The Interdisciplinary Approach
in Community Interpreting Research[1]

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ABSTRACT

Community interpreting is a complex activity that has been studied from many different angles. Based on a review of the literature, this paper aims to highlight the importance of an interdisciplinary approach in community interpreting research, as well as the close relationship between the theoretical and methodological frameworks that have been used to date. As a prospective study and by describing theories applied from five different fields (i.e. anthropology, sociology, applied linguistics, communication sciences and psychology), it seeks to provide a comprehensive outline of the interdisciplinary approach adopted in community interpreting research as a basis for future studies in this field. Finally, it suggests a map for this interdisciplinarity, which attempts to reflect how the different disciplines can converge and complement each other for the purpose of research.

KEYWORDS: community interpreting, interdisciplinarity, public service interpreting.

Introduction

Based on a review of the main literature on Community Interpreting (CI) over the past fifteen years, this paper aims to highlight the importance of an interdisciplinary approach in CI research, as well as the close relationship between theories and methodologies from different disciplines that have been used to date. While a complete overview or a critical revision of the literature lies outside the scope of this article, different theories will be included and briefly explained, according to the impact they have had on CI research. I shall therefore not discuss the direct sources of the theories (i.e. the scholars from various disciplines), but rather the references made to these sources by Translation and Interpreting Studies (T/IS) scholars, the better to assess their impact. Moreover, this paper does not aim to explain in detail all the theories that have been relevant in CI research, but to highlight their diversity from the shared view of T/IS scholars. It also aims to provide a comprehensive outline of the interdisciplinary approach adopted in CI research as a basis for future studies in this field.

This is not the first time that the interdisciplinarity of CI research has been examined. Candlin (1998), in his preface to her book, already pinpointed it as one of the most outstanding features of Wadensjö's (1998) research. Angelelli (2004) discussed how sociological theories and linguistic anthropology converge in the field of interpreting research. Vermeiren (2006) emphasized the relationship between sociological, communicative and linguistic theories, which are used to describe the same referents in CI, but from different perspectives. And Hale (2007) stressed four approaches widely used in CI research: discourse analysis, ethnography,

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surveys and the experimental approach (through psycholinguistic and psychological methodologies).

Bearing these precedents in mind, this paper seeks to review the influence of five major disciplines on CI research, chosen for two reasons. Firstly, because the influence of these disciplines is not restricted to specific modalities or contexts of CI, they can be applied to the study of any kind of CI situation;[2] and secondly, they have been widely applied in contributions to CI research.[3] Hence, the article is divided into five parts, one for each of these disciplines: anthropology, sociology, applied linguistics, communication sciences and psychology. In addition, the final section will discuss how these disciplines can complement each other in CI research. It is worth noting that these five disciplines overlap in some respects, as will be examined and illustrated by a concept map in the discussion.

Despite being influenced and complemented by the disciplines mentioned above, CI is situated within the framework of translation and interpreting studies (Pöchhacker 2007). For this reason, theories stemming purely from its 'mother' discipline will be reviewed first.

In order to establish CI firmly within this broad framework, Pöchhacker, in his 2007 article 'Critical linking up', lists the various paradigms that have been proposed in Interpreting Studies, starting with Seleskovitch's (1962) interpretative theory (IT), followed by the cognitive processing model (CP), the neurolinguistic paradigm (NL) and, moving to the idea of translation as a communicative act, the functionalist theory of target-text-oriented translation theory (TT). Finally, Pöchhacker details Wadensjö's (1998) dialogic discourse and interaction (DI) paradigm, which stresses the fact that interpreters also "manage discourse in a triadic interaction" (Pöchhacker 2007: 17) and, therefore, influence the final message, which is built on interactivity. The DI paradigm becomes a "sphere of convergence for various theoretical and methodological approaches" (Pöchhacker 2007: 21) derived from previous paradigms and it is therefore considered a fundamental step in the development of interpreting studies.

The concept of interpreting studies as a monolithic discipline, i.e. not making the traditional distinction between conference interpreting (simultaneous and consecutive) and community interpreting, is a recurrent theme in Pöchhacker's advocacy (2001, 2006, 2007) of the acceptance and professionalization of community interpreting as a profession in its own right, like conference interpreting before it, after decades of aspiration and endeavour. According to Pöchhacker, the various interpretation contexts should be understood as a continuum, with conference interpreting at one end, at the international level, and community interpreting at the opposite end, at the intra-social level (Pöchhacker 2004: 12). Moreover, he considers that all the coexisting models of interpretation practice should complement each other, as there are no exclusive practices for any of the contexts. For instance, liaison interpreting between

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[2] For instance, Deaf Studies is a fruitful area of research and a considerable number of articles concerning Sign Language Interpreting in public services has been produced from this standpoint. However, the influence of Deaf Studies is restricted to the modality of Sign Language Interpreting. For more specific examples, see *The Sign Language Translator and Interpreter* journal (Manchester: St Jerome) edited by Lorraine Leeson, or Marschark *et al* (2005).
[3] Forensic Linguistics has been used in CI research, but the influence of this discipline has only been applied to research concerning court interpreting; therefore, it has not been included in this literature review. See, for instance, Berk-Seligson (1990).

diplomats is at an intermediate point, as the liaison interpreting technique is typically used in community interpreting, although the setting, social and discursive factors are more similar to those of conference interpreting (Pöchhacker 2004: 12).

