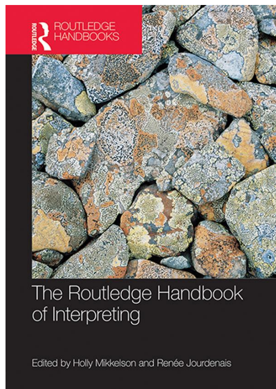
This article was downloaded by: *10.3.97.143*
On: 11 Dec 2023
Access details: *subscription number*
Publisher: *Routledge*
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting

Holly Mikkelson, Renée Jourdenais

Non-professional interpreters

Publication details
https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315745381.ch26
Aída Martínez-Gómez
Published online on: 17 Mar 2015

How to cite :- Aída Martínez-Gómez. 17 Mar 2015, *Non-professional interpreters from:* The Routledge Handbook of Interpreting Routledge
Accessed on: 11 Dec 2023
https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

26

NON-PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETERS

Aída Martínez-Gómez

Introduction

Non-professional interpreters are individuals with a certain degree of bilingual competence who perform interpreting tasks on an *ad hoc* basis without economic compensation or prior specific training. Their awareness of the skills required to perform their interpreting duties correctly and the ethical constraints thereto is shaped by their own intuitions and subject to the expectations expressed by the parties to the encounters they mediate in. Most often they conduct their tasks individually and in isolation, which translates into little visibility, lack of group solidarity and prestige, and lack of public credibility, even if they may receive immediate social recognition by the monolingual speakers for whom they enable communication. In fact, every bilingual individual is a potential non-professional interpreter, as they are selected on the basis of their (apparent) competence in the two languages involved – spoken or signed – and their immediate availability. Non-professional interpreters range thus from relatives or friends or acquaintances – including children – of a person requiring language mediation; to in-house employees at the institution where interpreting is needed; to volunteers belonging to a wide array of civil organizations; to virtually any passer-by. Their presence is evident in the homes of minority-language community members; and it is most frequent in public services, where the interpreting profession is still little institutionalized (in health care centres, welfare and government offices, schools, police stations, prisons, churches, etc). These interpreters are relatively visible in business contexts, especially local ones (banks, post offices, shops), but also in mass media; and their presence is sporadic but crucial in conflict or emergency situations. Non-professional interpreting even occurs in the most professionalized settings (i.e. conference or court interpreting).

Despite being an inherent feature of the daily lives of millions of citizens around the world, non-professional interpreting has traditionally been chastised by academics and practitioners alike. When untrained, unremunerated interpreters continue to be used for various reasons – availability, lack of funds, parties' unawareness of resources at hand or preferences based on interpersonal grounds (e.g. trust) – especially in community settings, this means that standards remain inconsistent, market structures are threatened and professionalization is held back. Such tensions have been reflected in the scant research to date, where this issue has either been approached in passing within studies on professional interpreting, or foregrounded as the object of analysis in an attempt to evidence the dangers of such practices. Nevertheless, an emerging

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

conceptual shift is giving birth to new avenues of research which address non-professional interpreting without preconceptions of what interpreting 'should be' – a movement that would ultimately enhance our comprehension of the field.

Definition of terms

Back in 1973, Brian Harris put forward a controversial hypothesis – that translation skill is coextensive with bilingualism – and thus coined a new term: **Natural translation**. In his view, natural translation is "the translating done in everyday circumstances by people who have had no special training for it" (Harris, 1977: 99). The people who do natural translation, besides being knowledgeable in two languages, have an innate extra set of skills which allows them to translate between these languages in both directions.

The concept of natural translation aroused strong opposition, but some of its tenets were accepted and elaborated upon. Toury's notion of **native translation**, introduced in 1980, challenged Harris's innateness hypothesis and focused on the acquisition of translational skills as part of the (unconscious) social and cognitive development of the individual, based on observation, experience and exposure to socially accepted norms (Toury, 1995: excursus C).

Despite these early efforts, this area of research remained underexplored in interpreting studies. Fortunately, this was not a phenomenon exclusive to our field. In 1987, a sociolinguistic study by education scholar Sheila Shannon used the label "**language brokering,**" a concept later defined by Tse (1995: 180) as "interpretation and translation between linguistically and culturally different parties," which deviates from traditional notions of interpreting in that it entails influencing messages and may involve decision-making on behalf of one or both parties. This term has mainly been used to refer to *child language brokers*, both hearing children of deaf adults (*CODAs*) and children from migrant communities recently established in a new host country, who are known to translate and, mostly, interpret for their families and communities on a daily basis (see Chapter 17 on interpreting in education).

More recently, different terms highlighting different conceptual features have been used to designate this practice and those who perform it: informal/impromptu interpreting, family/lay/untrained interpreters, etc. ***Ad hoc* interpreting** has been widely used as an umbrella term to encompass any kind of interpreting done by unpaid, untrained individuals on the spot. However, some have recently argued for a reconceptualization of the term, widening its scope to all "interpreting initiatives that take place in a context which cannot be catered for by conventional services for reasons that may be geopolitical, socio-economic and/or socio-professional" (Boéri, 2012: 129), thus including, among others, volunteer services provided by expert professionals.

The effective coinage of the term "non-professional interpreters" could be considered a 21st century phenomenon, the landmarks of which have been the institution of the international conference series on Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation (whose first edition was held at the University of Bologna at Forlì in 2012) or the publication of a special issue of the journal *The Translator* entitled *Non-professionals Translating and Interpreting. Participatory and Engaged Perspectives* (2012). However, the notion of non-professional interpreting cannot be framed without defining "professional". According to Rudvin (2007: 51), the main requirements for **professional status** are remuneration, training and a "superior competence" (or *expertise*), validated objectively by a community of peers and put in practice for reasons other than one's own profit. In practice, however, these three characteristics rarely come together at the same level in those working in less institutionalised settings (compare, for instance, trained interpreters who volunteer, interpreting interns, and self-taught interpreters, e.g. *terps* and *fixers* in conflict zones). (See Chapter 19 on interpreting in conflict zones.)

