

Interpreter-mediated access to the written record in police interviews

Abstract

One of the main goals of the police interview is the drafting of a written record. That written record is the textual outcome of a complex negotiation process on the content and wording of what is being recorded. The interviewee's ability to negotiate content and wording is however limited when the interviewee is denied access to the text of the record. Such access may be granted through the police officer's reading out loud what he is typing while drafting. In many cases, that access does not go beyond the interpreter, as the interpreter does not always identify the police officer's reading turns as conversational turns to be interpreted. In our dataset, Belgian interpreters for Dutch are seen to involve themselves in the negotiation process instead of rendering the police officer's reading turns, repeating segments the latter failed to record or correcting information they perceive to be erroneous. Only when the interpreter decides to transfer the access to the written record granted by the police officer to the interviewee by rendering the police officer's reading turns, the interviewee is able to enter in the negotiation process on the content of the written record and able to offer confirmations, corrections or elaborations.

Keywords: interpreter-mediated police interviews, written record, text drafting, entextualisation

1. Introduction

In many continental European judicial systems, including the Belgian one, the drafting of a written police record is one of the main communicative goals of a police interview (Määttä 2015). Although most police stations in Flanders are equipped with a room for the audio-visual recording of interviews, investigative interviews are rarely recorded, with the exception of interviews of minors as that is required by law¹.

Police officers are required to draft a written record of the suspect's statement during the police interview. That police record is of paramount importance as it is produced as an authoritative document to be used to base decisions on at every step in the criminal law process (Komter 2006). At the end of the interview, the interviewee is given the opportunity to read the written record and offer corrections. It is signed by the interviewee and becomes part of the case file. It may reveal new elements to be examined and verified and is an important instrument in finding out the truth about what happened (Smets en Ponsaers 2011). It may be used to point out discrepancies in an interviewee's statement. In the next step of the criminal law process, the written record is, along with the material evidence in the case, examined by the *procureur des Konings* (public prosecutor) or the *onderzoeksrechter* (investigative magistrate) and used to decide whether the interviewee should be prosecuted or not. It may be used as a piece of evidence in court and may be quoted from during the trial (van Charldorp 2011, 2014).

Despite the importance of the written police record, police officers in Belgium receive hardly any formal training on how to draft a written record of a suspect's statement. Police interviews in more complex criminal investigations are conducted by *rechercheurs* (detectives) working within a criminal investigation department (*recherche*). In order to become a detective, police officers need to complete a four-month training programme, which includes a two-week training module on interviewing techniques. Not more than half an hour of this training module is devoted to the drafting of the written record.

¹ Art. 38-40 wet 28 november 2000 betreffende de strafrechtelijke bescherming van minderjarigen, BS 17 maart 2001.

Moreover, there are hardly any drafting rules or legal requirements regarding the production, format and style of the *proces-verbaal* or written record (Pesquié 2002, Smets and Ponsaers 2011, Defrancq & Verliefde 2018). Police officers conduct interviews on their own or in pairs. When working alone, interviewing and typing are carried out semi-simultaneously by the same officer. Ponsaers & Desmet (2011) question this practice. When working in pairs, officers usually agree on a division of labour, one officer focussing on the questioning of the interviewee, while the other drafts the record. Based on a self-reporting questionnaire, Ponsaers & Desmet (2011) conclude that over 40% of police officers usually work alone and dual-task, while over a third work with a colleague. In the latter case, according to their self-reporting, police officers usually take turns at questioning and typing. The remaining 20% report other, unspecified, working methods. In other words, there is no uniform approach to creating the written record of an accused person's statement.

Detectives interviewing suspects in more complex criminal cases however usually work in pairs. During the training course candidate-detectives have to complete to obtain the rank of detective, candidate-detectives are taught to conduct investigative interviews with a colleague. The first detective carries out the interview and drafts the written record while the second one focusses on non-verbal behaviour and on specific details the lead interviewer might have missed.

It is interviewees' fundamental right to have their statements taken down verbatim according to Belgian law (*Franchimont*)². In practice this rarely happens (Smets & Ponsaers 2011). Police records are in the subsequent handling of the suspect's case handled as straightforward representations of the interviewee's statements and suspects can be held accountable for 'their' statements (Komter 2002). However, it is widely acknowledged that police records are not verbatim reports and cannot possibly be an exact record of what the interviewee has actually said during the interview (Defrancq & Verliefde 2018, González Martínez 2006, Komter 2006, Smets & Ponsaers 2011, van Charldorp 2011, Bucholtz 2009). The content of the written record originates in so-called 'recordable input', i.e. the textual outcome of a negotiation process in which interviewee and interviewer agree on content and wording of what is to be typed. Depending on whether one or two police officers conduct the interview, this negotiation process involves two or three people in a monolingual setting. In a multilingual setting, a further party is included, namely the interpreter, whose presence is required by law³. The law of 1935 defines which language has to be used in the different courtrooms and also stipulates that a person who does not understand or speak the language of the court, has the right to be assisted by a sworn interpreter. The 2016 law⁴, implementing EU Directive 2010/64/EU, regulates the creation of a national register of certified translators and interpreters and dictates the conditions a person has to meet in order to become a sworn interpreter. In order to be included in the new national register for sworn translators, interpreters and translators-interpreters, a person has to present a diploma in translation or interpreting and a certificate proving at least five years of relevant professional experience. Furthermore, a certificate of knowledge of the Belgian judicial system is required. Sworn interpreters are called upon to interpret during every step of criminal proceedings: during the confidential lawyer-client meeting before the police interview, during interviews conducted by the police or the investigative magistrate and in the courtroom.

Little is known about the dynamics or the outcome of an interpreter-mediated negotiation process relating to the drafting of a written record. Exploratory studies such as those conducted by Pöchhacker and Kolb 2009 and Defrancq & Verliefde 2018, have revealed that interpreters facilitate

²Wet 12 maart 1998 tot verbetering van de strafrechtspleging in het stadium van het opsporingsonderzoek en het gerechtelijk onderzoek, *BS* 2 april 1998.

³ Wet 15 juni 1935 op het gebruik der talen in gerechtszaken, *BS* 22 juni 1935.

⁴ Wet 10 april 2014 tot wijziging van verschillende bepalingen met het oog op de oprichting van een nationaal register voor gerechtsdeskundigen en tot oprichting van een nationaal register voor beëdigd vertalers, tolken en vertalers-tolken, *BS* 19 december 2014.

the drafting process and interact with it in various ways. Other studies have emphasized the interpreter's influence on the actual wording of the written record (Jacquemet 2009, Vandenbroucke & Defrancq 2021), but the role played by the interpreter in the negotiation process leading to recordable content has drawn less attention. The main research goal of this study is therefore to investigate the interpreter's agency in this negotiation process and the extent to which interpreters take it on themselves to decide how interviewees' statements are recorded. This will be done on the basis of naturalistic data recorded during real interpreter-mediated police interviews.

2. Negotiating recordable input

The drafting of the written record is an institutional requirement of the interview. Questions are asked so that answers can be written down. The typing is identified by Komter (2006) as a turn on its own in the interaction, a written turn. Komter's research has shown that the police interview is organised according to a basic Question-Answer-Typing sequence. This typical interactional sequence consists of at least one but more often a series of questions asked by the police officer and answered by the interviewee and is illustrated in the excerpt below, taken from Komter (2019).