1. Anthropology

In CI research, the influence of anthropology as a theoretical field has been closely related to that of ethnography as a methodological approach. Anthropology has helped CI researchers to better understand concepts such as culture, ideology and identity, and to ponder ethical issues such as the role of the interpreter. Ethnography, as a methodological approach often applied in some subdisciplines of anthropology, as well as in other social sciences (e.g. sociology or psychology), has been widely resorted to as a research strategy in CI.

Bahadir, in her article 'Moving In-Between: The Interpreter as Ethnographer and the Interpreting-Researcher as Anthropologist', focuses on the analogy between Göhring's (1976, 1977, 1978) description of the identity and position of the ethnographer in relation to the anthropologist, and that of the interpreter in relation to the interpreting-researcher (Bahadir 2004: 806). Anthropology is seen as the theorizing and categorizing side of ethnography, just as research in interpretation seems to be in the field of interpreting, an idea that leads Bahadir to compare the interpreter with the ethnographer and the interpreting-researcher with the anthropologist. She therefore agrees with Göhring when suggesting the inclusion of ethnography, cultural anthropology and sociology in language teaching and in translator and interpreter training, in order to enhance cultural relativism and avoid ethnocentrism. Bahadir maintains that ethnocentrism is the human inclination to see one's own culture as a reference and yardstick when mediating between cultures, whereas the image of the ideal interpreter-ethnographer is that of a professional who has acquired the ability to understand both cultures and undertake different roles, depending on the situation (2004: 809). Referring again to Göhring, Bahadir claims that, like ethnographers doing field work, translators and interpreters undergo a second process of socialization, thus acquiring cultural competence in a new culture and achieving the goal of feeling, looking and thinking like a native of that new culture (2004: 810).

In this sense, Bahadir criticizes any attempt to simplify the professional profile of community interpreters; on the contrary, she hopes that ethical codes will 'reestablish' the difficulties and complexities of interpretation, especially considering that it is an ethically and politically complex activity (2004: 815). She claims that ethical and political debates concerning the role of community interpreters should be complemented by the same debates that have surrounded the role of ethnographers, since both figures have in common their role as 'cultural experts': in theory, their impartiality and objectivity are widely assumed, whereas in practice they do take part in intercultural communication as a third participant (2004: 816). At this point, Bahadir borrows Bhabha's concept of 'third space'[4] to refer to the place that the interpreter, as a third participant, should be allocated, i.e. in neither of the participants' cultures, but in a third culture in between, composed of the previous cultures (Bahadir 2004: 816).

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[4] The concept of 'third space' comes from Bhabha's 1996 book *Location of Culture*, where the author introduces the idea of a special 'third space of enunciation' where two distinct and unequal social groups encounter. In this 'third space', culture is displaced from the groups in interaction and a hybrid common identity is invented.

In her article 'The cultural turn in Community Interpreting: A brief analysis of epistemological developments in Community Interpreting literature in the light of paradigm changes in the humanities', Rudvin analyzes the different paradigms of T/IS and particularly underlines the influence of anthropology (2006a). Like Bahadir, she talks about the 'anthropological gaze' taking place in research (2006a: 21) and agrees on the similarities between interpreters and ethnographers, especially concerning the debates around subjectivity and 'invisibility' (2006a: 36).

Rudvin argues that the same influence that anthropology may have in language studies, helping to explain how contextual factors such as reality, culture, ideology, politics, institutional frameworks, technology and the mass media determine language, may also be relevant in CI research (2006a: 27). She remarks that these influences should be considered when trying to explain translation and interpreting, as they add complexity to an already complex activity, which is even more complex if we take into account the crises that translators and interpreters have to face on a daily basis: the endless dilemma between the ethics of accurately conveying the original text and the inevitable constraints and differences between the original and the final text encountered when transferring a message (2006a: 31). This dilemma is, in fact, a well documented topic in the CI literature, as can be seen in the examples put forward by Hale (2001), Mason and Steward (2001), Cambridge (2002) or in Hale's (2007) analysis of deontological codes.