The following pages attempt to shed light on all these profiles, which deviate to some extent from the traditional clear-cut image of the "professional interpreter." Deciding if and how to compartmentalize these realities or, on the contrary, to start understanding professionalization as a continuum where all segments are equally relevant to the discipline, remains open for further scholarly debate.

Early developments

The history of interpreting is a history of non-professional interpreters (see Chapter 1 on the history of interpreting). Tracing its evolution, however, is fraught with difficulty. The ephemeral nature of orality limits sources of information to scattered references in the annals of history which have been first filtered by chroniclers, as direct accounts from interpreters in the shape of diaries, letters and memoirs are unfortunately scarce. That filtering process especially affects many of the early non-professional interpreters (women, slaves, members of religious/ethnic minorities, etc.), whose social status did not seem to make them worthy of further historical representation (Delisle and Woodsworth, [1995] 2012: 247–8).

However incomplete the picture, enough evidence has reached our days to bear witness to the contribution of interpreters to the unfolding of history. They mediated in explorations and conquests, religious missions, diplomacy, war and commerce. They were also present in the intra-social development of history, although records of those activities are even more scarce: in the administration of justice, in educational contexts, in community religious practice or in the circulation of scientific knowledge. These interpreters were non-professionals: they were certainly not trained, and only in a few cases and in certain domains were they paid for their services. Competence, power differentials, allegiances, biases and the potential for betrayal were also sources of concern throughout interpreting history.

Even among non-professionals, a certain degree of institutionalization was sought through these historical periods, either through legal regulations dating back from the Middle Ages (e.g. *Leyes de las Indias,* see Chapter 1, this volume) or through the creation of the first specialized interpreting schools in the 17th century. This evolution consolidated in the mid-20th century with the appearance of university training programs, professional associations and early research initiatives, marking the coming of age of (conference) interpreting as a recognized profession.

Despite those advances, non-professional interpreters continued to bear the burden of language mediation for both spoken and sign languages in a myriad of settings, mainly community-based ones. Some tentative advances in terms of legal provisions and professional associations for sign language and court interpreters were made in the 1960s and 1970s – the milestones probably being the creation of what would later become the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf in 1965 or the enactment of the US Court Interpreters Act in 1978. However, it would not be until the late 1990s that professionalizing efforts would reach public service interpreting settings, until then the main domain of non-professional interpreters (see Chapters 7, 12, 13 and 14, this volume).

It was also in the late 1970s when Harris suggested the concept "natural translation" and explored the relationship between bilingualism and translational skill. By means of data gathered, either by himself or by previous researchers, through participant observation, experimental procedures and case studies, he was able to illustrate his approach with actual examples of children conducting successful interpretation tasks of some kind (Harris, 1977, 1980; Harris and Sherwood, 1978).

In that period of tentative advances, scholars also initiated empirical research on adult non-professional interpreters. These pioneering efforts were led by researchers outside Interpreting

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

Studies and addressed interpreting quality assessment in healthcare and mental health settings (Lang, 1975; Price, 1975; Launer, 1978; Marcos, 1979). Following a transcript-based analysis of errors in recorded interactions, it was observed that bilingual orderlies made significant errors with diagnostic consequences, most of which were attributable to poor foreign language competence or to deviations from the intermediary role to a primary participant footing.

Similar findings about interpreting errors leading to misdiagnoses resulted from further research by medical scholars in the 1980s and early 1990s (Ebden *et al.*, 1988; Vasquez and Javier, 1991). In this early research, interpreters in healthcare settings were seen as a homogeneous mass of non-professionals – relatives, friends and staff. As professionalization starts to make its way into community settings in the late 1990s, the research interests of healthcare scholars begin to shift towards the impact of language barriers, interpreting methods and modes, and types of interpreter in the assessment of interpreting quality and quality of medical care (Hornberger *et al.*, 1997; Flores *et al.*, 2003; among others).

In a similar light, but in the very different context of court interpreting, Schweda-Nicholson (1989) reviewed legal cases where different types of non-professional interpreters had been used, from spectators to defence attorneys. Insufficient linguistic and interpreting competence, lack of knowledge of the law and courtroom proceedings, and unawareness about ethical considerations (including management of conflicts of interest, personal biases or potential manipulations) jeopardize foreign language-speakers' rights to due process and call for professional court interpreter training.

Aside from this main early research focus on the pitfalls of using non-professional interpreters in community settings, the role of the interpreter tentatively started to emerge as a new avenue of research (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp, 1986, 1987). Since then, sociological, anthropological and sociolinguistic frameworks have allowed researchers to provide conceptual analyses of interpreter roles and to reflect on the tension caused by the mediator adopting a primary interlocutor position (see Chapter 4 on the evolution of interpreting research).

The first major conceptualization of the notion of child language brokering – and the actual coining of the term – emerged on the basis of sociological and educational foundations also in the late 1980s. In her ethnographic study on the everyday language use of US Latino schoolchildren, Shannon (1987) identified situations where these children not only acted as language brokers but also advocated for their family interests in the process, which filled them with pride and contributed to their cognitive and social development.

Up until the mid-1990s, pioneering research on non-professional interpreters was mainly nested in other disciplines such as health sciences, linguistics, and anthropology, and had stirred little attention in interpreting studies. Approaches remained relatively self-contained in their own disciplines despite the potential for interdisciplinarity. However, these studies succeeded in problematising the *status quo* and foregrounding a few of the main issues that would constitute the core of this avenue of research in the upcoming years.

Current situation

The advent of community interpreting as an academic discipline (see Chapter 14, this volume), usually traced to the first Critical Link conference in 1995, inherently carried an "opening up" in interpreting studies towards non-professional interpreters. Much of the initial exploratory research on the state of the art of the emerging profession confirmed practice-based observations: community interpreting was, for the most part, non-professionals' territory. These unpaid, untrained language mediators found themselves as study subjects almost by accident – often not because of an explicit interest in them, but because of their position at the heart of very intriguing

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

communicative encounters. The evolution of research on non-professional interpreters goes thus hand in hand with the evolution of community interpreting research. However, the next paragraphs exploring the main methods, topics and research findings to date also include significant contributions in the domain of child language brokering.

