into English, when interpreting into Spanish, they tend to omit *please* from the original utterance in English (see examples in section 7.3.2). Therefore, it seems that that trainee interpreters can use appropriate mitigation devices when interpreting these language-specific rapport-related instances, since polite markers such as *please* are not as frequent in Spanish as they are in English. If we recall that it is pragmatic equivalence that is the goal targeted in relation to rapport, we can say that this goal has been achieved in these examples by having a usage-appropriate utterance in each of the two languages. This finding also correlates with other research into how polite markers are treated in the courtroom by English/Spanish interpreters (Hale 1997), who tend to maintain appropriate strategies in the target language when interpreting politeness.

In relation to the interpretation of questions and requests, we can also find examples of pragmatic equivalence. For instance, L1 Spanish interpreters' preference for directness when interpreting police questions and requests can result in adequate renditions, as in *Could we also take this a little bit back*, which is conveyed with the imperative structure *Vayamos un poco atrás (*let's go back a bit*)*. This is a confirmation that imperative forms are much more frequent in Peninsular Spanish than in British English (Ballesteros Martín 2002; Lorenzo-Dus and Bou Franch 2003; Cifuentes-Férez 2020), entailing that the imperative form may be cognitively easier to access under time constraints (Hale 2001: 47), as in the activity of interpreting. Although the use of imperative can also be considered polite in some contexts in English, like in constructions such as *Take your time, Don't worry*, or in instructions like *First turn left then the second right…*, it is more likely to be construed as impolite address while the imperative form is a much more commonly used structure in Spanish that does not carry the negative connotations that it may do in English. This also means that its pragmatic use is different, in the sense that, unlike British speakers, Spaniards consider unmitigated imperative structures as acceptably polite actions (Curcó 1998; Curcó and De Fina 2002), since imperative is not marked as intrinsically impolite. For example, imperative in Spanish can express intrinsically polite acts, like invitations (Grande Alija 2005: 340). In familiar contexts, or contexts where the roles are rather pre-established (like in police interviews) the use of imperative forms can actually be considered conventionally polite in Peninsular Spanish, where the imperative correspond to a relatively low degree of imposition (Haverkate

1994: 165-166). This seems to be the case in the imperative shifts in these situations, where trainee interpreters try to decrease the distance with the victim by using an L1 familiar polite device, resulting in an adequate pragmatic rendition.

Nevertheless, such instances are comparatively fewer than the instances of modification that does not lead to pragmatic equivalence, to which we now turn.

8.4 Translation shifts that undermine pragmatic equivalence

Numerous translation shifts are observed in the interpretation of the different rapport-building categories, and the resulting output is a pragmatically modified utterance. Numerous factors were shown to be influential when it comes to these different communicative effects that are not present in the original utterances but are the product of interpreting. We look at each in more detail and assess their impact on rapport-building.

8.4.1 Type of scenario

In relation to the degree of violence, it must be remembered that the two different scenarios were linked to different levels of violence. The work discrimination scenario presented verbal abuse only, whereas the domestic violence scenario presented both verbal and physical abuse. Although the data shows that in general the degree of violence in the scenarios does not seem to be linked to the conveyance of rapport expressions, it does seem relevant in the interpreting utterances of the victim's feelings. In the domestic violence scenarios, it can be observed that trainee interpreters tend to use more modifications, increasing the illocutionary force of the original utterance in the interpreted renditions. This is regardless of the direction of translation, the L1 or the context of training. This seems to indicate that physical abuse acts as a trigger in the modification of the victim's feelings in the interpreted utterances. In this scenario, trainee interpreters seem to interfere and show their presence by adding pragmatic force to the original feelings and emotions, which relates to the fact that the victim describes the physical abuse carried out by her husband. Examples like *Estoy muy asustada* (I'm very scared) are rendered as *I'm really so terrified* in the interpreted utterances corresponding to the DV scenario, which illustrates an intensification of the feeling that does not appear in the original utterance.

In relation to verbal abuse, modifications arise when the insult in the original utterance does not have an evident equivalent in the interpreting language, either English or Spanish (section 8.4.2). However, the data does not generally show interpreters' omissions since trainee interpreters do convey instances of verbal abuse. This diverges from other studies in court interpreting, where professional interpreters omit the vulgar language used by the interpreted witness (Dueñas González et al. 1991: 265), or tend to euphemise taboo words (Taibi and El-Madkouri Maataoui 2016). The divergence may be due to the fact that my study was conducted with trainee interpreters under assessment conditions without any public exposure, which compares with professional interpreters in courtroom settings. In any case, many interpreting scholars claim that omitting taboo words or impolite expressions may modify reactions in the audience and argue that it is not the interpreter's role to avoid or omit them (Hale et al. 2020; Taibi and El-Madkouri Maataoui 2016; Felberg and Šarić 2017; Corsellis 2008). Insults, threats and other forms of verbal abuse are an essential part of the victim's testimony in police interviewing and both omissions and modifications should be avoided.

The data indicates that precision on both verbal and physical abuse remains a challenge for trainee interpreters in police interviews with victims. This is consistent with findings from research in professional interpreting with victims of domestic abuse, where interpreters' performance seems to limit the interviewers' ability to assess the victim's risk (Tipton 2021).

8.4.2 Effects of L1 vs. L2, direction of translation and L2 language environment

Shifts undertaken in the interpreting renditions seem to be influenced by trainee interpreters' L1 and direction of translation. Influence of L1 is observed in a number of translation shifts undertaken in the rendition of face-enhancing expressions, for instance the use of repetition. The data illustrates that L1 Spanish trainee interpreters, both in HW and in UAB, use repetition as an intensification device when interpreting both into English and into Spanish. In Spanish, repetition is a common intensification device used to increase the strength of the argument (Fuentes Rodríguez 2020) and it is interesting that this device is added into Spanish renditions as an emphatic addition to the rapport expression. This is also common in other languages like Italian, where medical

interpreters use repetition of phrases or even whole sentences into Italian aiming to add emphasis to the utterance (Merlini and Favaron 2003: 223). This is the same effect that repetition achieves in the rapport expressions interpreted into Spanish when translating, for instance, when rendering the original *I see* as *Ya veo, ya veo* (I see, I see).

Another interesting finding in relation to L1 can also be observed in the interpreted renditions of questions and requests. When interpreting into Spanish, L1 English interpreters tend to shift questions and requests into a more indirect structure, as shown in the data analysis. For instance, the original police request *I need to know what happened last night*, is rendered as *Me gustaría que me expliques un poco lo que pasó anoche* (I would like you to explain to me a bit what happened last night). This shift attenuates the pragmatic force of the original utterance. This seems to be due to a preference, in English, for a more indirect type of questioning or request (Hernández-López 2008; Bravo 2008). Contrarily, when interpreting into English, L1 Spanish trainee interpreters in both HW and UAB tend to shift to a more direct structure in the interpreted utterance of questions and requests. This is observed in the question *When would you say in your opinion it started to change?*, which is rendered as *¿Cuándo dices que empezó a cambiar?* (when do you say it started to change?) by one of the L1 Spanish interpreters, who leaves out the original conditional form *would* that appears in English. In this case, the original utterance presents a more indirect structure with the use of *would* and the expression *in your opinion*, which makes it a polite choice addressing negative face, since there is a threat of imposition inherent in the question. Therefore, the indirect way of formulation present in the original utterance offers more choice in the requirement to answer. This is lost in the more direct formulation displayed in the interpreting utterance in Spanish.

However, despite this apparent preference of L1 Spanish interpreters for more directness in the interpreting rendition of questions and requests into Spanish, and the opposite preference (for indirectness) of the L1 English speakers, it is interesting to observe that both trainee interpreters' groups add some form of mitigation or attenuation when originally there was none, particularly when the question or request comes together with a *Face-enhancing* expression. This indicates that rapport-building expressions may act as triggers to keep some mitigation, despite the L1 Spanish preference for more direct questions and requests. This is observed in instances like the original request *We need to*

know what happened exactly last night, which is unexpectedly conveyed as *Me gustaría que me explicara qué pasó exactamente anoche* (I would like you to explain to me what happened exactly last night) by a L1 Spanish trainee interpreter. This conditional form *would* attenuates the original pragmatic force in the interpreted rendition, and it is a common trend used by L1 Spanish trainee interpreters both in HW and in UAB when the question and request comes after a rapport-building expression.

Examples such as these resonate with studies in police and court interpreting, with both trainee and professional interpreters, which found that both modified the pragmatic force of questions and requests (Lee 1999; Berk-Seligson 1990, 2009; Krouglov 1999; Mason and Stewart 2001). For instance, Berk-Seligson (1990, 2009) explains that interpreters changed the question forms in an attempt to avoid witnesses' discomfort. My findings are also consistent with findings from studies of politeness in interpreting, which showed a tendency for interpreters to tone down the pragmatic force of face-threatening acts or utterances perceived as face-threating (Savvalidou 2011; Magnifico and Defrancq 2016). With regards to rapport, achieving pragmatic equivalence in terms of level of (in)directness seems to be a challenge for interpreters, and this may have implications for rapport-building.

Another translation challenge apparently conditioned by the L1 is the personal pronoun *I* (*yo*) in the Spanish renditions of L1 English trainee interpreters. As opposed to English, Spanish, a pro-drop language, tends to encode the person in the verb ending. This means that pronominal presence is usually pragmatically significant. The data shows that L1 English trainee interpreters often keep the pronoun in the interpreted rendition into Spanish. For instance, *I appreciate everything you are going through is not particularly pleasant*, is rendered as *yo sé que es muy duro lo que está pasando* (I firmly know that it's very hard what you're going through), which is perceived as an intensifier.

This was also observed by Mason and Stewart 2001 in their analysis of the pre-trial cross-examination of the witness Rosa López in the O.J Simpson case, who was assisted by an English/Spanish interpreter. In their analysis, the use of the pronoun *yo* in the Spanish utterance *Yo creo* supposes "a degree of commitment, where weak or strong, to the proposition or belief: *I (firmly) believe*" (Mason and Stewart 2001: 63). Equally, the addition of *yo* in the interpreted renditions in this study would mark the trainee interpreter

commitment to the proposition, and therefore, it would increase the credibility of the speaker's utterance (Stewart 2000), portraying a more pronounced commitment to the victim, which strengthens the rapport-building expression.

Influence of interpreters' L1 can also be perceived in the rendition of insults. Modifications occur in the rendering of insults which do not have an evident equivalent in the other language. This is illustrated in the interpretation of *silly cow* into Spanish, where several L1 Spanish trainee interpreters render this expression as *vaca gorda* (fat cow), with a clear semantic shift due to the influence of L1 Spanish, since in Spanish, *cow* is an insult which refers to a woman's physical appearance. In this case, the English reference to the victim's intellectual abilities (made by her husband) is lost. In other instances, like when rendering *hija de puta* into English, the most common translation is *son of a bitch* or *daughter of a bitch*, which is a literal translation from Spanish into English, which lost the pragmatic force of the original insult. Difficulty in the translation of insults and profanity, found in my data analysis when there are no straightforward equivalents, seems to support other research in this respect (Félix-Brasdefer and Mckinnon 2016; Taibi and El-Maataoui 2016). In line with these aforementioned studies, interpreting profanity is challenging since the level of offensiveness will depend on several factors such as context, setting, or culture, among others (Locher and Watts 2005; Jay 2009). As Hale et al. (2020) suggest, interpreters need to assess both the emotion implied and the pragmatic function of the profane language so that they can find the most appropriate interpretation from a pragmatic point of view. Both trainee and professional interpreters grapple with the problem of finding renditions that are pragmatically appropriate (Hale et al. 2020: 388). My findings corroborate the previous findings in this regard.

Interestingly, the L1 Spanish interpreters immersed in their L2 speaking environment also produced the first-person pronoun *yo* (I) when interpreting into L1 Spanish, which is a common shift undertaken by L1 English interpreters due to their L1 influence. As mentioned above, this is not the norm in Spanish, since Spanish is a pro-drop language, and the person is encoded in the verb ending. Crucially, such instances were not detected in L1 Spanish interpreters in the Spanish context. This illustrates that translation shifts can be influenced by trainee interpreters L2 when they are immersed in the L2 environment, in the sense that the living environment can impact the linguistic shifts since

they are more aware of the English patterns. Shifts due the living environment have been observed with the use of *thank you* in Spaniards living for a long time in an English-speaking country, who transfer the *thank you* into Spanish in situations where native Spanish speakers would not normally say *thank you* (Pinto and De Pablos-Ortega 2014: 226).