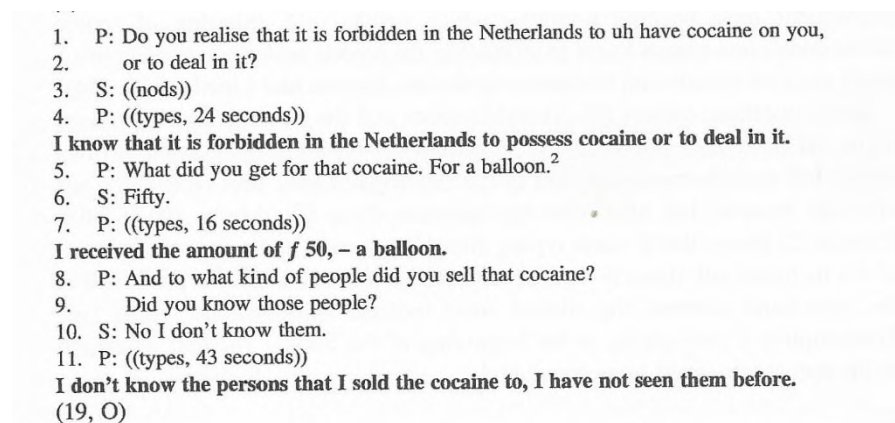
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1. P: Do you realise that it is forbidden in the Netherlands to uh have cocaine on you,
 2. or to deal in it?
 3. S: ((nods))
 4. P: ((types, 24 seconds))
I know that it is forbidden in the Netherlands to possess cocaine or to deal in it.
 5. P: What did you get for that cocaine. For a balloon.²
 6. S: Fifty.
 7. P: ((types, 16 seconds))
I received the amount of f 50, – a balloon.
 8. P: And to what kind of people did you sell that cocaine?
 9. Did you know those people?
 10. S: No I don't know them.
 11. P: ((types, 43 seconds))
I don't know the persons that I sold the cocaine to, I have not seen them before.
(19, O)

Figure 1. A basic QAT sequence (Komter 2019).

When the police officer considers the interviewee's answer to be sufficient, appropriate, legally relevant and thus recordable, the police officer starts typing. The result of the typing is indicated in bold in the figure above. During the typing, the interviewee often yields the floor to the typing, remains silent and waits for the police officer to finish typing. The end of the typing usually marks the end of the typical QAT sequence and a new question marks the beginning of a new QAT sequence (Komter 2002, Komter 2006, Komter 2019, van Charldorp 2011).

When typing, police officers often read out loud what they are typing, thus dictating the text of the written record while it is being written down. This typing aloud not only allows the police officers to totally occupy the floor while typing but also makes the substance of the typing available to the interviewee, allowing the latter to agree with it or to offer corrections or elaborations. Both interviewee and police officer negotiate the content of the written record.

The common Question-Answer-Typing sequence may also be altered: there may be periods of simultaneous talking and typing. When asking a question, police officers may be able to anticipate the interviewee's answer and are seen to start the typing before the interviewee has finished talking (van Charldorp 2011). The police officers' typing may also prompt the interviewee to elaborate on an answer, not yielding the floor to the typing. In these cases, police officers are also seen to continue typing, not yielding the floor to the interviewee's talking either. This may lead to longer periods of overlap of the typing and the talking. The interviewee's elaborations may prompt the police officer

not only to record the answer to the question but also to record the information the interviewee is adding (Komter 2006). The text of the written record produced during this type of interaction is thus the result of a negotiation process between the police officer and the interviewee.

Komter's and van Charldorp's research mainly focusses on police interviews between a Dutch-speaking police officer and a Dutch-speaking suspect. The negotiation process between police officer and suspect remains fairly simple. Our research focusses on interpreter-mediated police interviews with a Dutch-speaking police officer and a suspect speaking a different language. The presence of an interpreter mediating the conversation between two parties speaking a different language complicates the interaction, therefore we expect negotiation patterns to be more complex in interpreter-mediated police interviews.

Given Komter's QAT sequence, the hypothetical negotiation sequence in interpreter-mediated police interviews will be expanded with the interpreter's mediation after every oral turn, as in (1):

(1) Question – Interpretation – Answer – Interpretation – Typing/Reading

The relevant question here is about interpreters' uptake of the typing/reading. As stated above, the typing/reading phase creates an opportunity for interviewees to state their consent, to offer corrections or to elaborate on the answer given. The strategy adopted by the interpreter at that particular point of the negotiation process may crucially influence the content of the written record. Different end-scenarios are possible at this stage:

- The interviewer types the answer but does not read it out loud. This would normally deprive the interviewee of access to the written record. However, Defrancq & Verliefde (2018) analyse a case in which an interpreter sight translates bits and pieces of the record from the computer screen with the consent of the interviewer who himself makes no attempt at reading what he typed previously. In doing so the interpreter makes the written record partially accessible to and refutable by the interviewee, who eagerly uses the opportunity he is offered.
- The interviewer reads the answers he is typing into the written record. The content of the written record is thus made accessible to the interpreter who may make it or not accessible to and negotiable by the interviewee by interpreting it. The Code of ethics⁵ sworn interpreters abide by in Belgium requires them to provide complete and faithful interpretations; however, the reading of what is being typed up may not be identified as a conversational turn by the interpreter, in which case interpreters may not feel compelled to interpret or may even feel compelled to engage in negotiations.

The presence of and the decisions made by interpreters are bound to have a profound effect on the content of written records that are the result of interpreter-mediated police interviews. Interviewers' propensity to articulate the content of what is being typed may depend on the presence or absence of an interpreter. Empirical research has shown that the mere presence of an interpreter modifies the interaction format of an interview and re-defines participants' access to the interaction (Davitti 2012). Furthermore, the degree to which interpreters exert agency will fundamentally affect what is ultimately recorded. Empirical research abounds with examples of gatekeeping practices applied by interpreters (Davidson 2000; Pöllabauer 2012), including with regard to what is considered recordable input for written reports (Vandenbroucke & Defrancq 2021). The analysis of practices restricting or facilitating access to the content of the written report during the process of

⁵ Koninklijk Besluit van 25 april 2017 tot vaststelling van de deontologische code van de beëdigd vertalers, tolken en vertalers-tolken aangesteld in toepassing van de Wet van 10 april 2014 tot wijziging van verschillende bepalingen met het oog op de oprichting van een nationaal register voor gerechtsdeskundigen en tot oprichting van een nationaal register voor beëdigd vertalers, tolken en vertalers-tolken.

interviewing proposed in this paper will thus complete the picture of these gatekeeping practices and, more generally, of interpreters' agency.

The research questions will therefore focus on the three crucial stages of the negotiation process: the opportunity for access created by the police officer, the interpreter's handling of access or lack of access and the interviewee's uptake of the negotiation:

1. To what extent and in what ways do police officers offer access to the substance of the written record during the interpreter-mediated interview?
2. How is access or lack of access handled by the interpreter? To what extent is access granted by the police officer subsequently transferred to the interviewee by the interpreter or denied by the interpreter's failure to interpret the segments? Or, conversely, does the interpreter enforce access when the police officer fails to grant it?
3. Which one of the previous cases is most conducive to the interviewee's uptake of the opportunity for negotiation and to a successful closure of the sequence, i.e. with a correct and/or complete version of the information being recorded in the written record?