Methods

A variety of methods have been applied to the study of non-professional interpreters in the last two decades. Although from the late 1990s onwards, product-based methods lost their pre-eminence in favour of comprehensive interactional analyses of mediated encounters, a few error analyses remained, either to explore the underlying causes of error (Cambridge, 1999; Elderkin-Thompson *et al.*, 2001) or to compare the performance of professional interpreters and bilingual staff (Flores *et al.*, 2003; Gany *et al.*, 2007).

Real discourse data also serve as the basis for interaction-oriented research mainly by interpreting studies scholars. Discourse and conversational analysis, and observation of situational and interpersonal dynamics (on occasion in the form of case studies), have been used to analyze non-professional interpreters' strategies for rendering specific discourse elements (Meyer, 2001) and to describe typical interactional features (Pöchhacker and Kadric, 1999; Kouraogo, 2001; Jääskeläinen, 2003; Meyer, 2012).

This paradigm shift in favour of interactional dynamics is also reflected in the assessment of non-professional interpreters' performance (see Chapter 24 on assessment for further discussion). Research now begins to incorporate all participants – including interpreters – in the evaluation of communication and interpretation success through surveys, interviews and, to a lesser extent, focus groups (e.g. Hornberger *et al.*, 1997; Kuo and Fagan, 1999; Rhodes and Nocon, 2003; Alexander *et al.*, 2004; Rosenberg *et al.*, 2008; Schouten *et al.*, 2012). In the particular case of child language brokering, research has typically foregrounded child language brokers as respondents in their studies, and focused on the impact of these practices on their social and cognitive development (Tse, 1995, 1996; McQuillan and Tse, 1995; Preston, 1996 for CODAs; Hall and Sham, 1998; Cohen *et al.*, 1999; Valdés, 2003; Weisskirch, 2007).

A corollary of this interaction-oriented approach to research is the primacy of real-life data, as opposed to experiment-based studies (Cambridge, 1999; Gany *et al.*, 2007). Furthermore, real-life interactions have encouraged comparative analyses of professional and non-professional interpreters' performance, given their coexistence in most settings observed (Hornberger *et al.*, 1997; Kuo and Fagan, 1999; Lee *et al.*, 2002).

Topics and main findings

These diverse complementary methodologies have been geared, however, towards exploring a rather homogeneous array of topics. Against the backdrop of professionalization efforts, the central role played by quality assessment of non-professionals' performance comes as no surprise. This key topic has been approached from different perspectives: the interpreter's competence and skills, his/her participation status, and users' and interpreters' experiences.

Traditionally, interpreting research has supported the motto "interpreters are made, not born" (Mackintosh, 1999). Non-professional interpreters are often subject to criticism because of rudimentary competence in their foreign language and even in their native one, especially in terms of terminology. Ebden *et al.* (1988) highlighted important mistranslations or omissions of medical terms, due to lack of understanding, unawareness of equivalent terms, or cultural differences (conceptual or taboo-related). Similar deviations are found by Meyer (2001), who

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

further analyzes the strategies non-professional interpreters deploy to compensate for such difficulties: use of calques, non-terminological forms, deictic expressions and non-verbal language, which show creativity but are not always successful.

Terminological difficulties usually reflect lack of knowledge of the subject matter at hand, be it medical, legal or otherwise – another common feature among most non-professional interpreters. Exceptions to this trend are some staff members who interpret at their workplaces, whose institutional and technical knowledge can be an asset for their interpreting activities. Despite this, terminological competence cannot be assumed (especially if they have been exposed to only one of their working languages in professional contexts) nor interactional factors disregarded. In fact, shifts in participation status seem to occur when nurses steer communication in particular directions according to their own perceptions of medical hypotheses, be it either by editing patients' utterances (Elderkin-Thompson *et al.*, 2001: 1352) or by following their own line of inquiry while the doctor is unavailable (Meyer, 2001: 100).

Another type of expert knowledge that non-professional interpreters seem to lack relates to metalinguistic awareness. Their ability to provide functionally equivalent utterances is hindered by their insufficient understanding of how certain discursive practices contribute to achieving communicative purposes. Bührig and Meyer (2004) observe that interpreters' failure to reproduce the use of modal verbs, passives and indefinite pronouns in specific utterances diminishes patient decision-making autonomy in medical interviews for informed consent, whereas Pöchhacker and Kadric (1999) report alterations of the illocutionary force of primary participants' utterances. The ubiquity of such a deficiency has been contested, however, by studies on child language brokers, who display high levels of metalinguistic maturity in monitoring interactions for potential conflicts, and consequently performing conscious transformations (Valdés, 2003: ch. 5).

Non-professional interpreters' underdeveloped skills in the above-mentioned areas amount, in fact, to a very small fraction of the concerns voiced in the field. Alterations and disruptions caused by their shifts in participation status have been identified as the most common cause of communication breakdown. The adoption of a primary participant status has been widely censured as it has been often related to disempowerment of the parties to the interaction. Bilingual nurses' appropriation of leading roles in medical interviews, as described above, or a hospital cleaner's adoption of a co-therapeutic role in a speech therapy session (Pöchhacker and Kadric, 1999), make service providers inadvertently lose "control of their professional (inter)action to such an extent that they can no longer ensure the quality and effectiveness of their work" (Pöchhacker and Kadric, 1999: 177). At the other end of the spectrum, members of linguistic minorities are often criticized for siding with their fellow countrymen and advocating actively on their behalf. As early as 1986, Knapp-Pothoff and Knapp described how a bilingual student negotiates solutions to the minority-language speakers' problems in side conversations with the service provider and acts as an adviser himself in legal advice sessions at a community centre – a behaviour which seems to be very common among child language brokers (Hall and Sham, 1998). Indeed, in group loyalties and allegiances may influence non-professional interpreters' performance, either consciously or unconsciously. As Tipton (2011: 25) explains, "the level of solidarity that emerges as a result of membership of a particular group can influence the (untrained) interpreter's allegiance in the interpreter-mediated exchange and the interpreted outputs obtained."