With regard to the direction of translation, we can observe that the translation shifts in rapport-building expressions were more numerous when interpreting was in the direction of the L2 than in the direction of the L1, with 46% of renditions classifies as modifications when translating into L2 English and 32% when translating into L1 Spanish. This finding is limited by the fact that it was possible to examine direction of translation only in the Spanish context in one of the two scenarios (DV), because, as we can recall, the police officer in the domestic violence scenario in UAB was roleplayed in Spanish in 2019-20, and in English in 2020-21, which allows the comparison of direction of translation (into L1 and into L2) of L1 Spanish trainee interpreters in this training context. Translation shifts into L2 English are noticed in rapport expressions such as *tranquila*, which is frequently rendered as *relax* or *calm down*, or rapport expressions such as *muy bien*, which is rendered as *fine* or *well*. These interpreted renditions lose the original pragmatic meaning, and therefore, the police rapport element is missed when conveyed for the victim. Although my data can only illustrate direction of translation in the Spanish training context, as explained above, this finding is coherent with other studies in interpreting which state that higher accuracy at all levels is achieved when the direction of translation goes into interpreters' L1 (De Groot 2011; De Bot 2000).

8.4.3 Pronouns and affiliation: Interpreters' footing

Another aspect that needs to be highlighted with regards to modifications of rapport-building is the translation shifts that indicate the trainee interpreters' personal footing (explained in section 4.2). Particularly in relation to the rapport subcategory *Affiliation with the victim*, interpreters' shifts appear to reflect the interpreters' attempts to empathise with the victim, especially in the shifts undertaken when interpreting pronouns. For instance, with regard to first-person pronouns (*I* and *we*), when interpreting in the scenarios, trainee interpreters sometimes swap these pronouns in the interpreting renditions. Shifts from *I* into *we* seem to be made to include the interpreter themselves in

the utterance of the original speaker, which is what Merlini and Faravon (2003: 255) have coined as "pseudo-co-principal", which refers to "examples of the interpreter's use of the first-person plural to include him-/herself in the utterance of the original speaker" (2003: 255). Merlini and Faravon observed this in the medical field, where professional interpreters included themselves in comments made by the doctor, by using the first-person plural pronoun *we* in substitution of *I* in the original doctor's utterance. Results from the data analysis resonate with this, since the interpreters' alignment usually falls with the police interviewer. Examples from the data analysis show that trainee interpreters undertake this shift particularly in cases where the police officer expresses their support to the victim. For example, *I know this is difficult* may be shifted to *We know this is difficult*. These pronoun shifts seem to also give the interpreter a more powerful position (Berk-Seligson 2009: 54), in the sense that they side with the interviewer, which means that the interpreter loses their invisibility and offer support to the victim. In terms of face, this use of *we* appears to be related to protecting the victim's positive face, in a way that the trainee interpreter encourages pragmatic solidarity with the victim, using an inclusive face orientation (Serrano 2000: 210).

On the other hand, in the cases where *we* is shifted into *I*, trainee interpreters seem to take the role of *principal*, or officially responsible for the words that are being said, taking personal "ownership" of those words (Wandensjö 2008: 189). These is illustrated in examples like *Sabemos que esta situación no es fácil* (we know this situation is not easy), which is rendered as *I know the situation is not easy*. In relation to this, various studies in legal interpreting illustrate a common role undertaken by interpreters in both medical and legal interactions, which Merlini and Favaron (2003) label as "narrator". This refers to "instances in which the interpreters use indirect speech to translate an utterance that the original speaker (i.e. the doctor) has addressed (to the patient) directly" (Merlini and Favaron 2003: 219). For instance, Gallai (2013: 183) describes an example where the police interpreter renders *Ele precisa* (He needs) instead of the original *Eu preciso* (I need) in the utterance *I still need you to speak loudly and clearly*, which is rendered as *Ele precisa que tu fales suficientemente alto para a tua voz ser captada* (he needs you to speak loud enough to pick up your voice). Instead, this footing from the first to the third person was considered to add a distancing effect in an interpreter-mediated police interview with a child victim, by emphasising personal non-involvement (Wadensjö 1998: 19). This is corroborated by Pöllabauer (2007) in interpreter-mediated interactions

in asylum hearings. In Pöllabauer's research, interpreters may change the pronoun footing to protect their own positive face by indicating the authorship (officer or asylum seeker) of face-threatening utterances (questions, offensive utterances) and, hence, distancing themselves from the responsibility of the face-threat.

Personal footing of the trainee interpreter in my study seems to be aimed at building rapport with the victim from an individual and more personal perspective, which is the general trend in the interpretation of rapport in the scenarios. In this sense, it seems coherent that other interpreting roles, as the *narrator* (explained above), are not present in the data, since the shifts are aimed at aligning with the victim and questions or requests in victim's interviews are not face-threatening in nature. In addition, this could potentially be due to the fact that my data was collected in a training context and the interpreter-mediated scenarios were part of the training assessment. In both contexts of training, as in interpreting training in general, the maintenance of the first-person in the interpreted renditions is always emphasised (Gile 1999) and is usually one of the components to bear in mind when evaluating the interpreting assessment. Thus, in contexts of training, the shift to *narrator* mode was less likely.

Another significant finding in relation to translation shifts through pronominal variation is the use of *you* formal (*usted*) and *you* informal *(tú*) in the scenarios where English police utterances are rendered into Spanish. The data shows that 52% of the trainee interpreters use both *you* formal and *you* informal throughout the scenario when *you* needs to be rendered, which means that, when addressing the victim, they use both pronouns in the rendition of *you* into Spanish. Although the use of these forms of address has traditionally been correlated to power or features such as age or social and professional status[81] prior research suggests that they relate to social identities and face, and they address the social image of speakers. Serrano (2017: 97) states that speakers select *tú* or *usted* by "choosing the *meaning* they consider to be more appropriate for the accomplishment of their communicative goals". The use of *tú*, which frequently appears in rapport-building expressions, is usually linked to the speakers needing to feel closer to each other to achieve their conversational tasks, or in cases where there is a higher degree of subjectivity in the communication. In contrast *usted* implies a higher objectivity in the

[81] Brown and Levinson (1987) associate particular linguistic forms with particular politeness strategies.

communication goals, but may also imply emotional distance from the interlocutor, or the speaker's attempt to bring a self-image of seriousness and neutrality. It is interesting to observe that trainee interpreters seem to follow this cognitive pattern when using these forms of address. In these cases, the use of *tú* is frequently connected to a mark of solidarity or bonding with the victim, in cases where it is explicit that the police officer is trying to build rapport through acknowledging the victim's feelings, for instance in utterances like *Don't worry, we are here to help you*, which are rendered as *No te preocupes, estamos aquí para ayudarte* (don't worry, we are here to help you-informal).

On the other hand, the form *tú* in Peninsular Spanish has gained popularity in situations involving solidarity or in-group membership, especially among younger speakers (Blas Arroyo 1994-1995; Serrano 2017), which is the case of university students in this data sample. Blas Arroyo (1994-1995) points out that Peninsular Spanish societies have shifted from a preference for negative politeness strategies (marking deference, respect and distance) to a preference for positive politeness strategies, marking solidarity, equality and in-group communities. The use of *tú* could also be explained for two other reasons. Firstly, trainee interpreters were familiar with the lecturer role-playing as the victim. Secondly, the lecturer in question was part of the trainee interpreters' generation in terms of age.

Lastly, the interpreting of the form of address needs consideration in relation to police rapport. Addressing the victim by her first name (stated by the victim as preferred form of address) is advised in police guidelines as a common rapport technique (section 2.3.1). This is observed in the Spanish training context, where data shows that there is a tendency to convey the victim's first name, especially into Spanish. This contrasts with results from professional interpreters in police interviews, who tend to omit the interviewee's first name found in the original police utterances. Gallai (2017) examines this in an interpreter-mediated witness interview with a vulnerable child. In this interview, the professional interpreter tends to omit the interviewee's first name found in the original police utterance in English, when interpreting into Portuguese (Gallai 2017: 184). In contrast, in my study with trainee interpreters, conveying the victim's first name from English into Spanish seems to be the norm.

Although generalisations cannot be made due to the number of participants in the study, there are two possible reasons for this tendency. The first one is that the victim's name in the renditions into Spanish is *Irene*, which is a Spanish name, as opposed to *Jane* and *Brooke*, which are the victims' names in the renditions into English. Therefore, trainee interpreters would convey more frequently a common Spanish name like *Irene*, as opposed to the English names. Another possible reason for the rendition of the victim's first name could be that, in Spanish, the use of appellatives or nominal forms of addressee can be used strategically as a mitigation mechanism (Iglesias-Recuero 2007: 30), which could also explain this tendency.

As stated above, all these shifts in pronouns and affiliation reveal a general trend in relation to personal footing of the trainee interpreters, expressing what seems to be an unconscious way of aligning with the victim, sometimes by inadvertently expressing extra rapport, which does not appear in the original utterance. Since the role of the interpreter is to transfer rapport-building accurately, both semantically and pragmatically, this pattern indicates that trainee interpreters are overstepping that role, which in police settings can hinder the police interviewing technique used by the police interviewer.

8.4.4 Issues of individual characteristics and emotion

In relation to the victim's expression of feelings and emotions, the data analysis shows that there is a prominent tendency for trainee interpreters to intensify the victim's original expression of feelings in the interpreted utterances. These intensification shifts are undertaken differently depending on trainee interpreters' L1. L1 Spanish trainee interpreters tend to use repetition as the most common intensification mechanism, which is the result of a Spanish cross-linguistic difference (as already mentioned in section 8.4.2), whereas L1 English interpreters seem to employ other intensifiers, like intensifying adverbs. This is observed in examples like *Estaba tan aterrorizada* (I was so terrified), which is rendered as *I was extremely terrified* by one L1 English trainee interpreter, and as *I was so so terrified* by one L1 Spanish trainee interpreter.

Intensifications in the victim's interpreted utterances seem to be related to paralinguistic features, in the case of this study this means prosodic features related to the victim's voice intonation. As explained in section 6.6.5, in both scenarios the victim's voice may tremble

or falter at certain points while speaking, showing emotional effort, distress or despair. In reference to previous research, it can be highlighted that interpreters and trainee interpreters find it difficult to interpret paralinguistic features, such as tone, pitch and intonation (Iglesias Fernández 2010; Crezee and Burn 2019: 357) and that these may be beyond the interpreter's conscious control (Williams 1995: 47). Hale (2004), in her study on interpreting questions in court hearings, noted that professional interpreters focused on maintaining propositional content, and disregarded or omitted other pragmatically important markers, like paralinguistic features (tone and prosody), which became invisible in the interpreting utterances. Ahrens (2005) also stated that prosodic features needed to be conveyed in the interpreting utterances since they deal with meaning that is important for the addressee. However, studies on prosodic features do not seem to have explored emotional intonation features in consecutive interpreting. Paralinguistic and non-verbal features have only received attention in PSI in recent years and have mainly focused on simultaneous interpreting in relation to pauses, pitch movements (i.e. monotonous intonation), and anomalous stress (Ahrens 2004, 2005; Collados Aís 1998; Lee 1999; Shlesinger 1994; Williams 1995), or gaze (Pasquandrea 2011). Prosodic features in consecutive interpreting have only been explored in relation to fluency (Mead 2005; Mead 2002a). In this sense, interpreting researchers such as Bancroft (2015) or Crezee and Burn (2019) emphasise the importance of having the trainee interpreters become aware of all aspects of interlocutors' utterances, including paralinguistic and prosodic features.