We will conduct a quantitative analysis to answer research questions 1 and 2 and a qualitative analysis to answer the last research question.

3. Methods

3.1. Data

The materials we have collected consist of audio and video recordings of several interpreter-mediated police interviews. Recordings were made with equipment owned by the university. Prior consent for the recording of actual police interviews of the *Parket-Generaal* (Prosecutor-General's Office) was obtained. A data management plan was drafted, describing the research goals for which the recordings are to be used, imposing strict guidelines on the storage of and access to the data and describing how the recordings and transcripts should be anonymized. Further consent from the public prosecutor's office of the court of first instance in Brugge was also obtained and practical arrangements were made with different police stations in Flanders where the recordings were made. For each interview, individual informed consent was obtained in writing from all persons involved.

Over a 5-year period between January 2014 and December 2019, we were able to make audio and video recordings of 12 interpreter-mediated police interviews, totalling 31 hours and 15 minutes of recorded material. The table below shows the length and theme of each interview.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Duration</i>
Interview 1: French	Threats and assault with a knife	2h55m
Interview 2: English	Sham relationship	3h00m
Interview 3: Turkish	Sham marriage	1h45m
Interview 4: Romanian	Human trafficking and forced prostitution	4h15m
Interview 5: Arabic	Sham marriage	2h45m
Interview 6: Arabic	Sham marriage	1h25m
Interview 7: Pashto	Drug trafficking	1h55m
Interview 8: Pashto	Possession of prohibited weapon	0h30m
Interview 9: Romanian	Human trafficking and forced prostitution	3h40m
Interview 10: Romanian	Human trafficking and forced prostitution	4h15m
Interview 11: Greek	Sham relationship	2h30m
Interview 12: Greek	Sham relationship	2h20m

Table 1. Overview of recorded interviews + kolom toevoegen video en/of audio

The police interviews were conducted in 7 different languages and involved 8 different sworn interpreters working under the certification requirements outlined above. 3 of the sworn interpreters have interpreted two interviews. This was the case for interviews 5 and 6, 7 and 8 and 11 and 12. Hitherto 9 of the 12 recorded police interviews are completely transcribed by the first author and by sworn interpreters in case the author did not have knowledge of the language spoken. Back-translation of the foreign language was also provided as glosses in the transcription. Interviews 6, 11 and 12 are only partially transcribed and will not be included in the results section. All transcriptions are anonymised according to the conventions laid down in Jefferson (2004). We also obtained copies of the 12 written records drafted during the recorded interviews.

3.2. Analysis and annotation

A turn-taking analysis was carried out on the basis of the expanded QAT-format defined in (1), paying special attention to the way in which the written record is made accessible to the interpreter during the typing. In interpreter-mediated interviews the interpreter renders the police officer's questions and the interviewee's answers in a consecutive or semi-simultaneous interpreting mode with longer periods of overlap between one of the primary speaker's utterances and the interpreter's rendition.

For negotiation on the contents of the written record to be possible, the written turns also have to be rendered by the interpreter. That is only possible when the substance of the typing is accessible for rendering by the interpreter. There are various ways in which an interpreter may have access to the substance of the typing: through access to the police officer's screen, through the police officer's typing aloud or through the police officer's reading aloud when the typing is finished. If the substance of the typing is made available to the interpreter and the interpreter identifies the written turns as full-fledged turns in the interaction, we expect the interpreter to render those written turns, thus making it possible for interviewee and police officer to negotiate the contents of the written record.

The figure below gives an overview of the possible patterns of negotiation on the content of the written record.

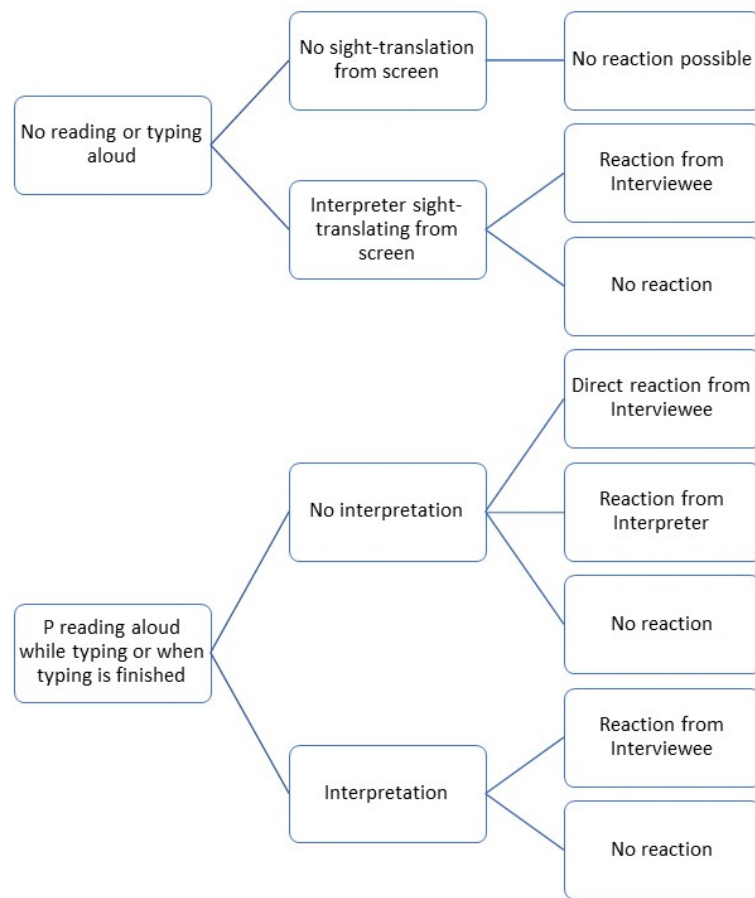


Figure 2. Overview of possible negotiation patterns

In the next section, we will discuss these different patterns of negotiation on the content of the written record and illustrate them with excerpts drawn from the police interviews we have recorded.

4. Results

Table 2 presents the frequencies of different access patterns in the 9 police interviews that were taken into account. In all, 835 typing sequences occurred during the interviews.

	P is reading/typing aloud	P is not reading/typing aloud
No sight translation No reaction	-----	534
Sight translation No reaction	-----	9
Sight translation Reaction by Interviewee	-----	40
Total not reading	-----	583
No interpretation No reaction	108	-----
No interpretation Reaction by Interpreter	32	-----
No interpretation Reaction by Interviewee	35	-----
Total reading without interpretation	175	
Interpretation No reaction	16	-----
Interpretation Reaction by Interviewee	61	-----
Total reading with interpretation	77	-----
Total	252	-----

Table 2. Frequency of access patterns

The results clearly show that police officers grant access to the written record to a very limited extent. In less than a third of the cases, typing was accompanied or followed by an oral rendering of the written record. However, interpreters seem to slightly compensate for the lack of access in those cases, as sight translation is seen to be carried out in roughly 8% of the cases where police officers deny access. It should be pointed out, however, that all cases of sight translation come from one single interpreter in our sample. Sight translation is by no means generalised practice. As mentioned earlier, the interviewd mediated by a Greek interpreter, which, were not taken into account for this analysis, did present other instances of sight translation, at the explicit request of the interviewing police officer. So, although sight translation is not widespread, it does not seem to be idiosyncratic either.