In many cases, changes of footing – deliberate or not – appear in the context of face-threatening events in the interaction. Face-saving strategies are commonly used by non-professional interpreters in order to protect their own social image and/or that of any of the primary interlocutors'. Harris and Sherwood (1978) illustrate this with the example of a young natural interpreter mediating between her father and his colleagues in a business setting. When both her face and

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

her father's are threatened by a cultural asymmetry in the way of conducting business between Italians and Canadians, she tones down her father's utterances in order to avoid conflict.

Less evident face threats, such as the use of taboo words and the personal nature of the information conveyed in a medical consultation, may also have an impact on non-professionals' behaviour, as they may not feel comfortable in "owning" those words and thus resort to other strategies, such as euphemisms (Cambridge, 1999: 217). Disowning responsibility for face threats in questions asked by primary participants by turning to the use third-person pronouns or paraphrasing, or introducing one's own politeness markers, are indicative of the non-professional interpreter's assumption of their role as "an independent, active party in the interaction, who, too, has a face to lose" (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp, 1987: 199).

Role boundaries are much more blurred in cases where one participant is at the same time primary interlocutor and interpreter. When TV hosts interpret in their own interviews, addition and filtering of information can arouse feelings of insecurity and mistrust among some guests (Jääskeläinen, 2003). More seriously, in cases involving police officers questioning and interpreting for a suspect, such a dual role becomes a potential instrument for manipulating the suspect into producing a confession (Berk-Seligson, 2009) – a clear example of the type of conflicts of interest that non-professional interpreters may have to face (cf. other examples in legal contexts in Schweda-Nicholson, 1989).

The potential for manipulation is not unheard of in other settings as well. Guidère (cited in Tipton, 2011: 25) provides examples of locally recruited untrained interpreters in conflict zones who are known to have manipulated exchanges for the common benefit of the local population. In other cases, manipulation might even respond to individual personal agendas, e.g. in cases of abusers interpreting for their victims in medical interviews (Phelan and Parkman, 1995: 555), although no empirical evidence is available to support this claim.

Besides the obvious dangers in such manipulations, discourse alterations caused by non-professional interpreters have been shown to trigger dysfunctional interactions in many senses. This is especially problematic in cases where the communication breakdown is not obvious to the parties (Pöchhacker and Kadric, 1999: 177), since they are left with the impression that functional communication actually took place. Changes in the form and content of original utterances and in the interlocutors' participation status may lead not only to immediate consequences in the communicative event, but also to negative outcomes in the wider context of the interaction and related future events. Potentially dangerous consequences are prominent in legal and medical settings. Legal case reviews show examples of obstacles to the right to a fair trial or wrongful convictions or acquittals (Schweda-Nicholson, 1989; Berk-Seligson, 2009). Empirical research in the medical field points to clinically significant errors, e.g. misinterpretation of patients' symptoms by the doctor (Elderkin-Thompson *et al.*, 2001) or opacity in segments of patient history or unclear treatment directions (Flores *et al.*, 2003).

Non-professional interpreters can also suffer the consequences of their actual participation in these events, regardless of their translational ability. The pressuring demands of the monolingual speaker (Schouten *et al.*, 2012: 330) may cause stress among relatives/friends, just like the potential disruption of their routines to accommodate for the appointments where they are needed (Rhodes and Nocon, 2003: 48). Similarly, staff members who incidentally interpret in their workplace may feel uneasy for having to relinquish their contractual duties or pressured into interpreting out of fear of losing their jobs (Schweda-Nicholson, 1989: 713). Discomfort and even embarrassment are also frequently voiced concerns among family interpreters and their monolingual relatives if certain taboo topics are discussed in medical interviews (Schouten *et al.*, 2012: 320), which can lead the patient to try to avoid the issue altogether (Rhodes and Nocon, 2003: 94). Such consequences are also relevant in the case of child language brokers, where

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

family dynamics can also be distorted: by acting as the family spokesperson, the child is subject to a process of "parentification," disrupting conventional hierarchical structures within families (Cohen *et al.*, 1999). This responsibility, together with the cognitive and emotional burden that some interactions may expose them to, might put children at psychological risk. Nevertheless, the ubiquity of the negative impact of language brokering on children has often been challenged. On the one hand, their emotional experiences are variable, ranging from frustration to pride, which probably relates to the extent to which their linguistic, cognitive and emotional capabilities can cope with the situation, as well as to the overall quality of family relations (Weisskirch, 2007). On the other hand, exposure to cross-cultural adult-like experiences may enhance both their world knowledge and cultural awareness (McQuillan and Tse, 1995: 205) and their academic performance and cognitive development (cf. Morales and Hanson, 2005: 491–4). Besides, these activities are not necessarily detrimental to family dynamics: parents and children may understand their functioning as a "performance team," where decisions are jointly made while the former retain parental roles (Valdés, 2003: 97–8).

In a similar light, emerging – albeit scant – research findings point to the potential benefits of adult non-professional interpreting as well. Their positive contributions are often related to their personal background. On the one hand, bilingual staff are familiar with the local community and the intricacies of the institution and its staff (Rhodes and Nocon, 2003: 47), and, in some cases, also have expert subject-matter knowledge. Nurses, for instance, are well aware of the necessary steps in medical inquiry, are able to recognize the significance of important information mentioned casually by patients and are likely to help elicit key information for clinical decision-making (Elderkin-Thompson *et al.*, 2001: 1345). On the other hand, relatives can be invaluable healthcare partners as they have privileged access to patient health information and family dynamics (Rosenberg *et al.*, 2007: 250). Background-related contributions may indeed surpass the actual exchange: for instance, the "cultural capital" of locally-recruited interpreters in conflict zones can be key when navigating certain areas where "inflammatory situations" may arise (Tipton, 2011: 21–22) (see Chapter 19 on interpreting in conflict zones).