In addition, intensification in the expression of feelings and emotions seem to reveal an inclination, on the part of the trainee interpreters, to align with the victim, which could be related to emotional contagion (Korpal and Jasielka 2018). As stated by Bontempo and Napier (2011: 87) both psychological and affective factors may have implications in interpreting. Studies conducted on the role of the interpreter (Grbić 2010; Hokkanen 2019) suggest that, when interpreters negotiate their role with the other participants in the interaction, this triggers affective responses, in relation to feeling of similarity and difference, or, in other words, "different levels of familiarity, sympathy, foreignness, or even repulsion" (Hokkanen 2019: 64). In the case of victims of crime, as stated by Abril Martí (2015: 88), interpreters may feel tempted to identify themselves with the victim and comfort her, which seems to be the reason behind the trainee interpreters' intensification of the victim's feelings and emotions.

The affective phenomenon of emotional contagion in interpreting has been explored empirically by Korpal and Jasielka (2018). In their study, one of the few studies investigating interpreters' emotional reaction to the content of the utterances to be interpreted, they showed that interpreters were impacted by emotional contagion and tended to converge emotionally with the interlocutor, which was reflected both in their body reaction and in their self-reported emotions. Their study seems to correlate with the findings in my data, which also show that trainee interpreters seem to be affected by the emotions expressed by the victim and, therefore, intensify these emotions or add expressions of emotional contagion, which emerges as pragmatic intensification in the victim's utterances.

As observed, this emotional contagion in my study seems to be triggered by prosodic features represented in the intonation of the victim's voice. One must take into account that intonation variation is not usually expressed by the trainee interpreters, so the data shows that adding linguistic intensification correlates with the interpretation of the distress communicated by the victim's voice and may be considered an appropriate way of preserving pragmatic equivalence on some occasions as in the example above, where the victim's voice intonation in the original utterance *Estaba tan aterrorizada* (I was so terrified) shows her distress. However, the fact that trainee interpreters seem to suffer emotional contagion may trigger modifications or intensifications in the victim's interpreting utterances that lose the original meaning, as it has been observed in the data, in instances like the original *Vale, yo quiero que lo que quede muy claro es que me da mucho miedo volver a casa por lo que me pueda llegar a hacer si vuelvo* (ok, what I want to make really clear is that I'm very scared of going back home, because of what he'll be willing to do if I go back), which is rendered as *I just want to make sure that's very clear that I'm afraid to go home, because I'm scared that he'll be there, you know, waiting to hurt me.* Or the original *Sí, perdón, es que estoy un poco nerviosa* (yeah, sorry, I'm just a bit nervous), which is rendered as *Yeah, sure, I'm just really nervous and I'm really sorry that it's taking me so long*. These representative examples highlight the drawback of being affected by the victim's emotions, which may let the interpreters go beyond their role by adding complete sentences to show their alignment with her. This goes in line with the rendition of face-enhancing expressions, particularly in relation to *Appreciation for the victim's contribution* (explained in section 7.3.1-iv), where the tendency to

intensify these expressions becomes more frequently towards the second part of the scenarios, once the victim has expressed her suffering and distress.

My study aligns with perspectives that show the fact that emotional contagion should be explored in interpreting training (Korpal and Jasielka 2018; Rojo-López and Cifuentes-Férez 2021), since it can trigger not only linguistic intensification in the victim's feelings, but also other problematic modifications that can have a detrimental impact in the victim's testimony.

One final aspect that needs attention is that the trainee interpreters' individual characteristics are relevant to the renditions of rapport-building expressions and the victim's feelings and emotions. This is linked to trainee interpreters' EQ test score (section 6.6.6). My results indicate that individual differences in the trainee interpreters' EQ test score are relevant when conveying rapport. Namely, trainee interpreters who scored significantly higher (53 or more) on the EQ test, are the ones who tend to add a higher degree of pragmatic modifications to the original rapport or rapport-relevant feature in the interpreted utterances, usually pragmatic shifts that change the illocutionary force of the utterance. As an illustration, the average of pragmatic additions matching voice distress in the interpreted scenario is 4 for the trainee interpreters who scored 53 or higher, in contrast to 1 pragmatic addition for the ones scoring less than 53. This means that trainee interpreters scoring 53 or higher, do tend to change the illocutionary force of the victim's utterances when interpreting the victim's feelings. For example, when the victim expressed her distress by sobbing while speaking, there was a shift in the original adverb *un poco* in *Estoy un poco nerviosa* (I'm a bit nervous) into *so* as in *I'm so nervous*. The emotional contagion that may happen here interferes with the interpreting renditions of trainee interpreters with a higher degree of individual empathy. These linguistic intensifications affect the pragmatic force of both the police utterances, and the victim' utterances, which can have perlocutionary implications in real police interviews. It highlights, therefore, that trainee interpreters with higher empathy tend to be most affected by emotional contagion, which has an impact on their interpreting renditions.

Although it seems that the relationship between adult empathy measurement and linguistic police rapport has not been researched so far, this finding aligns with the Korpal and Jasielka's (2018) aforementioned study on emotional contagion in simultaneous

interpreters. In the medical field, Krystallidou et al.'s (2018) study with trainee interpreters in simulated consultations, also found that the interpreters' renditions had an impact on the patients' empathic opportunities and the doctors' empathic responses. In this case, empathic opportunities were subjected to shifts in the interpreting renditions, which resulted in either an increase or a reduction in meaning and/or intensity on the empathic opportunities even if trainee interpreters' individual empathy was not measured in this study.

Other interpreting studies have explored personality traits in trainee interpreters, illustrating that personality factors influence the interpreter's performance. For example, psychological variables have implications in the acquisition of new interpreting skills (Bontempo et al. 2014), as do cognitive abilities and soft skills in the interpreting aptitude (Russo 2011). In addition, interpreters' anxiety can affect effective coping skills (Timarová and Salaets 2011), as well as other psychological variables, such as confidence. These personality traits are integral dimensions determining trainee interpreters' renditions (Shaw and Hughes 2006).

8.5 Implications of the findings for theory and practice in police interpreting

The findings from my investigation in interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims have both theoretical and practical implications that contribute to interpreting studies. This is particularly so in the context of policing, but also in other interpreting contexts more broadly, for instance health services and social working, where rapport-building is an essential component of the communicative goal of the interaction.

Overall, my findings reveal that rapport-building features are modified in interpreter-mediated interviews with victims, particularly in scenarios which present a degree of violence (both verbal and physical violence). The different shifts that appear in the interpreting renditions in relation to rapport-building show that shifts are due to several factors, especially cross-linguistic differences between languages, but also the approach to scenario scripts, interpreters' emotional contagion, interpreters' personal characteristics (like EQ test scoring) or type of victim. We now turn to detail the implications of these findings, firstly in relation to interpreting practice and, secondly, in terms of their theoretical significance for interpreting studies as a whole.

Given the key role of rapport-building in police interviews, we contend that it would be beneficial, in training (and beyond), to draw interpreters' attention to: firstly, the rapport-building features that matter in this context and, secondly, the range of possible interpreter-induced modifications that such features may be subject to as a result of interpreting, as identified in this study. Increased awareness and targeted practice may reduce instances of inaccurate interpreting that may interfere with the conduct of the interview and potentially result in miscarriages of justice. Inaccurate renditions may hinder the interview aims, which in the end can jeopardise individual rights in the justice system.

In this regard, several translation shifts appear in the interpreting utterances in relation to rapport and rapport-relevant features. These shifts are triggered by different factors, particularly the fact that trainee interpreters do not seem to capture the original intention behind rapport-building expressions. We noticed that, in some cases, the translation shifts undertaken do not interfere in the rapport-building, since they preserve the pragmatic equivalence of the original utterance, for instance when interpreters use appropriate strategies when interpreting politeness in the target language (Hale 1997) as in *Please, if you are not happy at any time we can take a break*, which is rendered as *Si en algún momento no estás bien podemos hacer un descanso* (if at any time you are not ok we can take a break).

However, on many occasions, trainee interpreters modify the original rapport expression, which can be intensified in the interpreting rendition, for instance when the face-threat of an original request is attenuated in the interpreting rendition, as in *I need to know what happened last night*, which is rendered as *Me gustaría que me expliques un poco lo que pasó anoche* (I would like you to explain to me a bit what happened last night). On other occasions, the rapport-building element may be lost in the interpreting rendition, as in the example of the rapport expression *tranquila*, which is rendered as *relax*, where it loses the rapport communicative function in the context of interviewing a victim.

In line with this, descriptions of physical and particularly verbal abuse in the form of insults, remain also a challenge for trainee interpreters. These types of descriptions are essential in the investigative process and require precision in the interpreting renditions.

In the case of my research, the findings reveal that these expressions are not omitted. However, trainee interpreters do not always render them appropriately since they are not trained in the pragmatic equivalence of offensive language. This means that they may not understand the intention and effect of the verbal abuse in the original utterance and, therefore, are unable to render it appropriately in the interpreting rendition to achieve the same effect in the hearer (Hale et al. 2020).

My findings also raise awareness on how these translation shifts that appear in the interpreting renditions may impact the victim's testimony. This is illustrated in relation to the interpreters' footing in the police-victim interaction, where data highlights the active participation of the trainee interpreter in the interaction, which is noticeable in the pronoun shifts. On many occasions, the trainee interpreter affiliates with the police interviewer, particularly in the cases of acknowledgment of the victim's feelings, when the interviewer is expressing their support to the victim.

Regardless that some modifications in the interpreting renditions are appropriate, the fact that trainee interpreters are not explicitly briefed on the role that rapport plays in police interviews and the forms that it may take, both in English and Spanish, makes it more likely that problematic modifications are produced in the interpreted renditions, which interfere with rapport-building. As expressed by Hale (2010) the interpreters' goal is to achieve pragmatic equivalence, in the sense that they "interpret from the source to the targe language in such a way that the listeners in the target language understand and react to the message in the same way that listeners in the source language would" (Hale 2010: 445). This means conveying "the intention behind the utterance, its illocutionary point and force and desired perlocutionary effect" (Hale et al. 2020: 374), which would assure that meaning, function and communicative effect and goals in utterances in both languages match, in order to obtain the accurate transfer of police rapport-building.

The findings show that an apparent lack of awareness, lack of dedicated training and practical knowledge about pragmatic meaning and pragmatic equivalence interfere in the rendition of police rapport. This is also expressed by several police interpreting researchers (Gallai 2017; Hale 1996; Liu 2020; Krouglov 1999) and can be linked to the fact that training courses in legal interpreting, and police interpreting in particular, place more emphasis on grammatical and semantic ability than on pragmatic competence

(Gallai 2013: 287). In the case of police rapport, the following example extracted for my data analysis illustrates that the rapport-building expression *tranquila* (it's ok), would need a pragmatic translation in order to express its communicative goal of rapport-building:

Rapport-building expression: *Tranquila*

- Semantic translation: *Calm down/ Relax*
- Pragmatic translation (in the context of police rapport-building): *It's ok*

Pragmatic equivalence has been largely explored in translation studies and translation training (written texts) following the translation strategy introduced already by St. Jerome[82] with the idea that the sense should have priority over the form. However, we could say that pragmatics in Interpreting studies have only received attention in the last few decades. This is due to the large tradition of conference interpreting training in Europe and the application of conference interpreting techniques to other types of interpreting training (section 3.7.2). This research highlights the importance of pragmatic equivalence in Interpreting studies, particularly in legal interpreting and police interpreting. This is supported by other interpreting research (Hale et. al. 2020; Hale et al. 2019; Liu 2020; Gallai 2017), which advocates for additional interpreting training in relation to language in use, not only at the semantic level, but also at the pragmatic level, ensuring that trainee interpreters understand how differences in language in use can affect the outcome of the police interview.