When access is granted, interpreters do not always seem to identify the police officer's reading out loud as a turn to be interpreted. In 175 out of 252 instances (or more than two thirds) no interpretation is carried out. On 32 of these occasions, instead of interpreting the police officer's access-granting turn, interpreters involve themselves directly in the negotiation process on the content of the written record, offering either consent, corrections or elaborations.

As far as the interviewee's uptake is concerned, Table 2 shows that offering sight translation of the written record or interpreting the police officer's access granting turn leads to comparable results. Interviewees take up the opportunity for negotiation in roughly 80% of the cases. When no mediation is offered, uptake drops to 20%. That number may even be lower as in those cases it is not always clear whether the interviewee is reacting to the police officer's reading out loud or simply continuing his/her narrative. Those cases are obviously cases in which the interviewee has – or pretends to have – a minimal level of understanding of what is being read out loud.

4.1.1. Police officer is not reading or typing aloud

As stated above, negotiation on the content of the written record between interviewee and police officer is only possible when the substance of that written record is made at least partially available to the interviewee. As it is the police officer who has full control over the drafting process, he is the one deciding whether to make the substance of his typing available to the interviewee or not. When the police officer decides not to read aloud what he is typing or has typed, the interviewee has in principle no access whatsoever to the content of the written record while it is being drafted. In that case, negotiation on the content or wording of the written record between police officer and interviewee is not possible. This case is illustrated in Excerpt 1, drawn from an interview with a Romanian-speaking suspect in a human trafficking and forced prostitution case.

1	P	j:a (1) *wa is der da juist gebeurd* (yeah (1) what exactly happened there)
		[((P is typing))]
2	S	el s-a dus după aceea s-a dus (.) și a luat-o din (country1) (after that he went to pick her up in (country1))
3	I	deci în (.) o secundă (so in a second)
4	S	okay (okay)
5	I	>deci în săptămâna în care erați în (country1)< [j::a (.) (so during the week when you were in (country1) waren)
6	S	[ea era ↓ aici (1) (she was here)
7	I	dus eu::h >dit gebeurde in de week dat wij< (.) in (country1) zaten↓ (so erm this happened during the week we were in (country1))
8	P	[mmhh
9	S	[se întâmpla undeva în jurul datei de 1 iunie că era ziua copiluluiștiu sigur (she was here it happened around the first of June because it was the day of the child I am sure)
10	I	dus ik weet heel zeker dat gebeurde omstreeks een juni w:ant (so I know for sure that it happened around the first of June because)
11	I	in juni dat is de internationale dag van het *kind↓* (in June it is the international day of the child)
		[((P is typing))]
12	P	[mja (yeah)
		[((P is typing))]
13	S	[el (1) eu acum a vă spun ce mi-a povestit el (he I am telling you now what he told me)
		[((P is typing))]
14	I	<dus n::u> verklaar ik u: wat ik van hem heb eh vernomen↓, wat hij (so now I am telling you what I have learned from him what he)
		[((P is typing))]
15	I	*tegen mij [gezegd heeft* (told me)
		[((P is typing))]
16	S	[nu:: am auzit discuția [doar ce mi-a povestit ↓el (no I have heard the discussion only what he told me)
		[((P is typing))]
17	I	[ik was er niet bij↓ (I wasn't there)
18	I	dat is alleen wat hij *tegen mij vertelde↓* (that is just what he told me)
		[((P is typing))]
19	P	j:a↑

Excerpt 1a.

The police officer is asking the interviewee details about a specific altercation between another suspect and a victim in this case. The interviewee however was not present during that altercation but is telling the police officer what he knows about that specific event. The interviewee remembers the date of the altercation as he remembers it happened on the first of June, international children's day. This excerpt starts with the police officer asking what exactly happened (line 1). The interviewee's answer is quite elaborate and consists of 9 consecutive turns, the interpreter rendering the answer after each turn. The police officer starts recording the interviewee's answer after the interpreter's fifth turn (line 11), the typing overlapping both the interviewee's turns and the

interpreter's renditions. After 9 turns, there is finally a 2 second pause during which the police officer finishes typing the interviewee's answer. When the police officer starts typing, neither the interviewee nor the interpreter yields the floor to his typing. The police officer is entirely focused on recording the interviewee's answer and makes no attempt to read out loud what he is typing. Consequently, neither interviewee nor interpreter have access to the substance of the typing. Therefore, negotiation on the contents of the written record is not possible. The consequences of such practice can be far-reaching: in this particular case, the information that was recorded included the date mentioned in line 9. However, the police officer wrote down "juli" (July) instead of "juni" (June), as illustrated in the text of the written record in Excerpt 1b below.

(...) dit gebeurde tijdens de week dat ik samen met (person5) in (country1), dat gebeurde omstreeks 1 juli 2018, ik verklaar nu wat ik van hem heb vernomen, (...)
--

Excerpt 1b. Text of the written record

Giving access to the written record either by reading out loud its substance or by letting the interpreter sight translate it, could have created an opportunity for rectification. Needless to say that timelines are crucial in suspects' narratives and incoherent timelines can be detrimental to their case.

How access can be granted through sight translation is illustrated in Excerpt 2. The excerpt is drawn from an interview with a French-speaking interviewee who is questioned for allegedly having threatened and injured his brother-in-law with a knife. Although the interviewing police officer does not systematically read out loud what he is typing or has typed, the interpreter has access to the recording officer's computer screen and chooses to use that access to sight translate bits and pieces from that screen while the police officer is typing, thus granting the interviewee partial access to the content of the record and allowing him to offer corrections or elaborations (lines 2-4, 6-7, 8-9). A correction is suggested by the interviewee on the basis of the sight translation (line 10), followed by a short negotiation in an aside between the interpreter and the suspect. The written record effectively contains the correct version, showing that the interpreter's strategy was successful.

1	P	(2)
		(((P is typing)))
2	I	donc (.) je veux simplement expliquer ↓ qu'on est venu à ma porte on est (so I just want to explain that they came to my door they)
		[((P is typing))]
3	I	venu me chercher (.hhh) à cause du fait que j'aurais menacé (came to pick me up because I allegedly have threatened)
		[((P is typing))]
4	I	quelqu'un avec un couteau (someone with a knife)
		[((P is typing))]
5	P	(5)
		(((P is typing)))
6	I	après on m'a laissé <trois heures (.) en bas> (.) (after that they left me downstairs for three hours)
		[((P is typing))]
7	I	et après (.) on est venu me dire (.) que j'étais ici à cause de (and then they came to tell me that I was here because of)
		[((P is typing))]
8	P	(3)
		(((P is typing)))
9	I	de violence [contre (of violence against)]
		[((P is typing))]
10	S	[de men:aces (of threats)]
11	I	[menaces (threats)]
12	S	[menaces (threats)]
		(((P is typing)))
13	I	dus bedreigingen ↓ (.) non mais je=je: euh lis ce que [ce qu'il eu ::h (.hhh) (so threats (.) no but I am reading what what he ermm)
		[((P is typing))]
14	S	[oui (.) oui oui (yeah (.) yeah yeah)]
15	I	donc à cause de menaces (.) et <parce qu::e je serai illégalement en (so because of threats (.) and because I am illegal in)
		[((P is typing))]
16	I	Belgique ↓ > (Belgium)
		(((P is typing)))

Excerpt 2.