Finally, the benefits and drawbacks of using non-professional interpreters – either consistent with the above or additional to it – emerge in studies which draw from users' and interpreters' experiences to address the issue of the quality of their performance. User satisfaction studies tend to report that (health care) service providers almost invariably find their needs better met by professional interpreters, even though some studies show a reasonable degree of satisfaction with the use of relatives (Hornberger *et al.*, 1997; Kuo and Fagan, 1999). However, doctors seem to appreciate the broader caregiver role assumed from relatives, which turns them into an invaluable resource for further care, monitoring, adherence to treatment and contact with medical services, although they express misgivings related mainly to the accuracy of information, potentially tainted as family interpreters' feelings come into play in the medical consultation (Rosenberg *et al.*, 2007). Misgivings related to the "ideological inappropriateness" of contents discussed in medical interviews are overwhelming when family interpreters are underage (Cohen *et al.*, 1999).

Foreign language-speaking public service users report, however, a much more heterogeneous set of experiences. Post-encounter survey-based quantitative studies often show higher satisfaction rates for professional interpreters, although results are contradictory when professional interpreting services are provided by phone (compare Lee *et al.*, 2002 with Kuo and Fagan, 1999). However, when these allophone users are requested to elaborate on their experiences with interpreters more globally, the scales begin to tip in favour of non-professionals.

In these users' narratives, trust emerges as a decisive factor. Satisfaction with family members or friends is thus grounded on personal bonds and reliance. They are trusted to act in one's best

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

interests, given shared histories, depth of knowledge of each other, emotional commitment and loyalty. Professional interpreters are trusted generally on the basis of impersonal characteristics (expert knowledge, impartiality and confidentiality), which only sometimes earn them preference above non-professionals drawn from informal networks (Alexander *et al.*, 2004: 45ff.). In a similar light, the interpreter's personal character and attitude also contribute to forging preferences among public service users, commonly in favour of their loved ones – empathy and helpfulness (bordering on advocacy) being extremely valued (Kuo and Fagan, 1999; Alexander *et al.*, 2004). Finally, two different elements of the interpreter's background come up in accounts of interpreting experiences: nature of the relationship with the person requiring interpreting, and sociodemographic characteristics such as age and gender. The nature of the relationship has proven central to the perception of confidentiality. In fact, people tend to rely on either their relatives or unknown professional interpreters for privacy on delicate matters, whereas insecurities arise over potential information leaks, especially in small, close communities, when mediators are friends or acquaintances – regardless of their translational competence or professional status (Rhodes and Nocon, 2003). Encounters with gender-discordant (professional or otherwise) or child interpreters are also a source for anxiety when intimate issues are on the table (*ibid.*).

Non-professional interpreters' accounts of their experiences – whether adults or children – tend to confirm many of the aspects described in users' narratives (Green *et al.*, 2005; Schouten *et al.*, 2012). They are aware of the challenges posed by terminology, which users note as one of their weaknesses, but also of their advantage in having first-hand information about the party that brought them into the encounter. Furthermore, they report being impacted by background, psychological and behavioural factors. For instance, they admit their encounters to be subject to age/gender constraints when discussing delicate topics, which often elicit feelings of uneasiness and discomfort in all parties. Besides, facing a role which they conceptualise as "just translating" but is shaped by their own social background, they find themselves contradicting their own perceptions with their acts, by assuming primary interlocutor roles, such as helper or carer, usually of the minority-language speaker (Schouten *et al.*, 2012: 325–8). On the contrary, children seem very little conflicted about their role: they are deliberately partial in their attempts to make family interests prevail, understanding their practice as fully embedded in human relationships and aware of the potential effect of many mediated exchanges on their lives (Valdés, 2003: 97–8).

Despite the still low number of studies devoted to non-professional interpreting, the diversity of methodologies and approaches applied thus far has allowed researchers to paint a general picture of the state of the art of the "non-profession," mainly circumscribed, however, to the issue of quality and the domain of health care. But besides this obvious contribution, some of these findings are already inspiring and informing exciting and original new avenues of research.

Future directions

Non-professional interpreting dates from before recorded history. Current predictions do not foresee it disappearing any time soon. The difficulties of responding to interpreting needs in a myriad of daily situations – for countless language combinations and in countless settings, geographically disperse, varied in nature and continuously changing – do not seem to be the only factor holding back professionalization in areas such as community interpreting. Despite the tentative advances in legislation and budget allocation of recent years, the current economic climate and austerity-led policies may bring this process to a halt, if not to regression (e.g. court interpreting service outsourcing scandal in the UK in 2012; *Guardian*, 2012). (See Chapter 3 on external players.)

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

In any case, non-professional interpreting is not found only in unregulated sectors, neither should it be understood anymore as the cheap band-aid alternative to professional quality services. Indeed, it is also flourishing in largely professionalized settings, such as conference interpreting. In a mentality shift away from the artificial neutrality of a cross-cultural agent, interpreters of all levels of expertise have recently begun to be involved in activist communities, thus providing their services on a volunteer basis for the benefit of like-minded individuals (Boéri and Maier, 2010).

Despite the visibility being acquired in different domains of actual interpreting practice, non-professional interpreting has not developed – yet – into a fully-fledged subarea of research. The studies described above bear witness to the emergence of scholarly interest in the field. However, against the backdrop of professionalization, research has been focused on deconstructing the myth of the natural interpreter. Its positioning as an empirical subfield – unarguably a positive contribution to interpreting studies as a whole – calls for a move beyond aprioristic views of interpreting and interpreters and beyond our current geopolitical and socio-professional scope (Boéri, 2012: 129).

Moving beyond quality as an overriding topic of research may be one way to go. A more tolerant approach to non-professional interpreters' adoption of primary participant roles opens the door to richer analyses of the co-construction of dialogue among all parties and their joint attempts to achieve interactional goals effectively. These analyses also include participatory constellations which echo the reality of 21st-century interpreter-mediated encounters but contradict long-established conceptualizations of them (e.g. the fact that "monolingual" interpreting users may have some knowledge of the other language involved influences communicative dynamics and the forms of interpreter participation) (Meyer, 2012). As an illustration of this upcoming trend, Traverso (2012) uses business meetings to illustrate cases of collaborative interpretation, where both meaning and form and the responsibility for interpreting are negotiated among several members to the interaction.