Rudvin, in another 2006 article, 'Negotiating linguistic and cultural identities in interpreter-mediated communication for public health services', examines the strategies of identity negotiation that interpreters undertake when intervening in a conversation, especially bearing in mind the premise that cultural identity is expressed through language. Rudvin focuses her study on consultations between doctors and patients from different cultures and draws a fine distinction between patients' 'emic' perspective (from inside) and doctors' 'etic' perspective (from outside), which often clash due to their cultural differences (2006b: 176). According to Rudvin, health systems should be viewed as a cultural representation, which accordingly have very different implications, depending on the culture (*ibid.*). The expectations of a medical consultation on the part of patients from a traditional culture where shamanism is widely used may be very different from those of the doctor treating them, and these expectations may also determine their expectations of the interpreter. Interpreters have to move between two different cultural identities, and need to negotiate these identities, on the one hand to gain the patient's trust and, on the other hand, to uphold the doctor's standing, which is an extremely complex task, as Rudvin reminds us (2006b: 182).

While Bahadir (2004) and Rudvin (2006a) mainly refer to ethnographers when comparing interpreters to them, ethnography itself has also become a fruitful methodological approach in many CI research contributions. Ethnography as a methodology helps CI researchers to better understand communicative events while bearing in mind all their contextual factors, which is the reason why it has been especially relevant in CI research. However, it may also be regarded as an intrusive method by the subjects being studied and it may even lead to these subjects' reluctance to participate in this kind of research. Nevertheless, as a research strategy, ethnography has been applied in CI research contributions which draw on the theoretical groundings of various disciplines, as will be discussed in the following sections.

2. Sociology

Goffman's 1959 book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,* has been one of the most influential sociological studies in CI research. His metaphor of drama to describe the roles of participants in a face-to-face interaction with the intervention of a middleman, a "non-person" with a very specific role (Goffman 1959: 130), has been the basis for the work of scholars such as Wadensjö, who identifies this "non-person" nature in the interpreter (1998: 66-67). Wadensjö thus relies on Goffman's theories in order to raise the question of the interpreter's (in)visibility and to explain other factors which define the interpreted interaction, such as the interpreter's function as coordinator, the strategies interpreters use to distance themselves from their own opinions or emotions (for example, when their 'face' or standing, or that of other participants is threatened) or how they express the different 'selves' of those participating in an interaction.

Inghilleri, in 'Habitus, field and discourse. Interpreting as a socially situated activity' (2003), suggests a combination of the theories put forward by Toury (1995, 1999), Bourdieu (1977, 1990) and Bernstein (1990, 1996) as an approach to analyze the interpreted interaction. Inghilleri's paper is based on theories from T/IS (Toury) and from sociology (Bourdieu and Bernstein), and, as such, it could also be reviewed in the T/IS section in the introduction of this article. However, since one of Inghilleri's main contributions lies in her proposed application of Bourdieu's concepts of '*habitus* and field' and Bernstein's model of 'pedagogic discourse' to the description of 'empirical relations of a particularised context' (interpreted political asylum interviews), her paper has been included in this section in order to highlight the influence of the sociological theories on which she draws. As the author states, her final model "directs the analysis of norms to the social dimension of language and cognition, as well as to the sociological and ideological determinants" of legitimate meaning in a specific context (2003: 244), an endeavor that reinforces the value of sociology in her contribution.

Inghilleri refers to Toury's (1995) model of translation norms, which, despite its usefulness as a descriptive model, is limited in that it does not observe the social dimension of communication (Inghilleri 2003: 244). Thus, following in other authors' footsteps, she complements Toury's model with an adaptation of Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction based on the concepts of *habitus,* field and capital.[5] Moreover, Inghilleri goes one step further and suggests Bernstein's theory of 'pedagogic discourse' as a means to analyze "any social context through which cultural production takes place" (Inghillleri 2003: 247). Inghilleri bases her analysis on Bernstein's theory to explore whether translation and interpreting activities have their own "internal logic" and thus do not "merely obey the discursive rules of the (multiple) fields in which they may be embedded" (*ibid.*). The result of the combination of the three theories is a complex model that Inghilleri not only explains in her article, but also applies to the specific analysis of interpreted political asylum interviews.

In a subsequent 2006 article, 'Macro social theory, linguistic ethnography and interpreting research', Inghilleri uses the same approach for research in interpretation, although limited to

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[5] According to Inghilleri, *habitus* refers to a set of dispositions to act in particular ways (2003: 245). Therefore, specific fields confer specific *habitus* to individuals and groups operating in them. At the same time, *habitus* may also be determined by capital, which, in turn, may take different shapes (e.g. cultural capital or linguistic capital, amongst other). For a more detailed application of Bourdieu's theories to T/IS, see *Bourdieu and the Sociology of Translation and Interpreting* (2005), a special issue of *The Translator* edited by Inghilleri.