Another aspect surmised from the findings is that interpreters' emotional contagion seems to impact both the renditions of the victim's feelings and the renditions of rapport expressions related to the acknowledgment of these feelings. In both cases, this seems to be triggered by the presence of prosodic features in relation to the victim's voice, who is expressing her suffering and/or distress through voice intonation. Although trainee interpreters do not translate the victim's prosodic features, they add linguistic intensifiers which do not appear in the original utterance, sometimes bringing changes to the pragmatic meaning of the original utterance. It could be argued that the addition of linguistic intensifications in the interpreting renditions may be a way for the trainee

[82] St. Jerome is considered the father of translation theory. As a translator of the Bible, in one of his letters to Pammachius (Jerome 395 CE, in Robinson 1997a, pp. 23-30), he included his famous translation strategy "I render not word for word, but sense for sense" (Jerome 395/1997: 25).

interpreters to compensate for the difficulty of reproducing the original prosodic features (Ahrens 2005). This could be considered as appropriate to some extent to accurately convey the original prosodic intensification. However, attention should be devoted in interpreting training to make interpreters aware of prosodic features (Bancroft 2015; Crezee and Burn 2019) in this type of interpreter-mediated interaction, where it is common that the victim expresses her feelings by using prosodic marks. In addition, emotional contagion could be explored with practice in relation to real interpreting scenarios where the victim is emotionally distressed. At the same time, prosodic features appear to have a higher impact in the interpreted renditions of trainee interpreters who scored higher in the EQ test. This means that trainee interpreters with an EQ test score of 53 higher (meaning an empathic ability above average) added 4 linguistic intensifications in the scenario. In comparison, trainee interpreters who scored less than 53 (meaning an empathic ability lower than average) only added 1 intensification. Although an in-depth psycholinguistic analysis has not been conducted since it would be out of the scope of this thesis, this result seems to indicate that personal and psychological characteristics may play a role in the interpreting process and must be taken into account when training interpreters in these highly emotional settings. Some individuals may be more prone to suffer emotional contagion and therefore intensify the victim's feelings or modify related police utterances as a way of aligning with the victim. In relation to this, the type of scenario needs to be taken into account. The nature of the scenario seems to affect modifications, particularly in the interpreting renditions of the victim's utterances, where description of physical and verbal abuse (as in the DV scenarios) triggers more modifications than in the case of only verbal abuse (as in the WD scenarios).

These findings suggest that interpreting in highly emotional settings, like police interviews with victims, may pose a challenge for trainee interpreters. Thus, it highlights the importance of incorporating emotional-related attention to interpreting training in police and other highly emotional interpreting settings. The aim would be to reduce interpreters' unconscious temptation to identify with the victim (Abril Martí 2015; Foulquié-Rubio and Rojo-López 2020), and therefore, avoid any interference with the accurate conveyance of both police rapport-building expressions and the victim's utterances. From a theoretical perspective, these findings highlight the importance of including non-verbal (prosodic and emotive features) in interpreting studies, which, like other pragmatic aspects, tend to be neglected.

In relation to methodological implications, this research testifies to the value of combining ethnographic observation and discourse-pragmatic analysis, which made it possible to design targeted research tools based on real interviewing practice, and gain a clearer understanding of the factors that impact the interpreting utterances, in this case in the context of police interpreting. As Sachtleben and Denny (2011) state, raising pragmatic awareness in interpreting training should be an essential part of interpreters' skill set. Using authentic examples, like the ones drawn from real interpreting practice can help to the effective teaching pragmatic competence, as also observed by Napier (2006) and Denny (2008).

Finally, trainee interpreters should be aware of rapport-building techniques used by police interviews and their importance in the context of interviewing victims. By receiving specific instruction and practice on police rapport-building features, they would be able to recognise and convey them accurately in the interpreting renditions. This would avoid the involuntary or unintentional obstruction of rapport-building techniques used by police officers. Moreover, in long utterances, rapport-building expressions tended to be omitted most when they appear in the middle of the utterance, as a result of the serial-position effect. This could be taken into account in police interviewing training when the interview is interpreter-mediated. When the rapport-building expression appears at the beginning or at the end of the utterance, my findings evidence that this expression seems easier to render, and consequently, would be less likely to affect the rapport-building technique the police officer is using. This indicates that an interdisciplinary approach to interpreter-mediated police interviews and training is key to understanding challenges in these settings, concerning the contribution of different professionals. In this sense, joint training provision agreed between interpreting trainers and police academies could benefit both parties, as demonstrated in some (limited) initiatives (mentioned in section 3.5), with the ultimate goal of preventing interpreters from interfering with the rapport-building dimension of police interviews with victims.

8.6 Summary

This chapter has delved into the main findings achieved through my data analysis. It has aimed at shedding light on relevant challenges trainee interpreters face in interpreter-

mediated interviews with victims, in relation to the interpreting of rapport-building and rapport-relevant expressions. Close-renditions, modifications and omissions in the interpreting renditions have been explored and linked to the data variables and the rationale behind these. Police questions and requests, as well as the expression of the victim's feelings and emotions have been examined in relation to the rendition of rapport, revealing a number of semantic and pragmatic shifts, footing and emotional contagion.

The focus in this study has been primarily on the pragmatic shifts in the interpreting utterances, since the linguistic level at which rapport is conveyed primarily relates to language use, i.e. pragmatics. These shifts are triggered by several elements, which include the trainee interpreter's L1, the direction of translation, the type of victim in the scenario, the interpreter's footing, and individual characteristics such as trainee interpreters' level of empathy. Throughout this chapter, my findings have been compared with other relevant research studies, expounding on similarities and differences with these. Finally, in relation to my findings, I have suggested several practical and theoretical implications, with reference to interpreters' training and interpreting studies, respectively, particularly in relation to pragmatic accuracy and the importance of accounting for emotional contagion when interpreting in police interviews with victims.

As explained in chapter 2 (section 2.2), police interviews with victims have the ultimate goal of obtaining a faithful, accurate and detailed account of what the victim has experienced (Fisher and Geiselman 1992). In order to achieve this, rapport-building is viewed as essential to the success of most interviews (Walsh and Bull 2012). This is because interviews are psychologically stressful and the victim may feel anxious, which may consume some of their cognitive resources (Dando et al. 2016). This can have detrimental consequences, hindering the dynamics of the interview, and leading to further negative results in the legal system. Since linguistic rapport is tied to language in use, pragmatic accuracy would allow interpreters to convey appropriately the intention and effect of rapport and rapport-relevant features from one language to another.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

Rapport-building is considered one of the keys to the success of most police interviews (Walsh and Bull 2012; Dando et al. 2016). In 2016, Juan E. Méndez, the former United Nations' Special Rapporteur on torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment (2010-2016) highlighted that "the development and maintenance of rapport is […] a crucial determinant of effective non-coercive interviews. Rapport can help to reduce the interviewee's anxiety, anger or distress, while increasing the likelihood of obtaining more complete and reliable information" (Bull and Baker 2020: 61). Bearing in mind the importance of rapport-building in police interviews, this study observed whether linguistic rapport-building was appropriately dealt with in interpreter-mediated police interviews.

The purpose of this final chapter is to summarise the main research findings in relation to the initial research questions (section 9.1). Furthermore, it discusses the thesis' contribution to the field of police interviewing and interpreting, and it outlines final recommendations in section 9.2. Section 9.3 is dedicated to limitations of the research, and finally, section 9.4 suggests relevant avenues for future scholarly investigations in this vein.

9.2 Summary of the main findings

Based on police guidelines and ethnographic observation, two types of police simulated scenarios with victims were designed for the purpose of this research. These scenarios were adapted to two interpreting programmes in two higher education contexts, one in the UK and one in Spain. The scenarios, which formed the basis of the empirical contribution, featured an English or Spanish police interviewer and an English or Spanish victim, depending on the specificities of the training context. They were role-played by university lecturers, and interpreted by the trainee interpreters who were being trained in their corresponding universities. The trainee interpreters were either L1 English speakers or L1 Spanish speakers. Applying a discourse-pragmatic approach, the rapport-building interpreted utterances and other rapport-relevant features were analysed linguistically and

classified into close renditions, modifications and omissions. This enabled us to detect, classify and describe the translation shifts performed by the trainee interpreters and the relevant cross-linguistic features that impacted the rendition of police rapport-building. The examination of the data also revealed other significant factors that had an influence in the rapport conveyance, such as victim-type features or interpreters' emotional contagion.

The three research questions initially posed in section 1.3 are answered as follows:

9.2.1 Research question 1: To what extent is rapport-building addressed in interpreter-mediated police interviews training in the UK and Spain?

Examination of interpreting training courses in higher education in the UK and Spain reveal that police rapport-building techniques are not addressed in these contexts of training. Programmes in legal interpreting may include elements of police interpreting. However, police interviewing techniques are not mentioned in these training programmes. In addition, other specialised training in police interpreting, both in the UK and Spain, do not seem to touch upon police rapport, despite being one of the main investigative interviewing dimensions used in police interviews. This confirms hypothesis 1, which anticipated that rapport building techniques are not explicitly included in interpreting practice. Therefore, trainee interpreters do not seem to be familiar with police rapport-building techniques and, consequently, may be unaware of how to interpret rapport, or even the need to interpret rapport features.

9.2.2 Research question 2: What are the translation shifts enacted by trainee interpreters when conveying rapport in police interviews with victims?

Rapport expressions do get conveyed in the interpreted utterances. This contrasts with the initial hypothesis 2, originally put forward in relation to this research question, which purported that there would be a general tendency of omission of rapport-building expressions due to the trainee interpreters not being explicitly briefed on the role of police rapport and due to rapport expressions not carrying content information. Conveyance accounts for 84% in the British training context and 79% in the Spanish training context, whereas omissions only account for 16% and 21% respectively. Therefore, we can say that there is some omission but no general tendency of omission. However, hypothesis 2

is partially confirmed in that, while omissions are not frequent, there is a tendency to modify rapport-building expressions in the interpreted renditions, presenting shifts that usually modify the pragmatic force of the original rapport utterance. In most cases, this results in intensifying the meanings expressed in the original utterance. Translation shifts observed are mainly at the pragmatic level, showing changes in footing, particularly with regard to shifts in pronouns. This results in a tendency among trainee interpreters to be on the same footing with the police interviewer, in an attempt to show extra support to the victim. This aligns with studies in the medical field where professional interpreters aligned themselves with the doctor's comments by using the first-person plural pronoun *we* instead of the original *I* expressed by the doctor. However, in the case of shifts from direct speech pronouns into indirect speech pronouns (usually *I* into *he/she*), the findings diverge from other studies undertaken with professional interpreters (Gallai 2013; Merlini and Faravon 2003). In these studies, pronoun shifts appeared to distance the interpreter from the speaker. This divergence seems to be due to two reasons. Firstly, the interpreters in my study were trainee interpreters in their context of training, where the use of direct speech is highly emphasised and practiced (Gile 1999). Secondly, the condition of the scenarios being interviews with victims also played a role in the sense that they included less face-threatening utterances in comparison to interviewing with suspects. Therefore, trainee interpreters did not have the need to protect their own positive face by indicating that they are not the author of the face-threatening utterances. This contrasts with research in interpreter-mediated asylum interviews (Pöllabauer 2007).

Shifts in relation to the illocutionary force of the original rapport expressions were also observed in the addition of linguistic intensifiers. This was mostly in relation to the victim's expression of feelings, where it seems that, when the victim prosodically expressed her suffering or distress, there was a tendency to add linguistic intensifiers to the rapport expression that appeared in the following police utterance. Analysis of the victim expressions of feelings and emotions show that similar modifications occurred in these renditions, which presented shifts aimed at intensifying the original meaning. This was more noticeable when prosodic features in the victim's voice were present and when she expressed her suffering vocally. In addition, when examining police questions and requests, translation shifts were observed with regard to the type of structure, with shifts to more direct or more indirect structures in the interpreting renditions.

It must be highlighted that interpretation of physical, and particularly verbal abuse in the form of insults, remained a challenge for trainee interpreters. However, omissions were not the norm when interpreting these items, which diverges from studies with professional legal interpreters which tended to omit vulgar language (Dueñas González et al. 1991; Hale et al. 2020). The fact that there are no such omissions in my study is likely due to the trainee interpreters being under assessment conditions and not having public exposure, which contrasts with professional interpreters in the aforementioned studies.

In relation to omissions of rapport expressions in the interpreting utterances, although it is not a general tendency overall, certain rapport-building expressions tended to be omitted by the trainee interpreters. These were brief confirmation cues, such as *ok?*, used by the police interviewer to check the victim's understanding. In line with similar research on legal interpreting, both professional interpreters and trainee interpreters seem to disregard this type of brief expressions, which are considered "disposal" language (Hale 2004) or "garbage" (Czyzewski 1995). This happens especially in consecutive interpreting as opposed to simultaneous interpreting, where strategic omissions are common (Kalina 2005; Mason 2008). However, in relation to the expression of police rapport, omission of brief confirmation cues in the interpreted renditions frequently have pragmatic implications, in the sense that they may change the perlocutionary force of the utterance by hindering the communicative rapport intention of the police interviewer.