Striving for understanding the rationale behind these shifts implies overcoming normative approaches about role. Some studies have stressed the relevance of deliberate, semi-deliberate or subconscious conformity to audience needs and expectations for communication success in interpreter-mediated encounters. Whereas these expectations need not always be contrary to more traditional ones, they sometimes are. For example, although informational accuracy, communicative style or adaptation to preferred lexical choices cause non-professionals in Gambian religious services to be considered "gifted" interpreters (Karlik, 2010), interpreting success in the ceremony opening a new bank in Burkina Faso involves a considerable deviation from standard norms (e.g. adding anecdotes to relate to listeners' experience, omitting face-threatening remarks, etc.) (Kouraogo, 2001).

Light could also be shed on this matter not only by studying accounts of non-professional interpreters' experiences, but also by situating them in their socio-political and cultural contexts. By doing so, Schouten *et al.* (2012) succeed in providing tentative explanations for different behaviours by non-professional interpreters in medical settings in the Netherlands and Turkey. Furthermore, this contextualization facilitates understanding of the practice of active civic involvement by these traditionally neutral intermediaries, be it in the shape of volunteer interpreter groups acting as "agents of change" (Boéri and Maier, 2010), or child language brokers contributing to their communities while shaping their own engaged selves (Bauer, 2010). In these cases, longitudinal studies could also shed light on the flexibility and adaptability of non-professional interpreters to the constantly evolving circumstances of their immediate contexts.

Such "revolutionary" empirical input about the status of the interpreter role, including but not limited to the previous studies, may be contributing to a conceptual shift similar to Wadensjö's introduction of the coordinating task, which shattered previous views of the

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

interpreter's role, but shortly thereafter became an undisputed pillar in our conception of interpreters in dialogic encounters.

Some of these examples also evidence the commitment of new research to explore beyond the geopolitical and socio-professional boundaries of the field, in both institutionalized sectors and in those in the process of institutionalization. The fact that medical interpreting in the Western world, especially in the United States, has attracted most of the attention in the area of non-professional interpreting does not minimize the impact of the above-mentioned studies focusing on Africa, Turkey, business meetings and religious services (also Hokkanen, 2012) nor that of research exploring emergency humanitarian assistance (Bulut and Kurultay, 2001), conflict situations (Palmer, 2007; Baker, 2010; Tipton, 2011), mass media (Chiaro, 2002), correctional institutions (Martínez-Gómez Gómez, 2011), child language brokering in Europe (cf. special issue of *mediAzioni* 10), and the reality of "ghostwriters" and CODAs enabling communication between hearing and Deaf communities (Adam *et al.*, 2011; Napier, forthcoming).

The study of non-professional interpreters allows us to open up not only geopolitical and socio-professional boundaries but also methodological and epistemological ones. On the one hand, an open dialogue among all disciplines researching in this area would contribute to mutual enhancement of methodological repositories, including ethnographical, ecological multi-method approaches applied in child language brokering, which are much in line with a current willingness to comprehend (non-professional) interpreting as a socio-culturally embedded interaction. On the other hand, the study of the spontaneous behaviour of these interpreters in actual practice may contribute to a more comprehensive picture of the basic processes, from cognitive to interactional, involved in different modes of interpreting, given that such spontaneous behaviour has not been subject to the normative assumptions acquired through training.

This is not meant to suggest in any case that training is unjustified. The practical experiences on which bilinguals base their learning do not always account for the broad range of market demands (Muñoz Martín, 2011: 52). However, if the academic community is able to pin down the cognitive processes involved in the natural development of translational abilities, the effectiveness of current interpreter training programmes could be boosted by imitating them and focusing on more realistic task- and process-oriented approaches which would expose students to a wide variety of (pseudo-)authentic experiences and thus increase awareness of the many aspects of the interpreting process (Muñoz Martín, 2011: 51–2), including interpersonal elements, and strategies to foster them. Besides, further understanding of non-professional interpreting has implications for training outside traditional frameworks. In order to capitalize on the skills of non-professionals, some scholars are arguing for providing them with tailor-made training (Angelelli, 2011). In such courses, non-professionals would be able to enhance their interpreting abilities and reflect actively and globally on the task of interpreting, with a potential specific focus on the setting(s) where they tend to be more active. Ideally, this training would also involve the users of their services, under the same assumptions which support training for the users of professional services, and given the proven importance of the co-construction of successful interlinguistic communication (Elderkin-Thompson *et al.*, 2001: 1354). Such initiatives would encourage and formalize spontaneous and often subconscious horizontal learning practices already existing between the two groups (Tipton, 2011). (See Chapter 25 on pedagogy.)

Nevertheless, the fact that non-professional interpreting still is not an independent subarea of research translates into insufficient theoretical and conceptual foundations. The definition of key notions and their corresponding terminology is still underdeveloped, with fuzzy boundaries between fundamental concepts. The empirical front is obviously leading and, although it has already offered very interesting findings, it may be suffering from isolation of studies in scattered settings and geographical locations, with only a few attempts to work towards building a core of

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

practical knowledge. Fostering intra-disciplinary collaboration, as well as inter-disciplinary learning – and thus benefiting from the experience of other fields in child language brokering – seems essential for our development.

The fact that research has been – and still is – a key element in professionalization processes in certain branches of interpreting may divide the academic community involved in non-professional interpreting. Confronted with such a controversial issue, some researchers may fear that foregrounding these unregulated practices might result in professionalization being held back. Others may believe that legitimizing non-professionals' space in interpreting contexts is not incompatible with the professional growth of the field. In any case, the whole research process, from the formulation of hypotheses to the interpretation of data, may eventually be tainted by our position in this controversy. If and how to avoid this, however, remain unanswered questions.