It should be noted that sight translation by this particular interpreter is not specifically meant to tend to the needs of the interviewee. Instances of sight translation are demonstrably intended to interrupt the interviewee's turn where the police officer shows signs of being unable to record what is being said. At best, the interviewee's access to the content of the written record is a side-effect of the interpreter's interventions, which have been shown in previous work to cater to the needs of the police officer (Defrancq & Verliefde 2018).

4.1.2. Police officer is reading or typing aloud

No interpretation

The police officer may decide to make the content of the typing available to the interviewee, reading aloud while typing or what has been typed. Police officers are frequently seen to type aloud as a means of completely occupying the floor while typing. Police officers are also seen to read out loud what they just have typed as soon as they finish typing, as a request for confirmation, to verify whether the interviewee's answer was understood and written down correctly. Based on the hypothetical negotiation sequence described above and on the Belgian code of ethics that compels the interpreter to translate everything that is being said faithfully and without omissions, we would expect the interpreter to render these turns, thus making the content of the typing available to the interviewee in the interviewee's language.

However, our materials show that the interpreter does not always render these reading turns. Without interpretation, negotiation is in principle impossible as in interpreter-mediated police interviews, the interviewee does not speak the police officer's language. Nonetheless, our materials show that negotiation may still take place. Three negotiation patterns are possible: (a) neither the interpreter or the interviewee take up the opportunity offered to negotiate; (b) the interviewee is still able to offer confirmation, correction or elaboration, (c) the interpreter involves herself/himself in the negotiation process, offering confirmation or correction. These negotiation patterns will be illustrated by means of different excerpts.

Excerpt 3, drawn from a sham marriage interview, is one of the cases where the interpreter fails to render the content of the written record, although it is read out loud by the police officer.

1	P	om welke reden zijde <u>daar</u> weggegaan om welke reden zijde (what is the reason you left there for what reason did you)
2	P	weggegaan uit (country1)↑ (leave (country1))
3	I	what was the reason you left (country)↑
4	S	my=my mother and my father is die in (country1) and I been alone
5	S	stay there in (country1) and there is not so good future anymore
		[((P is typing))]
6	S	therefore I come here for my good future
7	I	mhh (.hh) ehm mijn vader en mijn moeder zijn overleden in (mhhh emmm my father and my mother died in)
		[((P is typing))]
8	I	(country1) (.hh) dus ik was daar all:een e:n er was geen goede toekomst ((country1) so I was alone there and there was no good future)
		[((P is typing))]
9	I	en daarom ben ik naar hier gekomen voor een betere toekomst (and that is why I came here for a better future)
		[((P is typing))]
10	P	dus mijn vader en mijn moeder zijn overleden (.) in (country1) (4) (so my father and my mother have died in (country1))
		[((P is typing aloud))]
11	P	ik heb geen goede toekomst en daarom ben ik naar hier gekomen (I do not have a good future and that is why I came here)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
12	P	(.hhh) alstij uit(country1) als ge uit (country1) weggegaat waar gaade (when he from (country1) when you leave (country1) where do)
13	P	dan naartoe waar na waar gaat u (you go to where do you go)
		[((P is typing))]
14	I	when you left (country1) where did you go to↑
		[((P is typing))]

Excerpt 3.

In this fragment, the non-native English-speaking interviewee is asked about the reasons he left his country. When typing aloud, the police officer makes this part of the written record available to the interpreter (lines 10-13). Although given the opportunity to interpret, the interpreter fails to identify the police officer's typing aloud as a written conversational turn to be interpreted. For lack of interpretation, the content of the written record is not made available to the interviewee, who is consequently unable to offer confirmations, corrections or elaborations.

In rare cases, the interviewee is able to understand enough of what the police officer is reading out loud to be able to confirm the information, as is illustrated in Excerpt 4, drawn from the same interview.

1	P	(4) [(((P is typing)))]
2	P	(hhh) dat weet ik niet↓ (.) en waarom zijde naar België gekomen [(((P is typing aloud)))]
3	P	waarom bent u naar hier gekomen↑
4	I	and why did you come to Belgium why [did you come here
5	S	[Be=Belgium is (.) good
6	S	country (.) here is good people friendly people and is good [((P is typing))]
7	S	language also (.) and beautiful is good also here everything
8	S	[A GOOD COUNTRY
9	I	[het is een goed land het is euh er zijn goede en vriendelijke mensen [((P is typing))]
10	I	tis ook een goede taal [((P is typing))]
	P	(7) [(((P is typing)))]
11	P	(hhh) België is een goed land er zijn goede en vriendelijke mensen [((P is typing aloud))]
12	P	en het is een goede taal [((P is typing aloud))]
13	S	syeah ² (8) [(((P is typing)))]

Excerpt 4. VERTALINGEN

Even though the interviewee seems to confirm in line 13, there is no way of knowing how much he really understood. Excerpt 5 however shows that the interviewee seems to understand a little of what the police officer is reading out loud, as he is offering a correction.

1	P	[>neeneek MIJN VRAAG IS (.) BENT U AL GETROUWD GEWEEST↓
2	I	my question IS HAS YOU HAVE YOU BEEN MARRIED BEFORE↓
3	S	nee [before
4	P	[nee [(((P is typing)))]
5	I	[in the past
6	S	before not
7	P	ik ben eu::h (.) [(((P is typing)))]
8	S	you can (xxxx) certificate unmarriage it schrijven there [((P is typing))]
9	P	ik ben vroeger nooit [getrouwd [((P is typing))]
10	S	[for immigration (xxxx)
11	P	jaa:: 't is goed meneer ['t is goed
12	I	[ik heb een bewijs van ongehuwde staat [((P is typing))]
13	I	met stempels van (xxxx) [((P is typing))]
14	P	[(((P is typing))) (10)
15	P	(.hhh) ik heb ook een bewijs van ongehuwde staat [((P is typing))]
16	P	met stempels daarop van Brussel↓ >HEBT GIJ KINDEREN↑< [((P is typing))]
17	S	Brussel not (.) embassy
18	P	ambassade
19	S	ik bi:n not euh: getrouwd (.) unmarried
20	P	ja:: 't is goed jong ² 't is goed ² (.) >HEBDE GIJ HEBDE GIJ KINDJES↑<

Excerpt 5. VERTALINGEN TOEVOEGEN

When the police officer asks the interviewee whether he has been married before, the interviewee replies that he has not been married before and that he has a certificate to prove that. The police

officer is recording his answer in lines 15-16 while reading out loud what he is typing and proceeds with the next question as soon as he has finished typing (line 16). The interviewee however seems to have understood the police officer's reading aloud and immediately offers a correction in line 17, even though the interpreter has not rendered the police officer's reading turn. The correction is confirmed by the police officer (line 18) and the police officer also makes the change in the written record. This excerpt illustrates that in rare cases, negotiation between the interviewee and the police officer may be successful, even when the interpreter fails to render the police officer's reading turns.

Excerpt 6 illustrates another sequence where the interpreter and the police officer enter into a negotiation process on the content of the written record without the interpreter providing a translation, which in this fragment causes the interpreter and the police officer to engage in a negotiation process while the interviewee remains oblivious about the content of this exchange.