9.2.3 Research question 3: What are the cross-linguistic factors that impact the outcome of the interpretation in the context of rapport-building translation?

Several aspects in relation to cross-linguistic differences between English and Spanish were elicited from the findings. This confirms the research hypothesis 3, which stated that cross-linguistic challenges would impact the outcome of the interpretation. Firstly, in relation to rapport-building interpreting renditions with no modifications (close renditions), direction of translation was relevant. This means that rendering into L1, rather than into L2, facilitates close renditions, which is in line with other studies in interpreting that show that interpreting into L1 results in higher accuracy in general (De Groot 2011; De Bot 2000).

Secondly, trainee interpreters' L1, English or Spanish in the case of this study, had an impact on the modifications appearing in the interpreted utterances. In the renditions of police questions and requests, and in relation to shifts in the sentence structure, L1 Spanish trainee interpreters tended to use more direct structures in the interpreted renditions into L2 English. In contrast, L1 English trainee interpreters tended to use more indirect structures into L2 Spanish. This reflects a general tendency of Spaniards to use a more direct type of questioning and requesting, whereas Britons have an inclination towards more indirect structures (Hernández-López 2008; Bravo 2008). However, it must be highlighted that rapport-building expressions seemed to also influence the interpretating renditions of questions and requests. This was noticed in that, despite the tendency of L1 Spanish trainee interpreters to use more direct structures when interpreting police questions and requests, they still kept some form of mitigation when the question or request came together with a rapport-building expression. This resonates with other studies where some form of attenuation or mitigation was also kept in questions or utterances perceived as face-threatening (Savvalidou 2011; Magnifico and Defrancq 2016), or in an attempt to avoid the interviewee's discomfort (Berk-Seligson 1990, 2009).

Interpreters' L1 effect was also observed in the rendition of rapport-building expressions. For instance, L1 English trainee interpreters kept personal pronouns in their renditions into L1 Spanish, and L1 Spanish interpreters used repetition in their renditions into L2 English. Both shifts resulted in a change in the pragmatic force of the original utterance. This resonates with other interpreting studies, particularly with research in cross-examination court interpreting (Mason and Stewart 2001; Hale 1999; Liu and Hale 2018; Liu 2020; Berk-Seligson 2009) but also police interpreting (Gallai 2013; Berk-Seligson 1999; Nakane 2014). In this study, changing the illocutionary force of the original utterance had an impact on the rendition of police rapport. Trainee interpreters' L1 was also relevant in relation to the rendition of physical abuse or insults. In this case, trainee interpreters were influenced by their L1 when interpreting insults that did not have an evident equivalent in their L2, (as in the case of *silly cow* in Spanish) and relied more on the word meaning equivalence rather than pragmatic equivalence, thus completely changing both the semantic quality of the expression and its pragmatic force.

Thirdly, direction of translation was also relevant in relation to translation shifts, where it was observed that trainee interpreters used different shifts depending on the translation

going into their L1 or L2. One example is the addition of the polite marker *please* when interpreting into English even though this marker was not present in the original Spanish, and another, is the omission of *please* when interpreting into Spanish even though it was present in the English original. This is in line with other research in court interpreting with professional interpreters. Such studies suggest that interpreters tend to use conventional indirectness when interpreting into English (Mason and Stewart 2001; Krouglov 1999), and also use appropriate politeness strategies in the interpreting combination English/Spanish (Hale 2004).

Lastly, rapport-building renditions were influenced by the trainee interpreters' L2 speaking environment, which impacted the translation shifts that appeared in the interpreting utterances. Renditions by L1 Spanish trainee interpreters studying and living in the UK presented shifts that were also present in the L1 English interpreters' renditions. However, these shifts did not appear in the renditions of L1 Spanish interpreters studying and living in Spain. Such shifts include, for instance, the presence of personal pronouns when interpreting into Spanish, which modified the illocutionary force in relation to the original utterance. This aligns with other research that shows that the L2 speaking environment has an influence on the L2 learners, whereby they may transfer L2 linguistic patterns into their L1 when living abroad (Pinto and De Pablos-Ortega 2014).

9.2.4 Modifications in the context of rapport-building translation: Other factors

While analysing the data, it was observed that some other aspects beyond cross-linguistic factors impacted the rendition of rapport-building and rapport-relevant expressions. These factors were additionally examined and included in the detailed analysis undertaken in chapter 7, and in relation to the translation shifts observed in the renditions. In the case of omissions, findings indicated a tendency to omit the rapport-building expression when appearing in the middle of a long police utterance. This was related to the serial-position effect (Roediger and Crowder 1976), a memory phenomenon by which individuals tend to remember the middle items of a series worse than the first and last items (Murdock 1962; Brown 1997).

Moreover, modifications in the interpreted utterances of the victim's feelings seemed to be triggered by a description of both physical and verbal abuse, since a higher number of

modifications were observed in the domestic violence scenarios, where the victim described not only verbal but also physical abuse. In relation to the victim's expression of feelings, modifications were also triggered by the interpreters' emotional contagion and the fact that they seemed to identify themselves with the victim. This was particularly the case when the victim showed instances of suffering via distress in her voice. This contagion also triggered modifications in police rapport expressions aimed at acknowledging those feelings. Research on in the role of emotions in simultaneous interpreting shares similar results (Korpal and Jasielka 2018), where interpreters responded emotionally to the speaker's emotional state.

Finally, trainee interpreters' individual EQ score seemed to correlate with a higher quantity of pragmatic modifications linked to the victim's prosodic features. A higher EQ score was related to a higher number of pragmatic intensifications in the interpreting renditions. Although there are no similar studies which measure interpreters' EQ in correspondence with linguistic shifts, this finding could be related to the studies already mentioned on emotional contagion (Korpal and Jasielka 2018). It could also be related to studies on personality traits that can influence interpreters' performance, showing that these traits have an impact on the acquisition of new interpreting skills (Bontempo et al. 2014), interpreters' anxiety (Timarová and Salaets 2011), or psychological variables such as confidence (Shaw and Hughes 2006).

9.3 Contribution to educational and professional practice

My research is pioneering in that it examines police rapport-building expressions in interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims, a research focus which remains underdeveloped. Through the linguistic analysis of trainee interpreters' renditions of rapport and rapport-relevant features, it contributes to the still incipient research domain of interpreter-mediated police interviews with victims of crime. It sheds light on the interpreting renditions of investigative interviewing techniques in these settings, which also remains under-researched. My study has explored how, in the case of investigative interviews with victims, interpreters can be affected by the victim's expression of distress and may tend to identify themselves with them. This impacts on the interpreting renditions of rapport expressions. Of particular interest is the interpreter's mistranslation of pragmatic meaning, partly arising from rapport-relevant cross-linguistic differences

between English and Spanish and resulting in changes in the original illocutionary force of some interpreted renditions.

As Hale (1997: 211) suggests, "linguistic omissions and additions are often required to ensure accuracy, and interpreters will scan through the utterances and interpret only what they regard as important". However, in the context of police rapport translation, language considered as "disposable" (Russell 2001), and therefore not interpreted, can hinder the police effort to build rapport with the victim. My research proves that what can be regarded as relevant depends on the concrete communicative situation, since in the case of rapport-building, the omission of certain expressions in the interpreted rendition could obstruct the rapport-building technique that the investigative interviewer is trying to use. This can have a detrimental impact on the outcomes of the investigation.

As stated in the academic field of legal interpreting, my research strongly confirms the need for specialised interpreting training with regard to police settings (Mulayim et al. 2015; Howes 2018; Liu and Hale 2018; Gallai 2013). Interpreters' understanding of investigative interviewing techniques can assist them in recognising and maintaining these strategies (Goodman-Delahunty et al. 2020), as well as interpreting training in relation to language in use (Hale and Gonzalez 2017). In addition, in light of my results, interprofessional collaboration by means of joint training between police forces and interpreting institutions could benefit those involved in police interviewing interactions. This has already been demonstrated in the (limited) joint initiatives touching on this matter, such as the TACIT project with interpreters and police forces in the UK, or the SOS-VICS project in relation to interpreting victims of domestic abuse in Spain (mentioned in section 3.5).

In relation to emotional contagion, my study suggests that more research might be beneficial in order to explore in-depth how interpreters may be affected by the speaker's emotions, and how this may, subsequently, have an impact on the interpreting renditions. Risan et al. (2016) describe specific key strategies to manage emotions in police settings. From the strategies recommended for police interviewers, three of these could be adapted to interpreting training. These strategies concern emotional regulation, self-awareness and attention training, such as mindfulness, and they could help interpreters manage their emotions and avoid emotional contagion. From a theoretical perspective, my results also

highlight the importance of including non-verbal features, both prosodic and emotive, in interpreting studies, an area that is still under-researched.

In relation to methodological aspects, my research testifies to the value of combining ethnographic observation and discourse-pragmatic analysis. Observation of real police interviewing practice made it possible to design targeted research tools, which subsequently allowed to gain a clearer understanding of factors that impact the interpreting utterances in interviews with victims.

Finally, following Filipović and Hijazo-Gascón (2018), it is important to highlight that the results of this research do not intend to undermine the work of trainee interpreters or the work of interpreters' trainers. Rather the opposite. They try to create awareness on subtleties in relation to cross-linguistic aspects and investigative interviewing specificities that tend to be overlooked in the context of interpreting training. The present study intends to make a small contribution to other empirical efforts aimed at informing interpreting education, and contributing to joint efforts that describe, rather than prescribe, what happens in interpreting interactions.

9.4 Limitations of the study

Like any study, there are certain limitations to the scholarly contribution of this thesis. Firstly, the data set was relatively small, particularly the sample related to the L1 English trainee interpreters in comparison to the L1 Spanish trainee interpreters. This means that the trends observed in this project have different weight in terms of generalisability, when comparing interpreting renditions from L1 English and L1 Spanish. However, the project's forte lies not in comparing number of participants but providing in-depth qualitative illustrations in relation to interpreting practice and potential challenges.

Furthermore, some data variables differed depending on the training context. This means that some linguistic aspects could not be explored in one of the training contexts. These aspects refer to direction of translation in the British context, and L2 speaking environment (immersion) in the Spanish context. In addition, the Spanish context did not allow to explore L1 Spanish vs. L1 English, since there were not L1 English participants in UAB. Some rapport-building specific features could not be explored either. This relates

to paraphrasing in the Spanish context and the preferred form of address in the British context. It would have been interesting to explore these aspects. However, to keep the study focus, this research prioritised a non-intervention approach to the assessment format of the training context, which led to the examination of rapport-renditions without any interference from my part.

In relation to how rapport-building is addressed in interpreting training, module outlines and module descriptions were examined in all the British and Spanish institutions which offer a PSI or legal interpreting postgraduate programme. However, this was undertaken in 2021 and due to time restrictions could not be further reviewed afterwards. This means that by the time of the PhD's submission, some programmes may have integrated some rapport-building related-content.

Finally, the analysis focused only on verbal rapport, and did not include aspects related to non-verbal expressions. The transcription conventions used a standardised verbatim (i.e. orthographic), which did not contemplate paralinguistic features. Although the study focused on linguistic rapport expressions, a finer understanding on how rapport is non-verbally interpreted could have enhanced the linguistic results. This could be implemented in future research.

9.5 Further research

In this study I have answered three research questions in relation to police interpreting and rapport-building, which have both pedagogical and theoretical implications. Beyond these pedagogical and theoretical implications, the findings open up avenues for future research. First of all, this study has offered an in-depth qualitative analysis of trainee interpreters' renditions, with quantitative information only in relation to marked trends observed in the analysis. Further research could address a larger data set and could tackle the frequency phenomenon with quantitative statistical analysis, which would complement the qualitative findings of my study.