Non-professional interpreting is no longer uncharted territory, but rather an independent subarea of research still in the early stages of development. Despite its adversarial relationship with professionalization, existing research bears witness to the potential that exploring it as an issue in its own right has for interpreting studies as a whole, under the assumption that turning the blind eye on realities that we – as scholars, practitioners, trainers or trainees – might disagree with, limits our current view of the field and may ultimately slow down scientific progress.

Further reading

Antonini R (ed.) (2010) *Child Language Brokering: Trends and Patterns in Current Research*. Special issue of *mediAzioni* 10.

This inter-disciplinary collection of papers confronts the negative discourse on child language brokering (CLB) by underscoring the beneficial short- and long-term impact of such activities on brokers, families and society at large.

Pérez-González L and Susam-Saraeva S (eds) (2012) *Non-professionals Translating and Interpreting. Participatory and Engaged Perspectives*. Special issue of *The Translator* 18(2).

New approaches to exploring the field construe non-professionals as an asset to the many settings presented (approx. 60% translation) and challenge traditional assumptions common in the discipline.

Pöchhacker F and Kadric M (1999) The Hospital Cleaner as Healthcare Interpreter: A Case Study. *The Translator* 5(2): 161–78.

A descriptive analysis of the performance of a non-professional interpreter evidences the detrimental impact of her role shifts on conversational dynamics and the professional quality of a therapy session.

Unprofessional Translation – a blog by Brian Harris (http://unprofessionaltranslation.blogspot.com.es – accessed 19 Oct 1014)

A wide array of topics related in some way to natural translation feed the weekly entries of this popular-science-oriented blog: conceptual reflections, historical accounts, literature reviews, news …

Valdés G (ed.) (2003) *Expanding Definitions of Giftedness: The case of Young Interpreters from Immigrant Communities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

This book reports on the talents of young interpreters from a socio-cultural and translational perspective, through interviews with parents and children and the examination of simulated interpreting tasks.

References

Adam R, Carty B and Stone C (2011) Ghostwriting: Deaf translators within the Deaf community. *Babel* 57(4): 375–393.

Alexander C, Edwards R and Temple B (2004) *Access to Services with Interpreters: User Views*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation/York Publishing Services.

Angelelli C (2011) Expanding the abilities of bilingual youngsters: can translation and interpreting help? In: Blasco Mayor MJ and Jiménez Ivars A (eds) *Interpreting Naturally: A Tribute to Brian Harris*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Baker C (2010) The care and feeding of linguists: The working environment of interpreters, translators and linguists during peacekeeping in Bosnia-Herzegovina. *War & Society* 29(2): 154–75.

Bauer E (2010) Language brokering: Practicing active citizenship. *mediAzioni* 10.

Berk-Seligson S (2009) *Coerced Confessions: The Discourse of Bilingual Police Interrogations*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Boéri J (2012) *Ad hoc* interpreting at the crossways between natural, professional, novice and expert interpreting. In: Jiménez Ivars A and Blasco Mayor MJ (eds.) *Interpreting Brian Harris. Recent developments in natural translation and in interpreting studies*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Boéri J and Maier C (2010) *Compromiso social y Traducción/Interpretación. Translation/Interpreting and Social Activism*. Granada: ECOS, traductores e intérpretes por la solidaridad.

Bührig K and Meyer B (2004) *Ad hoc*-interpreting and the achievement of communicative purposes in doctor-patient-communication. In: House J and Rehbein J (eds.) *Multilingual Communication*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bulut A and Kurultay T (2001) Interpreters-in-aid at disasters: Community interpreting in the process of disaster management. *The Translator* 7(2): 249–63.

Cambridge J (1999) Information loss in bilingual medical interviews through an untrained interpreter. *The Translator* 5(2): 201–19.

Chiaro D (2002) Linguistic mediation on Italian television. When the interpreter is not an interpreter: a case study. In: Garzone G and Viezzi M (eds) *Interpreting in the 21st Century*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Cohen S, Moran-Ellis J and Smaje C (1999) Children as informal interpreters in GP consultations: pragmatics and ideology. *Sociology of Health & Illness* 21(2): 163–86.

Delisle J and Woodsworth J ([1995] 2012) *Translators through History*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Ebden P, Bhatt A, Carey OJ and Harrison B (1988) The bilingual consultation. *The Lancet* 331(8581): 347.

Elderkin-Thompson V, Cohen Silver R and Waitzkin H (2001) When nurses double as interpreters: A study of Spanish-speaking patients in a U.S. primary care setting. *Social Science and Medicine* 52: 1343–58.

Flores G, Laws MB, Mayo SJ, *et al.* (2003) Errors in medical interpretation and their potential clinical consequences in pediatric encounters. *Pediatrics* 111: 6–14.

Gany F, Kapelusznik L, Prakash K, *et al.* (2007) The impact of medical interpretation method on time and errors. *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 22(Supl. 2): 319–23.

Green J, Free C, Bhavnani V and Newman T (2005) Translators and mediators: bilingual young people's accounts of their interpreting work in health care. *Social Science & Medicine* 60: 2097–110.

Guardian (2012) Interpreters in courts: lost in translation [Editorial] (Aug 5) *The Guardian*. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/aug/05/interpreters-courts-lost-translation-editorial

Hall N and Sham S (1998) Language brokering by Chinese children. *Annual Conference of the British Educational Research Association*. Dublin.

Harris B (1977) The importance of natural translation. *Working Papers in Bilingualism* 12: 96–114.

——(1980) How a three-year-old translates. In: Afendras EA (ed.) *Patterns of Bilingualism*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press.

Harris B and Sherwood B (1978) Translating as an innate skill. In: Gerver D and Sinaiko W (eds) *Language Interpretation and Communication*. New York: Plenum.

Hokkanen S (2012) Simultaneous church interpreting as service. *The Translator* 18(2): 291–309.

Hornberger JC, Itakura H and Wilson SR (1997) Bridging language and cultural barriers between physicians and patients. *Public Health Reports* 97(112): 410–17.

Jääskeläinen R (2003) Who said what? A pilot study of the hosts' interpreting performance on Finnish breakfast television. *The Translator* 9(2): 307–23.