1	P	dus het was de <u>bedoeling</u> het was de <u>bedoeling</u> dade naar (so the intention was the intention was for you to go)
2	P	Italië ging ↑ (to Italy)
3	I	so the intention was to go to Italy then (3)
		[((P is typing))]
4	S	nee ik ben ik heb visum for normal visum for my visum is for (no I am I have visa for normal visa for my visa is for)
5	S	all Europa which country that is everywhere I <can> in the
6	S	visum but the Italian give the visum then come in Europa then I come
7	S	here in Belgium
8	I	mhhh dus ik had een visum gekregen voor heel Europa en dat was (mmhh so I was given a visa for all Europe and it was given)
9	I	mij gegeven door euhm Italië en daardoor (xxxxx) (to me by erm Italy and because of that (xxxxx))
		[((P is typing))]
10	P	dus ik had een visum gekregen voor Europa (6) en da was dus (so I was given a visa for Europe and that was)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
11	P	geldig in gans Europa (.hh) (5) ik ben naar Italië gekomen (valid for all Europe I came to Italy)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
12	I	België (Belgium)
13	P	ah sorry (ah sorry)
14	I	tis gegeven door Italië (it was given by Italy)
15	P	ik ben naar België gekomen als ge vertrekt in (country1) me welk (I came to Belgium when you leave (country1) which)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
16	P	eerst en vooral me welk transportmiddel zijde naar hier (first of all which means of transport did you use to)
17	P	Gekomen (come here)

Excerpt 6.

When the police officer is typing aloud, as a request for confirmation, the interpreter notices that he failed to write down correctly a part of the interviewee's answer. Instead of rendering the police officer's reading turn, the interpreter initiates a negotiation process herself by pointing out and correcting the mistake (lines 12 and 14). The police officer subsequently corrects the mistake in the record and also reads out loud the corrected sentence in the record (line 15), after which he immediately proceeds with the next question. The interviewee is again completely left out of this exchange between the interpreter and the police officer, but the exchange is successful in that it ultimately leads to the correct information being recorded. It should be noted, however, that interpreters can obviously only repair segments that they themselves perceive to be erroneous on

the basis of previously interpreted information. This severely restricts the basis for meaning construction in the interview.

Excerpt 7 illustrates another negotiation pattern where the interpreter involves himself/herself in the negotiation process instead of interpreting. The excerpt is drawn from an interview with a Turkish-speaking interviewee. This interview is carried out in the context of a sham marriage procedure. The Turkish-speaking interviewee had divorced his Turkish wife and came to Belgium, married a Belgian woman and brought his children from Turkey to Belgium. He then divorced his Belgian wife and decided to bring his Turkish ex-wife to Belgium to marry her for the second time in Belgium. Before they can get married, they have to go through the sham marriage procedure, which includes a police interview of both partners. During this police interview, the Turkish-speaking man was asked about the reasons he married his first wife for the first time.

1	S	şimdi ee: evlilik çağımız geldi diydi yani ee: ilk evlendiğimizde o şekilde (.) (so emmm our time to get married came in fact emm when we)
2	S	[yani ailemiz voor het eerst trouwden was het zo (.) eigenlijk onze families (got married for the first time it was actually our families)]
3	I	[de eerste keer was gewoon omdat (.) tijd was gekomen om te trouwen (the first time was just because the time to get married had come)]
4	I	[(P is typing)] omdat wij op [een leeftijd waren gekomen eeu: waar je moet trouwen (because we had reached that age when you have to get married)]
5	S	[a (P is typing)]
6	I	[(P is typing)] [(P is typing)] [a (P is typing)]
7	S	[(P is typing)] [ailemiz bizi evlendirdi (our families made us get married)]
8	P	dus de= (so the)
9	I	=het is ons familie die ons heeft doen trouwen (it is our family that made us get married)]
10	S	[evlilik çağımız gelmişti (our time to get married had come)]
11	P	[dus de eerste keer (.) wacht wacht wacht meneer (.) de eerste keer) (so the first time wait wait wait sir the first time)]
12	P	[(P is typing aloud)] was het omdat wij (6.0) (that was because we)
13	I	[(P is typing aloud)] de leeftijd hadden bereikt [waarop (had reached the age to)]
14	P	[op een leeftijd waren gekomen (had reached the age)]
15	I	[(P is typing aloud)] waarop men moet trouwen (when you have to get married)]
16	P	[(P is typing)] waarop men moet trouwen (3.5) (when you have to get married)]
17	P	[(P is typing aloud)] het waren (.) onze families (2.5) die ons hadden (it were our families who had)]
18	I	[(P is typing aloud)] die ons huwelijk hadden gearrangeerd eigenlijk (.) ja (who had arranged our marriage in fact yeah)]
19	P	[(P is typing)] die ons huwelijk hadden (.) die ons eu: huwelijk hadden (2.5) geregeld (15) (who had arranged who had erm arranged our marriage)]
		[(P is typing aloud)]

Excerpt 7.

As the interviewee's answer is extensive, the police officer tries to interrupt the interviewee (lines 8 and 11) in order to be able to record the answer correctly and starts typing out loud to completely occupy the floor (lines 11-12). When the officer pauses for six seconds to continue only the typing, the interpreter aims at facilitating the police officer's drafting tasks and starts repeating his rendering of the interviewee's answer, breaking it up in different chunks in order to make it easier for the police officer to record it. In lines 13-19, the interpreter is dictating the interviewee's answer, while the police officer is typing aloud. The text that ends up in the written record is an almost verbatim representation of the interpreter's utterances. As there is no interpretation, the interviewee is completely excluded from this exchange between the interpreter and the police officer, who are the only parties involved in this negotiation process on the content and wording of the written record.

With interpretation

When the interpreter does identify the police officer's typing aloud as conversational turns to be interpreted and does decide to render these turns, the interviewee is offered the possibility to negotiate the contents of the written record with the police officer. In our materials, we have observed different occasions where the interpreter does render these turns. The interviewee may react in different ways: (s)he may offer elaborations or corrections, (s)he may simply choose to confirm that what the police officer has written down is correct or (s)he may not react at all. Although these reactions have all been observed in the recorded interviews, interviewees are not frequently seen to offer corrections.

Excerpt 8 is drawn from police interview 2 with an English-L2-speaking interviewee. The interview was conducted during a sham marriage procedure. The goal of this procedure is to determine whether the foreign interviewee is in a legitimate relationship with a Belgian woman or whether his only purpose of this relationship is to obtain a residency permit. In this excerpt, the interviewee has been asked to write down the date and place of birth of his partner.

1	P	ik weet niet waar zij geboren is (I don't know where she is born)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
2	I	I don't know where she was born↑
3	P	en ik ken evenmin haar geboortedatum (and I don't know her date of birth either)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
4	I	and I don't know her date of birth↓ mhh
5	S	nee dit I know where she born she's born in Belgium
		[((P is typing))]
6	I	in België [is ze geboren (in Belgium she is born)
7	P	[ja ma we=welke stad (yeah but wh=which city)
8	I	which city
9	S	nee city not (.) dit I weet het (.) it is country is Belgium
10	S	she is [normally born here
11	P	[ja ja ja (yes yes yes)
12	P	[dus ik weet (so I know)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
13	I	[ik weet dat 't in België was de stad weet ik niet (I know it was in Belgium I don't know which city)
14	P	ik weet enkel dat zij (.) geboren is (2) in België (2) (I just know that she was born in Belgium)
		[((P is typing aloud))]

Excerpt 8.