Secondly, my research addressed interpreter-mediated interviews with victims. This means that rapport-building expressions and rapport-relevant features that appeared in the analysis referred to this type of interview in particular. Future studies could include

interpreter-mediated interviews with other relevant subjects, like suspects or children, in order to further assess how interpreters operate with different interviewee profiles.

Thirdly, the study examined translation shifts in the language pair combination English/Spanish, with engaging results particularly in relation to pragmatic aspects. Applying the analysis to other language combinations could expand the results and discover other linguistic challenges in interpreting training and practice.

Finally, my findings illustrated trends of trainee interpreters who had not received training on investigative interviewing techniques, specifically on rapport-building. It would be interesting to observe whether a pedagogical intervention could have an impact on the rendition of rapport. This could enable an analysis of whether trainee interpreters who receive training on rapport would be better at conveying linguistic rapport expressions than the ones who do not receive said training.

These areas for future research would complement and expand on some of the results derived from my study, which is the first empirical study of its kind to date. As a final remark, this study hopes to benefit both police interpreting and interpreting training institutions through relevant implications in the area of rapport-building. This could help enhance best practice in pedagogical strategies aimed at training interpreters and also help educators in their essential task of preparing individuals to bridge the gap between different languages and cultures in legal procedures and other sensitive communicative contexts.

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APPENDIX 1: SCENARIO HW1 – DV

Heriot-Watt University

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

You have being booked by the police constabulary in your town to interpret between a police officer and a woman who has reported domestic violence. The police officer has already informed the victim about her rights and you have already given your interpreter's statement.

Detective Sergeant Harris	Good morning/afternoon, Ms Rodríguez, I am Detective Sergeant Matt Harris and this is, FIRST NAME, who will be interpreting.
Victim	Me podéis llamar Irene
DS	No problem. So Irene, you are all right sitting there? I appreciate that this is really quite daunting, so please, if you are not happy at any time we can take a break, anything, 2 minutes, 5 minutes, don't worry, we can stop it, and then you can come back, is that ok?
V	[Addressing interpreter] Vale, dile que es que estoy muy asustada, y que no sabía si debía venir… tenía miedo, tengo miedo, no sé si esto será peor pero es que no puedo más, estoy tan cansada, pero no quiero dar pena, solo separarme de él, no quiero verlo más
DS	Please don't worry, we are here to help. Just address me directly and pretend that I understand, ok? You have been very very brave to come to us. Now, we need to check some information. You said to my colleague that you wanted to report an episode of domestic abuse.
V	Sí, contra mi marido, quiero hacer una denuncia a raíz de lo que ocurrió anoche
DS	Ok, before we start with the episode, can I check the spelling… is your surname spelled R-O-D-R-I-G-U-E-Z?
V	Sí, con acento en la i.
DS	And you telephone number is: 0131 449 5267
V	Sí, pero ese es el teléfono de mi casa, mi móvil es 0751 999 3675
DS	Ok. Thank you. Now, we need to know what happened exactly last night. I'd like to ask you to explain, in your own words, what happened, ok? I will ask the interpreter to interpret while you are speaking, so I don't have to interrupt.
V	CHUCHOTAGE - Bueno, pues yo llevo casada 5 años con Raúl, al principio nos entendíamos muy bien, pero el comportamiento de mi marido ha cambiado bastante últimamente, y yo no entendía por qué. Empezó a beber más de la cuenta y empezó a pagarla conmigo. Al principio eran solo discusiones, nada de lo que hacía le parecía bien y me gritaba, a veces me insultaba, pero yo intentaba no darle importancia. Y el caso es que ha ido a peor, hace unos meses me dio un empujón, y luego otro día me dio un bofetón, y bueno, digamos que su nivel de violencia contra mí ha ido aumentando, me ha pegado en varias ocasiones y he tenido que ir al hospital con hematomas. Pero el caso es que anoche cuando llegué a casa él estaba de muy mal humor y me empezó a gritar, me empezó a insultar. Estaba como fuera

	de sí, y de repente me empujón y me caí encima del sofá y me empezó a pegar, yo cerré los ojos, pero me seguía dando, muy fuerte, y en una de esas me cogió por el cuello con las dos manos y se me quedó mirando fijamente, con mirada de loco, pensé que me iba a asfixiar… pero de repente me soltó, y, y… se marchó de la sala y salió de casa. Entonces, bueno, yo esperé cinco minutos, muerta de miedo, y después salí corriendo a casa de mi vecina que me acompañó al hospital, y de ahí vivimos aquí a comisaría, y ya está, esto es resumidamente lo que ocurrió
DS	Thank you, Irene, I can't imagine how hard this must be for you, but we need to ask a little bit more about the attacks.
V	(No responde, está muy afectada)
DS	Don't worry, take you time, I appreciate that having to go through everything again is not particularly pleasant. You are doing very well.
V	Lo siento, es que estoy un poco nerviosa. Primero me dio un empujón y me caí en el sofá, y entonces me empezó a pegar más golpes en la cara, y en los brazos, que me puse delante de la cara para protegerme. Tengo también un hematoma en el cuello, aquí mire. He ido al médico, dice que tengo también una costilla rota y una luxación en el hombro, o algo así.
DS	Thank you, Irene, this is very helpful. I have received the report from your GP which you asked her to send. The interpreter can translate it for you.
	[SIGHT TRANSLATION FROM ENGLISH]
V	Sí, bueno, aunque no sé si lo que me duele más son los golpes o lo que me ha dicho, lo que me llama, lo que dice que soy, es horrible, yo le he querido tanto… Nos vinimos desde España juntos, era nuestro sueño vivir en el extranjero, y ahora mira…
DS	Ok, regarding that, could we also take this a little bit back and talk about the insults? You said he started to insult you, could you remember any of the words he said?
V	Sí, bueno, me da mucha vergüenza decirlo, pero me decía cosas como "eres una mierda", "eres una hija de la gran puta", "te voy a matar". Y mientras me pegaba "mierda, más que mierda" me decía. "Te voy a matar" me lo dijo muchas veces, "te voy a matar", por eso estaba tan aterrorizada
DS	Thank you very much, I am very sorry that you have to go through all this again, but it is very important for us to have all this information in writing. So I really appreciate you efforts to help us in this respect
V	Lo siento, es que tengo miedo de que de verdad me mate, tengo mucho miedo, no quiero volver a casa
DS	I see, I see, don't worry, Irene, that is not going to happen (pause 5 seconds) You said that your husband's behaviour had changed lately. When would you say in your opinion it started to change? Can you remember when this happened?
V	Hace como un mes o así, diría, en realidad yo no sabía por qué, pero la semana pasada encontré esta carta entre sus cosas, es una carta de despido, creo que también por eso está así…
DS	Ok, I see. Getting back to the episode last night, would you say he was drunk? He had drunk alcohol?
V	Bueno, la verdad es que él siempre bebe mucho…

DS	[May repeat the same words the interpreter says] He always drinks a lot… So was he drunk?
V	El abogado me ha dicho que diga que no le vi beber, yo creo que sí había bebido, pero es verdad que no lo vi.
DS	Ok, Irene, so you didn't see him drinking but would it be fair to say that he was under the influence of alcohol?
V	Sí, pero a veces me pega y me insulta sin estar borracho, quiero que queda claro esto, el abogado ha dicho que es importante
DS	Ok, thank you very much, Irene, I am very sorry that you have to go through all this again, but it is very important for us to have all this information in writing. So I really appreciate you efforts to help us in this respect
V	Bueno, y ahora ¿Qué va a ocurrir? ¿Qué van a hacer ustedes?
DS	Well, we're going to go through all this information and process it, and we'll let you know, we will let you know very soon what the next stage will be
V	Bueno, a mí es que me da muchísimo miedo volver a casa, me da muchísimo muchísimo miedo, y yo creo que me puede matar, la próxima vez realmente me puede matar, estoy segura. Él se detuvo en el último momento pero yo no quiero estar en casa con él, volver allí y verlo otra vez… no por favor, no…
DS	Ok, the best thing to do as far as you are concerned will be to NOT stay in your house, to get a friend or a relative to go with you, collect some of your possessions and move temporarily to a safe haven, at the moment it could be your friend's house, a relative's house, while we deal with the issue

APPENDIX 2: SCENARIO HW2 – WD

Heriot-Watt University

WORK DISCRIMINATION

Usted ha sido contratado para interpretar en la declaración policial entre un agente de policía y una mujer que ha denunciado ser víctima de acoso en el ámbito de trabajo. El agente de policía le acaba de informar de sus derechos y usted ya ha pronunciado su declaración de intérprete.

Detective Sergeant Ruth Harvis	Good morning, Ms Fernández, I'm DS Ruth Harvis and this is FIRST NAME, who will be our interpreter today
Victim	Ok
DS	Good, so first of all, we know that this situation may be scary, but we are here to help you, don't worry, ok?
V	Sí, sí, por eso estoy aquí
DS	All right, so first of all, could you please tell us your name? I'm really no good at Spanish but I will try to pronounce your name correctly
V	Bárbara Fernández de la Mata
DS	Bárbara Fernández de la Mata, ok. Thank you, Ms Fernández. Now, we need to collect a few details regarding your case. As I understand it, you have filed a complaint about your employer, Holiday-with-us Ltd. on the grounds of unfair treatment and discrimination in the workplace. Is that correct?
V	Sí, de discriminación por causa de mi nacionalidad, por ser española, me ha denigrado, me ha hecho sentir como una mierda… (crying)
DS	I appreciate that being interviewed is not particularly nice, so take your time, we are here to help you, Ms Fernández. Could you tell me how long you have worked for this company?
V	Casi un año. Empecé el 5 de enero
DS	I see. And may I ask what your responsibilities are within the company?
V	Pues es que me contrataron porque buscaban a alguien para hacer llamadas en español, a clientes potenciales en España y América Latina. Y bueno, principalmente me encargo de las negociaciones con nuestros proveedores hispanohablantes
DS	And when did this alleged discrimination start?
V	De hecho, empezó antes de empezar a trabajar. Durante la entrevista, que me hicieron en inglés, me preguntaron si tenía problemas con la puntualidad, por aquello de ser española, que si "Will you arrive late every morning" y cosas así. Eso está muy feo, no es justo. Y bueno, luego todo fue a peor…
DS	Can I surmise from what you just said that you actually can speak some English?

V	Entiendo casi todo, pero no lo hablo nada bien. Hablo, pero me cuesta expresarme y muchas veces me atasco
DS	I see, don't worry. Now, earlier you said that they had made some comments during the interview and then you said that "it got worse". What do you mean by that? What do you mean that "it got worse"?
V	Pues cosas del estilo de que por las mañanas, si llego 5 minutos tarde, que la mayoría de las veces es por culpa del puto autobús, mi manager me viene con la cantinela de "yesterday fiesta again right?". Cuando otros compañeros de aquí también llegan al mismo tiempo que yo y nadie les dice nada. Y siempre que pasa eso me quedo más tiempo por las tardes, pero claro, eso el manager no lo valora, no lo valora (affected)
DS	I am sorry to hear that, and I understand that this is not easy, but we would like to hear some more examples, if that is ok? Could you describe in more detail what he normally does and says? Please take your time, try to share as many examples as you can remember and to be as detailed as possible. I won't interrupt you. This will help us to understand his behaviour towards you
V	[CHUCHOTAGE] Pues a ver, como he dicho llevo casi un año trabajando para esta empresa, y aunque no me gustaron mucho las formas de la entrevista, lo que os he comentado antes, cuando me dijeron que el trabajo era mío, me puse súper contenta, porque mi pareja justo se había quedado sin trabajo y lo estábamos pasando un poco mal económicamente. Pero desde el principio ya empecé a notar cosas raras, sobre todo el comportamiento de mi manager, Craig Campbell. Al principio creí que eran cosas sin importancia, por ejemplo, los lunes a las 10h tenemos una reunión de equipo para planificar las tareas de la semana, y en esas reuniones se refiere a mí como "Barbie", pero con un tonito ¿sabes? como "Barbie" (mockery tone). Y lo hace como para que el resto del equipo se ría, y algunos le siguen la gracia y yo me siento tan humillada, pero no digo nada. Y también me humilla delante de otros compañeros. Por ejemplo, dos veces que ha habido que coordinar proyectos más grandes con proveedores de América Latina, que lo justo es que lo haga yo, porque soy la que me encargo de este mercado y la que tengo más experiencia y trato con ellos, delante de todo el mundo ha dicho, "no, Barbie, no, que los coordine Jack, que con Barbie no cerramos los acuerdos ni en años" cuando sabe perfectamente que mi relación con los proveedores es impecable y que al final yo le voy a tener que acabar salvando el culo a Jack, porque su español deja mucho que desear. Y no es justo, no es justo que me trate como una basura, y es que no puedo más, no puedo más, por eso he venido aquí… (affected)
DS	Thank you, Bárbara, take your time, I can't imagine how hard this must be for you
V	Es que encima, después de las reuniones a veces me dice que vaya a su despacho, y si las ventas han bajado me dice que es mi "fucking fault" y que está hasta los huevos de los "fucking Spanish" y que… (crying)
DS	Take your time, don't worry, you are doing very well, it's ok
V	Lo siento mucho. Es que esto me afecta mucho, estoy muy nerviosa (addressing the interpreter and sobbing): lo siento
DS	We understand that this is not easy, you are doing very well and what you are saying is very helpful for the investigation. Going back to what you just said, has this been happening on a regular basis?