Karlik J (2010) Interpreter-mediated scriptures: Expectation and performance. *Interpreting* 12(2): 160–85.

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

Knapp-Potthoff A and Knapp K (1986) Interweaving two discourses – the difficult task of the non-professional interpreter. In*:* House J and Blum-Kulka S (eds) *Interlingual and Intercultural Communication* Tübingen: Gunther Narr.

——(1987) The man (or woman) in the middle: Discoursal aspects of non-professional interpreting. In*:* Knapp K, Eninger W and Knapp-Potthoff A (eds) *Analyzing Intercultural Communication* Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.

Kouraogo P (2001) The rebirth of the king's linguist. In*:* Mason I (ed.) *Triadic Exchanges. Studies in Dialogue Interpreting.* Manchester: St. Jerome.

Kuo D and Fagan MJ (1999) Satisfaction with methods of Spanish interpretation in an ambulatory care clinic. *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 14: 547–50.

Lang R (1975) Orderlies as interpreters in Papua New Guinea. *Papua New Guinea Medical Journal* 18(3): 172–7.

Launer J (1978) Taking medical histories through interpreters: Practice in a Nigerian outpatient department. *British Medical Journal* 277(6142): 934–5.

Lee LJ, Batal HA, Maselli JH and Kutner JS (2002) Effect of Spanish interpretation method on patient satisfaction in an urban walk-in clinic. *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 17: 640–5.

Mackintosh J (1999) Interpreters are made not born. *Interpreting* 4(1): 67–80.

McQuillan J and Tse L (1995) Child language brokering in linguistic minority communities: Effects on cultural interaction, cognition, and literacy. *Language and Education* 9(3): 195–215.

Marcos LR (1979) Effects of interpreters on the evaluation of psychopathology in non-English-speaking patients. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 136: 171–4.

Martínez-Gómez Gómez A (2011) *La interpretación en instituciones penitenciarias. La relevancia del componente interpersonal en la calidad de la actuación de intérpretes naturales.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Alicante (Spain).

Meyer B (2001) How untrained interpreters handle medical terms. In*:* Mason I (ed.) *Triadic Exchanges. Studies in Dialogue Interpreting.* Manchester: St. Jerome.

——(2012) *Ad hoc* interpreting for partially language-proficient patients: Participation in multilingual constellations. In*:* Baraldi C and Gavioli L (eds.) *Coordinating Participation in Dialogue Interpreting.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Morales A and Hanson WE (2005) Language brokering: An integrative review of the literature. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 27(4): 471–503.

Muñoz Martín R (2011) Nomen mihi Legio est – A cognitive approach to natural translation. In*:* Blasco Mayor MJ and Jiménez Ivars A (eds.) *Interpreting Naturally: A Tribute to Brian Harris.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Napier J (forthcoming) Not just child's play: Exploring bilingualism and language brokering as a precursor to the development of expertise as a professional signed language interpreter. In: Antonini R (ed.) *Non-professional Interpreting and Translation: State of the Art and Future of an Emerging Field of Research.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Palmer J (2007) Interpreting and translation for Western media in Iraq. In*:* Salama-Carr M (ed.) *Translating and Interpreting Conflict.* Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.

Phelan M and Parkman S (1995) Work with an interpreter. *British Medical Journal* 311: 555–7.

Pöchhacker F and Kadric M (1999) The hospital cleaner as healthcare interpreter: A case study. *The Translator* 5(2): 161–78.

Preston P (1996) Chameleon voices: Interpreting for Deaf parents. *Social Science and Medicine* 42(12): 1681–90.

Price J (1975) Foreign language interpreting in psychiatric practice. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* 9: 263–7.

Rhodes P and Nocon A (2003) A problem of communication? Diabetes care among Bangladeshi people in Bradford. *Health and Social Care in the Community* 11(1): 45–54.

Rosenberg E, Leanza Y and Seller R (2007) Doctor–patient communication in primary care with an interpreter: Physician perceptions of professional and family interpreters. *Patient Education and Counseling* 67: 286–92.

Rosenberg E, Seller R and Leanza Y (2008) Through interpreters' eyes: Comparing roles of professional and family interpreters. *Patient Education and Counseling* 70: 87–93.

Rudvin M (2007) Professionalism and ethics in community interpreting. *Interpreting* 9(1): 47–69.

Schouten B, Ross J, Zendedel R and Meeuwesen L (2012) Informal interpreters in medical settings: A comparative socio-cultural study of the Netherlands and Turkey. *The Translator* 18(2): 311–38.

Downloaded By: 10.3.97.143 At: 08:54 11 Dec 2023; For: 9781315745381, chapter26, 10.4324/9781315745381.ch26

Schweda-Nicholson N (1989) *Ad hoc* court interpreters in the United States: Equality, inequality, quality. *Meta* 34(4): 711-723.

Shannon S 1987. *English in el Barrio: A Sociolinguistic Study of Second Language Contact*. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.

Tipton R (2011) Relationships of learning between military personnel and interpreters in situations of violent conflict: Dual pedagogies and communities of practice. *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* 5(1): 15–40.

Toury G (1995) *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Traverso V (2012) *Ad hoc*-interpreting in multilingual work meetings: Who translates for whom? In*:* Baraldi C and Gavioli L (eds) *Coordinating Participation in Dialogue Interpreting*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Tse L (1995) Language brokering among Latino adolescents: Prevalence, attitudes, and school performance. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 17(2): 180–193.

——(1996) Language brokering in linguistic minority communities: The case of Chinese- and Vietnamese-American students. *The Bilingual Research Journal* 20(3–4): 485–98.

Valdés G (ed.) (2003) *Expanding Definitions of Giftedness: The Case of Young Interpreters from Immigrant Communities*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Vasquez C and Javier RA (1991) The problem with interpreters: Communicating with Spanish-speaking patients. *Hospital and Community Psychiatry* 44(2): 163–5.

Weisskirch RS (2007) Feelings about language brokering and family relations among Mexican American early adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence* 27(4): 545–61.