The substance of the written record is made available to and negotiable by the interviewee through the police officer's typing aloud (lines 1, 3) and the interpreter's rendering (lines 2, 4). The interviewee makes use of this opportunity to indicate his disagreement with what the police officer has written down (line 5). His correction ends up being recorded: the police officer adds a few lines to the written record (lines 12, 14), assisted by the interpreter who interprets what the interviewee has said in lines 9 and 10. This is the only example found in the recorded interviews of the interviewee offering a correction when the substance of the written record is made available through the police officer's typing aloud and the interpreter's rendering of these reading turns. There are however a number of examples of an interviewee offering elaborations, as illustrated in Excerpt 9.

Excerpt 9 (interview 3) is an example of a negotiation sequence where the interviewee chooses to elaborate on the answer that has been recorded. This example is drawn from the sham marriage interview (with the Turkish-speaking interviewee). In this fragment, the police officer has asked the interviewee whether his spouse uses his bank card and knows the secret code.

1	P	ze kent de code (she knows the code)
2	I	kodu biliyor mu diyor (does she know the code he says)
		[((P is typing))]
3	S	biliyo (she knows)
4	I	ja ze kent de code (4) (yes she knows the code)
		[((P is typing))]
5	P	ze kent de <u>geheime</u> code (she knows the secret code)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
6	I	yani sırlı kodu biliyor diyor(.) gizli kodu (so she knows the hidden code the secret code)
7	S	tabii (of course)
8	I	ja (yes)
9	S	verdim biliyor (I gave it to her she knows it)
10	I	hı↑ (what)
11	S	yani söyledim ona (.) onun için biliyor (so I said that is why she knows it)
12	I	omdat ik haar gezegd heb (.) daarmee weet ze het (10) (because I told her that is why she knows it)
		[[((P is typing))]]
13	P	omdat ik haar gezegd heb (.) daarmee weet ze het (because I told her that is why she knows it)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
14		(40)
		[[((P is typing))]]

Excerpt 9.

The interpreter's rendering of the police officer's reading turn allows the interviewee to confirm (line 7) and further elaborate on his answer (lines 9 and 11). As the interpreter identifies the police officer's reading as a turn to be interpreted, he makes the content of the written record available to and negotiable by the interviewee (line 12), who is given the opportunity to elaborate (lines 9, 11). This elaboration is included in the written record.

The interpreter's rendering of the reading turn is not successful in all cases, as illustrated in Excerpt 10. The excerpt is drawn from an interview with a Romanian-speaking interviewee in a human trafficking and forced prostitution case. The interviewee is accused of having put ads on the internet in which exploited women were offering their services as a prostitute. The police officer wants to know whether the interviewee knew what type of ads he would have to post when he was hired by the main suspect in this case.

1	P	heeft hij dan direct gezegd dat het infeit me:t advertenties vo> prostitutie (did he immediately say that in fact it had to do with ads for prostitution)
2	P	zou te maken hebben of nie<↑ (or didn't he)
3	I	a spus direct că are de a fa,ce cu anunțuri (.) pe::: euhm site-uri de (did he immediately say that it had to do with ads)
4	I	prostitue sau nu↓ (prostitution websites or didn't he)
5	S	nu= (no)
6	I	nee (no)
7		(10) (((P is typing)))
8	S	când am ajuns (1) când am ajuns aicea: ↑ (when I arrived when I arrived here) [((P is typing))]
9	I	toen ik euh=hier terechtgekomen ben (when I ermm arrived here) [((P is typing))]
10	S	el era in (city12) (he was in (city12)) (((P is typing)))
11	I	hij was in (city12) (he was in (city12))
12	S	cu::: trei femei in casă↓ (with three women in the house)
13	I	met drie::: vrouwen (.) in het huis (with three women in the house) [((P is typing))]
14	P	ma ja me komen daar: dan direct aan (.) he↓ (yeah but that is for later)
15	I	ah ajungem [ajungem acolo= (we were getting there we are getting there)
16	P	[>dus (person5) had mij dat op dat ogenblik niet gezegd< [eu::h op (so at that time (person5) did not tell me eerrmmm in) [((P is reading out loud))]
17	I	[deci (so)
18	P	[dat ogenblik niet gezegd (.) dat het zou te maken hebben met prostitutie.↓ (that moment he didn't say that it would have to do with prostitution) [((P is reading out loud))] [((P is typing aloud))]
19	I	[(person5) nu mi-a spus la momentul respectiv (1) că ar avea de a face (at that moment (person5) has not told me that it has to do)
20	I	[cu prostituția (with prostitution)
21	P	dit heb ik maar ontdekt (.) <eenmaal (.) ik met [hem> in België was he↑ (I discovered that once I was in Belgium with him right) [((P is typing aloud))]
22	I	[asta (1) (that)
23	I	asta am descoperit când (.) numai când am ajuns cu el in Belgia↓ (I didn't discover that until I arrived in Belgium with him) [((P is typing))]
24		(3) (((P is typing)))

Excerpt 10.

Initially, the floor is completely yielded to the typing (line 7) but then the interviewee starts elaborating on his answer (lines 8, 10, 12) while the police officer continues typing. Although the interviewee's elaboration is rendered by the interpreter (lines 9, 11, 13), the police officer however disregards this additional information as he considers it to be non-recordable (line 14) and keeps focussing on what he is typing. In order to redirect the attention to the written turn, the police officer starts reading out loud what he has typed so far (lines 16 and 17) and then continues typing aloud. (line 21). The interpreter's rendering (lines 17, 19, 20, 22, 23) overlaps both with the police officer's talk and with the typing. The police officer ends his talk with a rising intonation (line 21), which may be seen as a request for confirmation. However, the interpreter renders the police officer's turn with a falling intonation in line 23, presenting his utterance as a statement rather than a request for confirmation. Therefore, the interviewee fails to be prompted and no reaction ensues. A

change in prosodic pattern thus annuls an opportunity for negotiation, which is explicitly granted by the police officer.

Another example of an unsuccessful negotiation sequence is presented in Excerpt 11. This excerpt is drawn from an interviewee with another Romanian-speaking interviewee in the human trafficking and forced prostitution case. The interviewee is accused of having worked as a driver for the main suspect in this case, driving prostitutes to clients and picking them up again. He is just one of the persons being accused of having worked for the main suspect and he was asked whether he has met other persons also working for the main suspect, transporting prostitutes to clients or putting ads on the internet. He is explaining to the police officer that he has indeed met another person working as a driver, in February, in a hotel where the prostitutes were staying. He does not have a lot of information to share about this person, as he has just briefly met this person before he went to pick up one of the girls and this person was already gone when he returned to the hotel.