Toury's model of norms and Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction. Her aim here is to suggest an analysis of CI situations from the approaches of sociology and linguistic ethnography, assuming that any interaction in CI is influenced by the political and social reality in which it takes place, as well as by the education and background of the interpreter. She argues for the analysis of the macro-social level of CI, instead of the micro-textual features that have attracted the attention of most researchers. In discussing the (in)visibility of the interpreter, Inghilleri refers to a 'discursive gap' which arises from the strain between the 'democratic iterations' (where both parts seek mutual comprehension) and the 'authorized discourses' (the purpose of which is to maintain pre-established power relations) (2006: 62). Inghilleri uses this distinction to compare different views of the social/interactional position of the interpreter and to state that the choice of one kind of iteration over another not only depends on the public service providers who state the conditions for the interpretation, but also on the interpreters themselves, who are influenced by their political and social background.

Concerning the influence of Sociology in CI research, Angelelli, in her 2004 book *Revisiting the Interpreter's Role,* makes a distinction between sociological and social theories (2004: 31). On the one hand, Angelelli observes that sociological theories include those which have been used to study the interpersonal role of the interpreter at the level of interaction among the participants: for instance, social psychology theories that seek to describe interpersonal relations, such as Brewer's theory of impression formation (1988), Festinger's theory of social comparison (1954), the symbolic other theory, Fiske and Taylor's theory of attribution (1991), Ridgeway's theory of affect control (1994) and Webster and Foschi's theory of status generalization (1998) (see Angelelli 2004: 31-36). On the other hand, Angelelli argues that social theories have been used to analyze CI at the social and institutional level of interaction, and in so doing she refers mainly to Bourdieu's theory (1977, 1990), which has had a very significant influence not only on CI research, but also, of course, on research in the social sciences and humanities in general.

3. Applied linguistics

Applied linguistics has been adopted in a great number of CI contributions, often combining theories from other disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology and psychology. Wadensjö, in her book *Interpreting as Interaction* (1998), for instance, relies on discourse analysis to compare original messages and their renditions, and proposes a classification for the different kinds of rendition that interpreters usually provide. Her approach is interdisciplinary, since discourse analysis is complemented by Goffman's metaphor of drama (as mentioned in section 2) and by Bakhtin's theory of polyphony (1986). The combination of these theories results in the idea of the 'dialogical model' to analyze the interpreted situations: i.e. the object of discourse analysis shifts from the text to the interaction between participants and how this interaction helps to shape the message.

With regard to the use of applied linguistics in CI research, Valero Garcés' survey (2006) explicitly acknowledges the significant influence of this branch of linguistics, especially in contrast to other branches (theoretical linguistics and diachronic linguistics), which are less

visible in CI research (2006: 84). She also suggests the following classification for the articles written from this perspective (2006: 89):[6]

a) Studies based on discourse analysis
Discourse analysis, both as a theory and a method within the field of pragmatics, has provided arguments for a great number of research papers in CI. Valero Garcés first refers to Roy (2000), who regards CI as a 'discursive process' and emphasizes the participation of the interpreter in the interaction when coordinating turn-taking and managing the flow of talk (Valero Garcés 2006: 89). She also describes Wadensjö's contribution from the discourse analysis perspective and, finally, she mentions other scholars' work using this approach: Dubslaff and Martinsen (2005), Jacobsen (2002), Leanza (2005), Merlini (2005), Merlini and Favaron (2005), Rosenberg (2002), Rudvin (2003) and Valero Garcés (2005). However, as Valero Garcés concludes:

> The studies briefly surveyed in this section are but a sample of the influence of the important groundbreaking research done by Roy and Wadensjö. Their work, according to Pöchhacker (2007: 79), supplied both a coherent conceptual approach to (dialogue) interpreting and a broad base of discourse-analytical methodology, thus launching a new paradigm for the study of interpreting as dialogue discourse-based interaction (DI). (2006: 93)

Pöchhacker and Shlesinger, in their preface to a special issue of *Interpreting* (2005) on discourse-based research on healthcare interpreting, review several papers on CI in health settings, observing that discourse analysis is often used to examine mistakes made while interpreting (additions, omissions or changes of meaning), as well as the roles undertaken by participants and interpreters in a triadic conversation.