V	Sí, sí, todo el rato, un día es una cosa y otro día es otra, pero siempre siempre metiéndose conmigo. La semana pasada llegó a decir que si no podía hacer mi trabajo que me iba a enviar a mi puto país, que todo lo que pasaba aquí era culpa de los putos inmigrantes. Cuando dijo eso me levanté de la silla para irme, y entonces empezó a gritar "Yes, go back to your own fucking country, I don't understand why the hell you want to come to ours!" Y la última vez que me habló así, hoy, fue cuando decidí venir a comisaría. Fue la gota que colmó el vaso (affected)
DS	Thank you for that. And do you recall if at that time or at any other of those instances there were any witnesses who could corroborate your statement?
V	Pues no lo sé, porque además como él es el jefe y como que todo el mundo le tiene miedo, pues nadie dice nada, yo creo que la gente sabe que me hace bullying, pero hacen como que no lo ven
DS	I see, don't worry. If I remember correctly, when you came to report this crime to the police, you mentioned that you had some e-mails from Mr Campbell. Is that correct?
V	Sí, sí, me ha hecho unos cuantos comentarios por e-mail y los guardé para poder demostrar que no me estoy imaginando todo lo que está pasando
DS	I would like to have a look at some of them later, if that is alright with you. Based on what you have told us, I think that this is a clear case of verbal abuse. Now, gathering evidence is important for the investigation. I would like you to read some information about what is considered discrimination related to what is known as 'protected characteristics'. This leaflet also includes some information on how to go about gathering evidence. [To the interpreter] Could you please translate this information for Ms Fernández?
V	Sight Translation (Stacey as DS please hand text to examinee)
DS	Have you got any questions?
V	[Act accordingly depending on the clarity of the sight translation. If everything was clear, state that you don't have any questions.]
DS	Don't worry, Ms. Fernández, let's take a break and maybe have some water…

APPENDIX 3: SCENARIO UAB1 - DV

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Usted ha sido contratado para interpretar en la declaración policial entre un agente de policía y una mujer que ha denunciado ser víctima de violencia de género. El agente de policía le acaba de informar de sus derechos y usted ya ha pronunciado su declaración de intérprete.

Agente de policía	Buenas tardes, señora Smith, soy el agente de policía que le va a tomar declaración y este/a es (NOMBRE), que será su intérprete
Víctima	You can call me Jane
AP	Jane, de acuerdo, perdón mi pronunciación ¿eh?, que se me da fatal el inglés
V	(Smile) Don't worry
AP	Perfecto, Jane. Bueno, ¿está usted cómoda ahí? Sabemos que esta situación no es fácil, así que si lo necesita podemos hacer un descanso en cualquier momento, de dos minutillos, cinco minutillos, no se preocupes, podemos parar y después retomamos. Estamos aquí para ayudarla ¿vale?
V	Yes, I know, thank you
AP	Muy bien, entonces, necesitamos saber algunos detalles sobre lo que pasó. Vamos a ver si lo he entendido bien, usted le dijo a mi compañero que quería denunciar una situación de violencia de género en contra de su marido, ¿es así?
V	Yes, I want to report my husband, I want to report what happened last night
AP	Perfecto. Entonces, vamos a ver, necesitamos saber lo que ocurrió exactamente anoche. Me gustaría pedirle que nos explique, en sus propias palabras lo que ocurrió, ¿vale? Tómese su tiempo
V	So yesterday night when I got home, my husband was very angry and he started to yell at me and insult me. Suddenly he pushed me against the wall, so hard that I even dropped the cup of tea and then, he grabbed my neck with both hands and stared at me, like crazy, I thought he was going to strangle me, but then he let me go and ran out of the house. I was terrified and went to my neighbour's, who took me to the hospital, and then we came to the constabulary.
AP	Gracias, Jane. No me puedo ni imaginar lo duro que esto debe ser para usted, pero necesitamos hacerle algunas preguntas más sobre las agresiones.
V	I'm sorry, I'm a bit nervous. I also have a bruise on my neck, you can see it here. I've been to the doctor; she says I have a dislocated shoulder, or something like that.
AP	Muy bien, Jane, lo está haciendo muy bien, todo lo que nos cuenta es muy útil. ¿Y puede darnos una copia del informe médico?
V	Yeah, I mean, I don't really know if the bruises hurt me more than his words, what he's called me, what he says I am, that's horrible, I've loved him so much, we came together from England, living abroad was a dream for us… and look what's happened…

AP	Vale, en cuanto a eso, volvamos un poco atrás y háblenos de los insultos. Dijo que empezó a insultarla, ¿puede decirme exactamente qué le dijo? ¿hubo amenazas?
V	Well, I feel embarrassed talking about it, but he said things along the lines of "you are a piece of shit", "you are a fucking bitch", "I am going to kill you". And he was smacking me, "you silly cow", he told me, "I am going to kill you", he said that many times, "I am going to kill you"… That's why I got so scared
AP	Vale, gracias. Ya siento que tenga que pasar por todo esto otra vez, pero es muy importante que tengamos toda esta información por escrito. Le agradecemos mucho el esfuerzo que está haciendo ¿vale?
V	I'm sorry, I'm scared that he'll kill me really, I'm so scared, I don't want to go home
AP	No pasa nada, no pasa nada, no se preocupe, Jane, eso no va a pasar (pause). Otra cosa, usted dijo que el comportamiento de su marido había cambiado últimamente. Más o menos ¿cuándo diría que esto ocurrió? Que se acuerde, vamos, más o menos, ¿desde cuándo hace que se comporta así?
V	I'd say about a month ago, I didn't really know why, but last week I found this letter, it's a notification of dismissal, I think this is also a reason for his behaviour
AP	De acuerdo, y volviendo a los hechos de anoche, ¿había bebido alcohol?
V	Yes, but I want to state that he has smacked me without being drunk, I want to be clear about this, the lawyer has told me that this is important.
AP	Ya, ya, ya, ya, ya, ya veo, Jane. De verdad que sabemos que esto no es plato de gusto, pero como le digo es muy importante que tengamos todo esto por escrito. Así que todo el esfuerzo que está haciendo, de verdad que se lo agradecemos mucho
V	Ok, so now, what's going to happen? What are you going to do?
AP	Bueno, pues hacemos una cosa, vamos a revisar que esté todo correcto en la declaración y se la imprimimos para que la firme, y después le explicamos cuáles son los siguientes pasos, ¿de acuerdo?
V	Well, I'm so scared of going back home, I am really scared, I think he'll kill me, next time he will kill me, I am sure, he stopped in the very last moment, but I don't want to be at home with him, I can't go back and see him again, please
AP	Vale, lo mejor ahora es que no vuelva a casa, que no vuelva, quédese en casa de algún amigo o familiar, podemos recoger sus cosas y se puede mudar temporalmente a algún lugar seguro, que por el momento puede ser la casa de un amigo o pariente, ¿vale?

APPENDIX 4: SCENARIO UAB2 - DV

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

You have being booked by the police constabulary in Gayfield Square to interpret between a police officer and a woman who has reported domestic violence. The police officer has already informed the victim about her rights and you have already given your interpreter's statement.

Police officer	Good afternoon, Ms Rodríguez, I am Detective Sergeant Matt Harris and this is my colleague, who will be interpreting.
Victim	Me podéis llamar Irene
PO	Irene, ok, sorry for my terrible accent, my Spanish is dreadful
V	(Sonríe) No se preocupe
PO	So Irene, you are all right sitting there? I appreciate that this is really quite daunting, so please, if you are not happy at any time we can take a break, anything, 2 minutes, 5 minutes, don't worry, we can stop it, and then you can come back, is that ok?
V	Sí sí, lo sé, lo sé, muchas gracias
PO	Ok. Thank you. Now, you said to my colleague that you wanted to report an episode of domestic abuse, is that correct?
V	Sí, contra mi marido, quiero hacer una denuncia a raíz de lo que ocurrió anoche
PO	Ok. Thank you. Now, we need to know what happened exactly last night. I'd like to ask you to explain, in your own words, at your own pace what happened, ok? Please take your time.
V	Pues anoche, cuando llegué a casa, mi marido estaba muy enfadado y me empezó a gritar y a… insultar. De repente me empujó contra la pared, muy fuerte, que hasta se me cayó la taza de café y entonces coge y me agarra del cuello y me mira como si estuviera loco, pensé que me iba a estrangular, pero me soltó y pude salir corriendo de casa. Estaba aterrorizada, y me fui a la casa de los vecinos, que me llevaron al hospital, y de ahí vine aquí a la comisaría
PO	Thank you, Irene, I can't imagine how hard this must be for you, but we need to ask a little bit more about the attacks.
V	(Llora) Lo siento, es que estoy un poco nerviosa. Tengo también un hematoma en el cuello, aquí mire. He ido al médico, y dice que tengo también una costilla rota y una luxación en el hombro, o algo así.
PO	Thank you, Irene, you are doing really well and this is really helpful. Could you also provide us with a copy of the medical report?
V	Sí, bueno, aunque no sé si lo que me duele más son los golpes o lo que me ha dicho, lo que me llama, lo que dice que soy, es horrible, yo le he querido tanto… Nos vinimos desde España juntos, era nuestro sueño vivir en el extranjero, y ahora mira…
PO	Ok, regarding that, could we also take this a little bit back and talk about the insults? You said that he started to insult you, could you remember any of the words he said?

V	Sí, bueno, me da mucha vergüenza decirlo, pero me decía cosas como “eres una mierda”, “eres una hija de la gran puta”, “te voy a matar”. Y mientras me pegaba “mierda, más que mierda” me decía. “Te voy a matar” me lo dijo muchas veces, “te voy a matar”, por eso estaba tan aterrorizada
PO	Thank you very much, I am very sorry that you have to go through all this again, but it is very important for us to have all this information in writing. So I really appreciate your efforts to help us in this respect
V	Lo siento, es que tengo miedo de que de verdad me mate, tengo mucho miedo, no quiero volver a casa
PO	I see, I see, don’t worry, Irene, that is not going to happen. You said that your husband’s behaviour had changed lately. When would you say in your opinion it started to change? Can you remember when this happened?
V	Hace como un mes o así, diría, en realidad yo no sabía por qué, pero la semana pasada encontré esta carta entre sus cosas, es una carta de despido, creo que también por eso está así…
PO	Ok, I see. Getting back to the episode last night, would you say he was drunk? Had he drunk alcohol?
V	Sí, pero a veces me pega y me insulta sin estar borracho, quiero que quede claro esto, el abogado ha dicho que es importante
PO	Ok, thank you very much, Irene, I am very sorry that you have to go through all this again, but it is very important for us to have all this information in writing. So I really appreciate you efforts to help us in this respect
V	Bueno, y ahora ¿Qué va a ocurrir? ¿Qué van a hacer ustedes?
PO	Well, we’re going to go through all this information and process it, and we’ll let you know, we will let you know very soon what the next stage will be
V	Bueno, a mí es que me da muchísimo miedo volver a casa, me da muchísimo muchísimo miedo, y yo creo que me puede matar, la próxima vez realmente me puede matar, estoy segura. Él se detuvo en el último momento pero yo no quiero estar en casa con él, volver allí y verlo otra vez… no por favor, no…
PO	Ok, the best thing to do as far as you are concerned will be to NOT stay in your house, to get a friend or a relative to go with you, collect some of your possessions and move temporarily to a safe haven, at the moment it could be your friend’s house, a relative’s house, while we deal with the issue

APPENDIX 5: SCENARIO UAB3 - WD

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

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WORK DISCRIMINATION

Usted ha sido contratado para interpretar en la declaración policial entre un agente de policía y una mujer que ha denunciado ser víctima de acoso en el ámbito de trabajo. El agente de policía le acaba de informar de sus derechos y usted ya ha pronunciado su declaración de intérprete.