1	P	(.hh) dus al=als ik terugkwam (.) eu::h <van (.) een opdracht [(2) met (person36)]> was ij weg he↑ (so when I came back ermmm from an assignment with (person36) he was gone right)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
2	I	[deci dacă eu:h când v-ați întors înapoi (so when ermm when you came back
		[((P is typing))]
3	I	eu::hhh unde ați luat-o pe (person 36/first name) (.) (errm where you picked up (person 36/first name))
		[((P is typing))]
4	I	v-ați întors înapoi și vo eu:h era (person 1/last name) (.) a plecat (.) între timp (you came back and ermm (person 1/last name) (.) he was already gone)
		[((P is typing))]
5	S	da (yes)
6	I	ja (yes)
7	P	(4) <het was (.) kort (2) voor ik (.)> terug naar (country1) vertrokken ben he↑ (it was just before I went back to (country1) right)
		[((P is typing))] [((P is typing aloud))]
8	I	[a fost eu:h cu puțin (it was ermm just)
9	P	[(2) VOOR IK WEGGEVLUCHTTE (.) was he (before I fled right)
		[((P is typing aloud))]
10	I	a fost cu puțin timp înainte să fugiți eu:h în (country 1) (it was just before you fled to (country 1))
11	S	(x) nu (x) (no)
12	I	asta la (city4) a fost cu puțin timp înainte să fugiți eu:h în (country 1)↑ (city 4) was just before you fled to (country 1))
13	P	NEEN is dan vanuit (city4) of [VANUIT (CITY2) (.) 'k wil gewoon zeggen dat (no is it from (city4) or from (city2) I just want to say that
14	S	[februarie (.) nu pot să vă spun precis (February (.) ik kan het niet precies zeggen (February I can't tell exactly)
15	P	[t kort was (.) voor dat ij uiteindelijk (.) vertrokken is (it was just before he finally left right)
16	I	[februarie (February)
17	S	[februarie (.) jumatea lu februarie începutul lu februarie (February (.) mid-February in the beginning of February)
18	I	[februari: kan ik nie pre=nie precies (.) februari (.) <de helft> van februari (.) (February I can't exactly February mid-February)
19	S	[nu mai în minte ↓ vă dați seama (I don't remember you have to realise that)
20	I	[begin van februari (.) zoiets (.) ik weet het niet meer (.) precies (beginning of February something like that I don't remember exactly)
21	P	<ik denk [(.) dat het in de eerste helft van februari (xx) (I think it was in the beginning of February)
		[((P is typing aloud))]

Excerpt 11.

This excerpt starts with the police officer recording the interviewee's previous answer while typing aloud (lines 1, 3, 9, 11, 12). These reading turns are rendered by the interpreter (lines 10, 13). After

having confirmed that the first part of his answer has been recorded correctly (line 5), the interviewee initiates a negotiation sequence (line 14), stating his disagreement with what the police officer has recorded (lines 9, 11, 12). His expression of disagreement is however completely disregarded by the interpreter. Instead of rendering the interviewee's reaction, the interpreter repeats her previous rendering of the police officer's utterance adding information recovered from previous interpreted turns. She seems to assume at this point that the interviewee misunderstood the interpreted written utterance. A second request for confirmation by the police officer (lines 13, 15) is overlapped by the interviewee, who is trying to explain that the event described occurred mid-February but that he does not remember the exact date. The interviewee's utterances are rendered by the interpreter and the police officer ends up adding these utterances to the text of the written record but does not correct the previously recorded utterance, as the interviewee's disagreement was not rendered by the interpreter. Although the interviewee is granted access to the content of the written record and tries to initiate a negotiation sequence, this is completely overruled by the interpreter, making it impossible for the interviewee to further negotiate the content of the written record.

In both instances of unsuccessful interpreter mediation, the negotiation process seems to break down on the assumptions held by the interpreters. In both cases, the interpreters seem to overly align with the content of the written record being read out. Instead of presenting it as open to negotiation, they are preventing, in different ways, the interviewee from initiating the negotiation.

5. Discussion

In the light of the data,, it is important to reflect on behavioural patterns that are recognisable in interpreters' interventions. First of all, the decision to adopt one method or another is entirely in the hands of the interpreters. There are no specific guidelines on how to handle access to the written record, neither on the side of police officers, nor on the side of interpreters. In most cases, interpreters align with police officers' denial of access: if no access is granted, interpreters do not enforce it. The one interpreter who does enforce access by sight translating does not do so in the interest of the interviewee, but rather in the interest of the police officer who is unable to cope with the information to be recorded. Sight translation is essentially a turn management device used to silence a loquacious interviewee (Defrancq & Verliefde 2018). It remains to be seen whether this is an idiosyncratic feature of one particular interpreter.

When access is granted by the police officer, the interpreters' patterns appear to reflect their stance towards the content. When they do not align with it, they tend to initiate the negotiation themselves by dictating information that failed to be recorded or by correcting perceived errors directly without the interviewee's intervention. When they align with its content, they either abstain from interpreting, effectively acting as gatekeepers and preventing the interviewee from negotiating the same content; or they provide interpretation, creating an opportunity for negotiation. However, in some cases their alignment is such that the interpreted turn is presented as less or non-negotiable, which turns out to smother the opportunity for negotiation.

6. Conclusion

The quantitative and qualitative analysis of 9 recorded interviews allow us to draw the following conclusions with regard to our research questions. First, police officers appeared rather reluctant to grant access to the content of the written record while it was being drafted. That lack of access to the content of the written record may be compensated by sight translation from the computer screen. Sight translation was nonetheless not a widespread practice and previous research has allowed us to conclude that its main motivation was not to grant the interviewee access to the written record, but rather to silence a loquacious interviewee (Defrancq & Verliefde 2018).

When the police officer decides to grant access to the content of the written record by reading out loud what he has typed or is still typing, interpreters only transfer that access to the interviewee in a minority of cases. In most cases, for lack of interpretation, access does not go beyond the interpreter. However, interpreters are seen to take the opportunity to negotiate the content of the written turn themselves. On the one hand, they assist police officers with the task of recording by dictating segments that the latter were unable to record. On the other hand, they are also seen to repair information they perceive to be erroneous. This is clearly only a better-than-nothing solution, as interpreters' knowledge of the facts discussed in the interview is exclusively based on information exchanged between the primary participants during that interview. The scope of repairs is therefore limited.

When they are provided, sight translation directly off the screen and interpretation of the reading turn lead to similar high levels of uptake by the interviewee. When neither are offered, the interviewees' ability to negotiate and contribute to meaning is severely restricted. Uptake is rare in those cases and only occurs when the police officer grants access and the interviewee understands the language spoken. However, the interpreter's rendering of the police officer's reading does not automatically lead to a successful negotiation on the content of the written record. Even when the police officer is explicitly prompting the interviewee to confirm the content of the written record, the interpreter may render the request for confirmation as a statement, in which case the interviewee does not respond and the negotiation is unsuccessful. In these cases, the interpreter considers the content of the written record as drafted by the police officer to be logic and coherent and therefore may completely overrule the interviewee's attempts to start a negotiation sequence, rejecting the interviewee's offered correction as unrecordable content.

This also shows that alignment with the content of the written turn is an important factor in interpreters' decision-making processes: when interpreters fully align, they tend to either abstain from interpreting or to interpret in a way that reinforces the written record's authority. When they fail to align they either initiate a negotiation process themselves or transfer access by interpreting.

Further research needs to confirm these patterns. The Greek interviews that were not taken into account for this analysis present more examples of sight translation from the computer screen by the interpreter. Analysis of these interviews would yield a more indepth understanding of the interpreter's role in the drafting of the written record.

As a general recommendation, we would suggest that police officers systematically grant interpreters access to the text of the written record while drafting it, thus making it possible to negotiate the content and wording thereof. During these negotiation sequences, errors may be detected and problems may be solved. For the same reason, interpreters are well advised to use opportunities of access to the written record to make its substance available to the interviewee, using the written record on the screen or its reading out loud by the police officer as a source. This of course presupposes that awareness is raised among interpreters to the interactional nature of the written turn.

7. References

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