b) Studies based on pragmatics and politeness theory
Valero Garcés refers to Berk-Seligson (1990), who examines questions such as politeness and register and how they can influence the evaluation of a witness in a trial. Other authors (Cambridge 1999, Hale 2001, 2004, Krouglov 1999, Mason and Steward 2001, Mason 2005, Pöllabauer 2004 and Ullyat 1999) have also discussed politeness and how interpreters' attempts to 'save face' can have direct consequences on the result of an interpreted interaction and, more specifically, on a verdict in the case of court interpreting (Valero Garcés 2006: 93-95). Cambridge, for example, in her article 'Information loss in bilingual medical interviews through an untrained interpreter' (1999) inspired by Cheepen and Monaghan's (1990) linguistic theories, describes the contextual factors of the kind of interactions that take place in public services, focusing on those that occur in a medical consultation. These include power asymmetry, which sets a considerable social distance between the participants; the external objective of the interaction, i.e. the immigrant patient seeking to obtain certain

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[6] Hale proposes a different taxonomy of the approaches that derive from discourse analysis (2007: 205). Her categories are: a) conversation analysis, where linguistic features as well as turn-taking in conversation are analyzed in detail; b) microlinguistic discourse analysis, which observes the tight relation between form and function in verbal communication; c) ethnography of communication (see Sections 2 and 4) and interactional sociolinguistics, both aiming to analyze cultural and linguistic diversity in communication; and d) critical discourse analysis, which seeks to explain the relationship between linguistic microanalysis and more general questions arising from social structure and power distribution in institutions and organizations.

information from the conversation; and the sequence of topics in the conversation, which is determined by the objective (Cambridge 1999: 202). Cambridge also adds a fourth factor: the fact that the immigrant may not be aware of the rules that will govern the conversation (*ibid.*). From these factors, and considering the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) - Valero Garcés calls it one of the most influential studies from pragmatics in CI research (2006: 95) - who maintain that speakers seek strategies to avoid situations that would challenge their own or other participants' face, Cambridge examines a series of interactions and confirms the great importance of contextual factors in the interpreters' interventions (1999: 209).

In 'Interactional Pragmatics, Face and the Dialogue Interpreter' (2001), Mason and Steward, use a similar analysis for two specific cases: a part of O.J. Simpson's trial with the intervention of an English-Spanish interpreter and several passages from interviews between English-speaking Immigration Department officials and Polish immigrants. In the first case, the interpreter had been explicitly requested to translate verbatim, leaving aside pragmatic aspects such as the illocutionary force of certain modal verbs, hedges or particles like "so " and, consequently, many of the interpreter's renditions showed a different pragmatic meaning, especially when s/he should save (but also threaten) face (2001: 62-63). A clear example is that the use of the imperative in Spanish is much more common than in English and, therefore, a literal translation from Spanish into English maintaining an imperative may sound much more aggressive than in the original statement (2001: 60). In Mason and Steward's second case study, interpreters had more freedom in their interventions, but in their attempts to assist communication they changed the original register of the Polish speakers, which also modified the socio-cultural *personae* of the participants as well as the relationship between the participants against the interest of the Polish immigrants (2001: 66). Mason and Steward provide two different situations, which nevertheless have one thing in common: neither reaches a pragmatically satisfactory conclusion.

c) Studies based on systemic functional grammar
As Valero Garcés indicates, Tebble's contribution, 'The Tenor of Consultant Physicians: Implications for Medical Interpreting' (1999), was the first to apply systemic functional grammar theories in CI research, for which she developed a prototype model, based on the categories of field, tenor and mode as defined by Halliday and Hasan (1985/1989) (Valero Garcés 2006: 95). Thus, in Tebble's model, the 'field' is the topic of the interpreted interaction (usually a problem that needs to be solved, for instance, in a medical consultation); the 'tenor' is the relationship between participants, determined by hierarchy and social distance; and the 'mode' is the means by which meaning is created (spoken, written, non-verbal) and the channel by which it is transmitted (phonic, graphic, signed) (Valero Garcés 2006: 95-96). According to Tebble, this model can help to predict the elements that will appear in an interpreted conversation, i.e. greetings, introduction, problem definition, etc., with the optional element of role negotiation (Valero Garcés, 2006: 96). Even though Tebble's model is very thorough and can contribute to a global overview of the interpreted situation, it has not been further applied in CI research to date.

d) Studies based on corpus linguistics
Valero Garcés refers to Lindquist's 'The MRC approach to interpreter performance evaluation: applying discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to the spoken word' (2005) as the most notable contribution to CI research based on corpus linguistics (Valero Garcés 2006:

97). Lindquist compared a corpus of renditions with their original messages from the so-called MRC approach, i.e. following what he considers to be the three universals of a message: meaning, rhetorical value and clarity/coherence (Lindquist 2005: 235). His analysis is very thorough, since he takes into account the impact that non-verbal communication (interpreters' pauses, hesitation and confidence) can have on the reception of a message and also seeks to identify mistakes or changes between renditions and originals, which can either be manifested as modifications of meaning due to a lexical mistake, omissions, clarity affected by lack of fluency or clarity affected by an omission (Lindquist 2005: 236-237). In his conclusions, Lindquist emphasizes the great number of mistakes due to lack of understanding of the original text, which clearly indicates the need to stress oral comprehension skills in interpreter training (2005: 241-242).