Agente de policía	Buenas tardes, señora Smith, soy el agente que le va a tomar la declaración y este/a es (NOMBRE), que será su intérprete
Víctima	You can call me Brooke
AP	Brooke, de acuerdo, perdón mi pronunciación ¿eh?, que se me da fatal el inglés
V	(Smile) Don't worry
AP	Perfecto, Brooke. Bueno, ¿está usted cómoda ahí? Sabemos que esta situación no es fácil, así que si lo necesita podemos hacer un descanso en cualquier momento, de dos minutillos, cinco minutillos, no se preocupe, podemos parar y después retomamos. Estamos aquí para ayudarla ¿vale?
V	Yes, I know, thank you
AP	Muy bien, entonces, necesitamos saber algunos detalles sobre lo que pasó. Vamos a ver si lo he entendido bien, usted está aquí para poner una denuncia contra su empleador, Gutiérrez y Asociados, porque siente que la han discriminado y la han tratado de forma injusta, ¿es así?
V	Exactly, this is a case of discrimination because of my nationality, because I'm a foreigner, he's belittled me, he's… (crying)
AP	(Pause) Tranquila, tranquila, si yo sé que estar aquí no es plato de gusto, así que tómese su tiempo, no se preocupe, vamos a ayudarla, ¿vale? Entonces, a ver ¿me podría decir hace cuánto que trabaja para Gutiérrez y Asociados?
V	Almost two months. I started on January the 10th
AP	Vale, y ¿cuáles son sus responsabilidades en la empresa?
V	I'm in charge of making calls to England, to promote products and services. I was mainly in charge of promoting beach holidays so I deal with potential clients and travel agencies
AP	Vale, ¿y cuándo comenzaron a discriminarla?
V	Actually, it started before the job. During the job interview, I was asked if I had problems with alcohol, because I'm Irish, that is really insulting, it's really unfair. And then, well, everything became worse…
AP	Ya, ya, ya, ya, ya, ya. Entonces a ver un momento, supongo que usted habla algo de español, entiendo…¿no?
V	I understand pretty much everything, but I don't speak well, I speak just "un poquito"

AP	De acuerdo, no se preocupe, Brooke. Volvamos a los hechos, ha dicho que "todo fue a peor" ¿a qué se refiere con que " todo fue a peor"?
V	Ok, so for example, my boss, Mr Gutiérrez, was always making fun of my accent in Spanish, he thought that it was funny, but it wasn't funny at all, it was disrespectful. Plus I was the one who was always left with lots of calls right before the closing time, always me. One could think that it's part of my job, but it's not fair
AP	Vale, vale, continúe por favor, esto es de gran ayuda, sé que está haciendo un esfuerzo, pero lo está haciendo muy bien
V	He also looks at my breast and makes inappropriate comments, you know? Like, "oh, nice rack" or something like that, which I didn't understand but my colleague translated and I kind of guessed because of his sleazy look
AP	Ya sé que no es fácil hablar de esto, ya lo sé… ¿Y algún otro incidente?
V	Actually yes. The thing is, this afternoon Mr Gutiérrez called me into his office, and told me that sales have dropped off and that is my "puta culpa" and that he was so pissed off with the "fucking foreigners" and… (crying)
AP	Tranquila, tranquila, tómese su tiempo
V	And something along the lines of if sales didn't increase he was gonna send me to my fucking country and…
AP	Tranquila, no se preocupe, lo está explicando muy bien, tranquila
V	I'm really sorry. This is affecting me a lot, I am very nervous
AP	Lo entendemos, no se preocupe, usted tranquila
V	He said that everything was our fucking fault and we could all go to hell
AP	De acuerdo, Brooke, ¿y se acuerda si dijo algo más? ¿Fue violento? ¿Hubo algún tipo de agresión?
V	When I run out of his office, he started to yell at me, yeah! go to your "puto país", I don't know why the fuck you come to our country, fucking foreigners… and then I left the building and came straight here
AP	Ya veo, Brooke, ya veo, vaya, ¿se siente que usted es la cabeza de turco? ¿Y puede ser que haya algún testigo que pueda corroborar su versión?
V	I'm not sure, I don't know if my colleagues would stand up for me. Everyone is kind of scared of him, he is the owner of the company. I think my colleagues know that he bullies me, but they turn a blind eye to what happens (crying)
AP	Tranquila, no se preocupe, no se preocupe
V	I walked so fast that I even dropped a folder with important documents
AP	No pasa nada, de verdad, voy a traerle un poquito de agua, ¿vale?

APPENDIX 6: EMPATHY QUOTIENT (EQ) TEST

(Spanish version)

ESCALA DE CONDUCTA CAMBRIDGE

Por favor, complete la siguiente información y luego lea las instrucciones de abajo.

ESTA INFORMACION ES ESTRICTAMENTE CONFIDENCIAL

Cómo rellenar este cuestionario:

Abajo hay una lista con frases. Por favor lea cuidadosamente cada una y juzgue en qué medida está usted de acuerdo o desacuerdo, marcando con un círculo su respuesta. No hay respuestas correctas ni incorrectas ni engañosas.

PARA QUE ESTA ESCALA TENGA VALIDEZ TODAS LAS RESPUESTAS DEBEN ESTAR CONTESTADAS.

Ejemplos

Ej.1 Me enfadaría si no pudiera escuchar música todos los días.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
Ej.2 Prefiero hablar con mis amigos por teléfono que escribirles cartas.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
Ej. 3 No me interesa viajar a diferentes partes del mundo.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
Ej. 4 Prefiero leer que bailar.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
1. Me puedo dar cuenta fácilmente si alguien quiere entrar en una conversación.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo

2. Prefiero los animales a las personas.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
3. Intento seguir las tendencias y modas actuales	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
4. Cuando otros no me entienden a la primera me cuesta explicarles las cosas que para mi son fáciles de entender.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
5. Sueño la mayoría de las noches.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
6. Realmente me agrada cuidar de otras personas.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
7. Intento resolver mis propios problemas en lugar de discutirlos con otras personas.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
8. Me resulta difícil saber qué debo hacer en situaciones sociales.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
9. Cuando mejor estoy es al principio de la mañana.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
10. La gente a menudo me dice que defiendo con demasiada vehemencia mi punto de vista en una discusión.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
11. No me preocupa demasiado llegar tarde a una cita con un amigo.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
12. La amistad y las relaciones sociales son tan difíciles para mí que tiendo a no darles importancia.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
13. Nunca violaría la ley, aunque se tratase de algo sin importancia.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
14. A menudo me resulta difícil juzgar si alguien es maleducado o educado.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
15. En una conversación suelo centrarme en mis pensamientos en lugar de lo que puede estar pensando el otro.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
16. Prefiero los chistes sencillos más que los de ironía y sarcasmo.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo

17. Vivo la vida pensando en el presente en lugar de en el futuro.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
18. Cuando era niño me gustaba cortar gusanos para ver qué ocurría.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
19. Capto rápidamente cuando alguien dice algo pero quiere decir otra cosa	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
20. Suelo tener fuertes opiniones acerca de cuestiones relacionadas con la moral.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
21. Me cuesta entender por qué algunas cosas enfadan tanto a las personas.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
22. Me resulta fácil ponerme en el lugar de otra persona.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
23. Creo que los buenos modales es la cosa más importante que los padres pueden enseñar a sus hijos.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
24. Me gusta hacer las cosas espontáneamente.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
25. Soy bueno prediciendo como se sentirá alguien.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
26. Puedo reconocer en seguida cuando, en un grupo de gente, alguien se siente raro o incómodo.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
27. Si digo algo y alguien se siente ofendido pienso que es su problema y no el mío.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
28. Si alguien me pregunta si me gusta su corte de pelo yo respondo con la verdad incluso si no me gusta.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
29. No siempre puedo entender por qué alguien se puede sentir ofendido por un comentario.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
30. La gente a menudo me dice que soy impredecible.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
31. Disfruto siendo el centro de atención en una reunión social.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo

32. Ver a la gente llorar no me pone triste.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
33. Me gusta discutir acerca de política.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
34. Soy muy directo, lo que mucha gente considera grosero incluso si lo hago sin esa intención	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
35. No suelo encontrar las situaciones sociales confusas.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
36. La gente me dice que soy bueno comprendiendo como se siente y qué están pensando.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
37. Cuando hablo con la gente tiendo a hablar de sus experiencias más que de las mías.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
38. Me pone triste ver un animal sufriendo.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
39. Soy capaz de tomar decisiones sin la influencia de los sentimientos de los demás.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
40. No me puedo relajar hasta hacer la última cosa que tenía planeada para ese día.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
41. Puedo fácilmente decir si alguien está interesado o aburrido con lo que estoy diciendo.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
42. Me pongo triste si veo en las noticias gente sufriendo.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
43. Mis amigos suelen contarme sus problemas porque dicen que soy muy comprensivo.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
44. Puedo sentir cuando estoy siendo poco discreto sin necesidad de que me lo digan.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
45. Suelo empezar nuevos hobbies pero me aburro rápidamente de ellos y empiezo otra cosa.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
46. La gente a veces me dice que he ido demasiado lejos con las bromas.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
47. Me pondría muy nervioso subirme a una montaña rusa grande.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo

48. La gente me dice a menudo que soy insensible, aunque no entiendo siempre por qué.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
49. Cuando hay alguien nuevo en el grupo considero que son los demás los que tienen que esforzarse para incluirle.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
50. Normalmente no me mantengo emocionalmente estable cuando veo una película.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
51. Me gusta ser organizado en la vida diaria y a menudo hago listas con las actividades que tengo que hacer.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
52. Sintonizo rápida e intuitivamente con cómo se siente otra persona.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
53. No me gusta asumir riesgos.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
54. En seguida me doy cuenta de que quiere hablar la otra persona.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
55. Puedo darme cuenta si alguien enmascara sus verdaderos sentimientos.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
56. Antes de tomar una decisión siempre considero los pros y los contras.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
57. No necesito pensar conscientemente las normas sociales de cada situación.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
58. Soy bueno prediciendo que hará la gente	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
59. Tiendo a involucrarme emocionalmente en los problemas de mis amigos.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo
60. Normalmente respeto el punto de vista del otro, aunque no lo comparta.	Totalmente de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Un poco de acuerdo	Totalmente desacuerdo

Gracias por completar este cuestionario.

APPENDIX 7: CONSENT FORM

University of East Anglia

Consent Form

Name of Researcher: **María Gómez-Bedoya**
Institution: **University of East Anglia**

Research project:

My research project includes the analysis of interpreted police interviews from Interpreting MA students in police interview training scenarios, in relation to the dialogic interaction between interviewers and interviewees. Students will also fill up the Cambridge Behaviour Scale (The E. Quotient) related to the research topic.

The scenarios will be video recorded for the analysis, all the data will be anonymised and only part of the transcriptions will be used for the study.
All data will comply with data protection requirements. The original data will be confidentially maintained and securely stored (reference GREC 18-1166 – University of East Anglia).

To participants:

1. I confirm that I understand the procedure of this study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I consent that my interview is video-recorded. I understand the video will be used only by the researcher and, if shared, my face will be scrambled/clouded to preserve my anonymity.

4. I understand that my name will not be included in any publications arising from the research and the video will not be shown at conferences without protecting my anonymity.

4. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant	Date	Signature