As in the case of contributions from systemic functional grammar, corpus linguistics has had a limited scope in CI research to date. Nevertheless, it may provide an interesting methodological approach, despite the difficulties of collecting and transcribing a corpus of interpreted situations, which is time-consuming, requires the consent of the participants in the interpreted act (like all kinds of research involving individuals), and can involve the risk of technical problems when recording the data.

4. Communication sciences
Community interpreting is regarded as a branch of translation and interpreting studies, which in turn are a subfield of communication sciences, even though communication sciences as a field still lacks a consistent definition. Starting from this premise, Vermeiren, in 'L'interprétation sociale, une interdiscipline face à ses théories' (2006) analyzes how communication sciences as a major discipline may have influenced CI research. She admits that the relationship between theoretical works in CI and communication sciences is not very explicit, even though some models of communication including three participants and two languages have been developed (2006: 47). Vermeiren reviews Kirchoff's (1976) model for communication with three participants and two languages (where two of the participants are monolingual and one, the interpreter, is bilingual), which is the model generally accepted for triadic interactions (Vermeiren 2006:48-49). Vermeiren also highlights the contribution by Hatim and Mason (1997), who talk about translation as an "act of communication" and who place liaison interpreting in the domain of context, i.e. at the pragmatic level of discourse, where contextual information is "more readily available" than in any other interpreting modality (consecutive or simultaneous) (Vermeiren 2006:48).

Another methodological framework which has borne significant fruit in CI research is the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1962). It is clearly an interdisciplinary method that could also be discussed in other sections of this paper. For instance, as Hale points out, it could be regarded as a branch of discourse analysis,[7] as it is both a method and a theory which considers communicative patterns as a part of cultural knowledge and behaviour (Titscher *et al* 2000: 90) and, therefore, analyzes language and text in the context of a culture. However, since the ethnography of communication takes account of factors from various disciplines (anthropology, sociology, linguistics, psychology) with the objective of describing communication, contributions based on this method will be reviewed in this section.

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[7] See footnote 4.

In this respect, Angelelli, in 'Interpretation as a Communicative Event: A look through Hymes' Lenses' (2000), suggests the application of Hymes' ethnography of communication model to compare conference interpreting and community interpreting (2000: 583). Thus, she writes a comparative analysis of both kinds of interpreting according to all the factors included in Hymes' communication model, i.e. setting, scene, participants, purposes-outcomes, purposes-goals, message form, message content, key, channel, forms of speech, norms of interaction, norms of interpretation and genres (2000: 586-589). Such a detailed analysis allows Angelelli to confirm the differences between the two interpretation contexts, which consequently require different skills from their interpreters (2000: 589-590). For instance, community interpreters sometimes have the opportunity to "negotiate the message form and content" (Angelelli 2000: 590), which, on the contrary, is not habitual in conference interpreting. Therefore, interpersonal skills such as the ability to negotiate message form and content would be especially relevant in community interpreters, but not necessarily so in conference interpreters.

5. Psychology

Many authors have observed the importance of a psychological approach to examine issues like interpreting skills, especially since interpreters often have to work in very difficult circumstances for the participants in the interaction. Not only health service interpreters, but also those working for asylum seekers or in court, may be required to interpret in very stressful situations, very often without being psychologically prepared for them. Cambridge (1999, 2002, 2004) writes about the specific difficulties that interpreters encounter on a daily basis, especially because of the conditions of the context in which they work. Valero Garcés (2005) also emphasizes the emotional and psychological impact community interpreters may suffer, and argues for better psychological training for them, as well as for the development of psychological and emotional support resources.

A different approach grounded in psychology is described in Bot's article: 'Dialogue interpreting as a specific case of reported speech' (2005). Even though the idea of 'reported speech' is more often related to linguistics, Bot's analysis departs from Fauconnier's (1985) and Sanders' (1994) theories of perspective and mental space and aims to contrast the idea of the interpreter as a machine translation or conduit to the rather frequent reality of the interpreter as a third participant in the interaction (Bot 2005: 243). Bot offers the following classification of four different kinds of interpretation, according to the perspective and the reporting verb used by the interpreter (2005: 246):

> a) Direct representation: a reporting verb is used but the perspective is maintained (i.e. first person is used).
> b) Indirect representation: a reporting verb is used and the perspective is changed (i.e. third person is used).
> c) Direct translation: no reporting verb is used to introduce the participants' interventions and the same perspective as the original is maintained (i.e. first person).
> d) Indirect translation: no reporting verb is used but the perspective is changed, normally from first to third person.

It is interesting to note the difference that Bot establishes between 'representation', when the interpreter's intervention is introduced by a reporting verb, and 'translation', when the

interpreter functions like a translation machine or, in Goffman's words, a non-person. Bot, who comes from a therapy background, conducted interviews with three interpreters working at psychotherapy consultations, in which she asked them their reasons for using either the first or the third person when interpreting (Bot 2005: 237-238). Two of the interpreters did not know how to reply to this question, but the third one replied that s/he used the first person when interpreting for the doctor, but the third person or reporting verbs when interpreting for the patient. The interpreter assumed that the doctor was aware of what is considered 'a good interpretation', but s/he was not sure whether the patient would be aware of that and preferred to ensure that the words s/he said were in fact the doctor's words (Bot 2005: 244). Bot concludes that "[i]nterpreters very often do not repeat what the primary speakers said in a different language, as they are expected to do; rather, in many cases they report what the primary speakers said in a different language" (2005: 258).

Moving from this psycholinguistics basis to the domain of psychology, Bot points out that interpreters use indirect style in order to distance themselves from the words they are uttering, clearly indicating that those are not their words but those of other participants (2005: 243-244). Moreover, using reporting verbs helps the listener to build a mental space where s/he will place the new information. Therefore, Bot moves one step closer to the recognition of the interpreter as a participant in the interaction, as opposed to the idealized model of the interpreter as a conduit; the same claim had already been made by scholars such as Wadensjö (1998), Davidson (2000) and Roy (2000).

Discussion

This paper attempts to survey the many different approaches that have been applied to CI research. In addition to T/IS as the 'mother' field, at least five different disciplines (anthropology, sociology, applied linguistics, communication sciences and psychology) have provided theories and methodologies for the study of CI, a fact that reflects the complex nature of CI as an activity.

Even though some theories have had greater influence than others, e.g. discourse analysis from applied linguistics, it is striking that in most contributions, different theories from different fields are often combined so as to complement each other. In fact, a close observation of the theories discussed throughout this paper will lead us to conclude that they are all tightly interconnected, many of them sharing referents and concepts and even overlapping in certain aspects, as can be seen in the following concept map (see Figure 1).
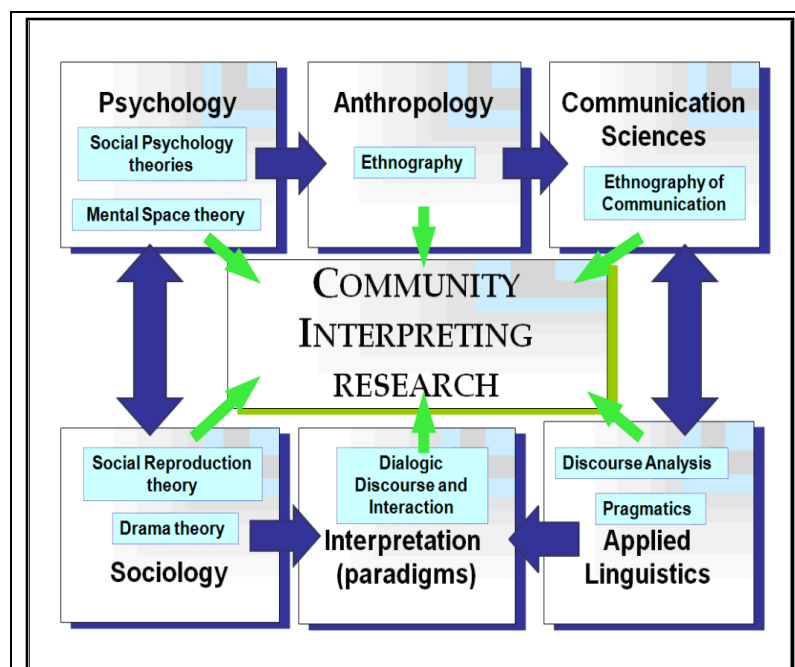
Figure 1: Interconnection among theoretical and methodological frameworks in Community Interpreting research.

Figure 1 shows just some of the most influential theories discussed throughout this paper, although its primary aim is to highlight how complex research is in terms of approaches, just as reality is complex in terms of analysis. This is not an exhaustive concept map of all the theories and methodologies applied in CI, but it does attempt to reflect how different disciplines can converge and complement each other for the purpose of research.

Starting from the top left, social psychology theories, on the one hand, lead to mental space theory in the field of psychology, and on the other hand, provide background for ethnography. Ethnography has been located in the field of anthropology because of its traditional link, even though, as a research strategy, it could be related to any of the disciplines mentioned in this article. The connection between ethnography and anthropology is clear in Bahadir's (2004) and Ruvin's (2006a) contributions, while it is also the basis of the ethnography of communication, a theory directly related to communication sciences. Thanks to Angelelli's in-depth study, ethnography of communication is one of the communication models most successfully applied as a theoretical framework for research in CI, although it has also been considered a branch of discourse analysis (Hale 2007: 205).

The field of applied linguistics has proved to be a valuable resource for researchers in CI. Pragmatics and politeness theory have been critical in explaining certain decisions interpreters make, while different types of discourse analysis (e.g. critical discourse analysis, conversation analysis and microlinguistic discourse analysis) have become widely used both as theoretical and methodological frameworks, but also in complementing other theories; it is, for instance, one of the mainstays of Wadensjö's paradigm for CI, the dialogic and trialogic discourse and interaction. Pöchhacker places Wadensjö's model in his review of paradigms in the field of interpreting studies, although it should not be forgotten that the dialogic and trialogic discourse and interaction paradigm is interdisciplinary in itself, another of its pillars being sociologist Goffman's drama theory. In the field of sociology, apart from Goffman's

influence on Wadensjö, Bourdieu's social reproduction theory has also been a key element in many articles, both as an object of discussion (e.g. how to apply his theory to CI) and as a tool for analysis.

Taking into account most CI researchers' background in T/IS, it would be plausible to think that some theories may be easier to apply, as could be the case of T/IS theories or applied linguistics discourse analysis or pragmatics and politeness theory. However, there are already plenty of examples of the interdisciplinarity of CI research. One clear example is Wadensjö's paradigm, the dialogic discourse and interaction (DI), which is already a keystone for any contribution on CI research and which successfully combines theories from sociology and applied linguistics. In this respect, any combination of the DI and other theories reviewed in the course of this paper could become a fruitful alliance. For instance, DI complemented by the ethnography of communication could provide an interesting approach for the study of CI between specific pairs of languages and cultures, especially in the case of distant cultures where the interpreters' processes of 'defamiliarization' and building of a 'third space' could be more evident.

Inghilleri (2003, 2006) also combines theories from different disciplines in CI research: Toury's norms from T/IS, Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction and Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse from sociology. Inghilleri's articles show that the application of these theories requires the building up of an entirely new conceptual framework to describe CI and, therefore, that all the terms included must be carefully defined (e.g. 'norms', 'field', 'habitus', 'discourse', 'pedagogic discourse' and 'classification'). Even though this is already an arduous task for any researcher, Inghilleri further succeeds in applying them to describe specific examples of CI, which demonstrates the usefulness of her theoretical framework.

Angelelli's adaptation and application of the ethnography of communication (2000), Bahadir's comparison of the roles of interpreters and ethnographers (2004) and Bot's relation of psychological theories to the use of 'reported speech' (2005) are other examples of the need for detailed theoretical frameworks when applying theories from other disciplines. Again, although this may pose difficulties for researchers from T/IS, it should not be a drawback to conducting research based on an interdisciplinary approach, since the examples reviewed in this paper show that complex theoretical frameworks are necessary to explain complex communicative events such as CI situations.

Conclusions

This article has reviewed and classified the main theoretical and methodological frameworks, which, although coming from different disciplines (anthropology, sociology, applied linguistics, communication sciences and psychology), have been applied in CI research. This interdisciplinary approach is both necessary and beneficial: it is necessary because CI is a complex activity and requires explanations that can only be provided by different disciplines, and it is beneficial because the different complement each other in a holistic perspective on the research.

Considering that CI is a strand of the major field of T/IS, Wadensjö's paradigm, the dialogic discourse and interaction (DI), has been revisited and established as a keystone for any contribution on CI research. In this respect, any combination of the DI and other theories reviewed throughout this paper may prove to be a fruitful alliance.

Interdisciplinarity in specific contributions to CI research has been reviewed, as in the cases of Angelelli (2000), Bot (2005), or Inghilleri (2003, 2006). Even though the complexity of building suitable theoretical frameworks has been stressed, this should not discourage research from an interdisciplinary standpoint, as the complexity of CI situations themselves requires this kind of approach.

This paper has a clearly prospective purpose, i.e. to offer a more comprehensive outlook of how interdisciplinary research can be further explored in future studies on CI. Interdisciplinarity has already been crucial in many papers to date, although sometimes the tight interconnection among disciplines may not be explicit enough. The concept map (Figure 1) presented in this article seeks to provide an overview of the state of the art in CI research and show how interdisciplinary convergence may help to bridge the gaps between disciplines, thus covering all aspects in CI.

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