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The Interpreter as Active Third Participant
A Case Study of Interpreter-Mediated Conversation Between Social Worker and Unaccompanied Minor Asylum Seeker in Reception Center ‘Klein Kasteeltje’

Masterproef voorgelegd tot het behalen van de graad van Master in de Taal- en Letterkunde: Engels

2016

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Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank Boris. It is thanks to our cooperation that I was able to collect my data. He was a great support throughout the writing of this thesis.

Secondly, a special thanks goes out to Toon and CADE. This thesis would not have been possible without his help and his interest in our research. It is thanks to his efforts that we managed to obtain such great data. My gratitude also goes out to the minor asylum seeker and the interpreter for giving their permission to be filmed. It is thanks to them that this research was made possible.

I also want to thank my supervisor, Dr. Katrijn Maryns, for her support, feedback and unwavering enthusiasm.

Lastly, I want to express my gratitude to my family and friends. Their unconditional love and support kept me motivated.
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(25,491 words)
1. Introduction

These days it is impossible to overlook the impact of the ‘refugee crisis’. Countries at the borders of Europe are inundated by the wave of asylum seekers and refugees that desperately try to enter Europe hoping to find a better life than the one they left behind. We are exposed to the images and news of the asylum seeker and refugee camps on a daily basis, which could not help to affect me. The ‘fortunate’ ones who manage to enter Europe and reach Belgium face a long procedure before their asylum application will or will not get accepted. The numerous reception centers opening over the country, in military barracks or empty buildings, or the people camping out in Brussels, were only recently all over the news. The existing reception centers, such as ‘Klein Kasteeltje’, were fully occupied in no time and are still operating at full capacity. The current situation made me wonder how I, as a language student, could contribute in my own way. And thus different questions of interest rose. How do all these different nationalities communicate with the aid providers on a daily basis? What does communication look like in a reception center? And more importantly for this thesis: how do we map the language use inside a reception center?

The research conducted in this thesis will contribute to the study of interpreter-mediated interaction in the context of a reception center. Communication in a reception center for asylum seekers and refugees provides an interesting and unique setting for community or dialogue interpreting. Much research has already been carried out on community interpreting in social service settings such as in health clinics, police hearings, therapy sessions and on interpreter-mediated conversation during asylum interviews and hearings.

Community interpreting is a widely discussed field of interpreting that has been on the rise since the 1990s. Key questions concerning community interpreting are discussed on the international conferences on community interpreting of Critical Link International. Those papers are published together as “The Critical Link: Interpreters in the Community”.

Research on community interpreting provides insight into the position of the interpreter in these settings and advances recognizing the professionalization of community interpreters. Furthermore, it raises awareness of the multitude of situations in which the assistance of an interpreter is required. A leading figure in of community interpreting research is Cecilia Wadensjö. Her renowned work “Interpreting as Interaction” (1998) sets out to
explore the expectations of all the participants in interpreter-mediated communication and looks at the responsibilities of the interpreter.

Interpreter-mediated conversation in a reception center is a fairly unexplored setting and waits to be discovered. However, one must take into account the possible obstacles which face researchers to obtain research data. Ethnographic research is the most appropriate instrument to do so, but this research strategy is often hindered by the refusal of the center to allow the presence of an external third party. In addition, the target group of the study is often vulnerable. Because they do not benefit directly from the linguistic research themselves, being granted permission is made even more difficult. This is especially the case for unaccompanied minor asylum seekers and refugees, who are the focus group of this thesis’ research. Unaccompanied minor asylum seekers face multiple disadvantages which makes them a difficult group to reach, because of what they have gone through at a young age. They have to adapt to a new country, with a different cultural and religious habits. They are thrown in a face a completely new situation in which they have to adapt different cultural and religious backgrounds. The minors also speak little to no English, which makes communication difficult.

Unaccompanied minor asylum seekers and refugees have received specific attention as focus group in the research of among others Lynch and Cuninghame (2000); Norström and Gustafsson (2010), and has not gone unnoticed in the linguistic field: Keselman et al. (2008, 2010). In the light of the research that has already been performed, this thesis wants to discuss a case of interpreter-mediated conversation where one of the interlocutors is an unaccompanied minor asylum seeker. The other two interlocutors in this case are the social worker in charge of the minor’s case and a non-certified interpreter. It is in this unique setting that the position of the interpreter will be discussed. The research is limited to the focus on three themes: the interpreter’s self-allocated turns through additions and interventions, perspective of person change in renditions as a consequence of translation strategy shifts and gaze patterns of the three participants.

The aim of this thesis is to analyze how these three aspects contribute to the construction of the interpreter’s role and position as active third participant in the conversation. The analysis wants to show how in this specific case of community interpreting the interpreter’s boundaries between remaining a neutral party and being an active participant fade. The interpreter’s positioning as active participant affects the conversation to a certain degree and goes beyond the interpreter’s task of coordinating turns. In some cases we will be able to detect how the interpreter’s interventions have a positive effect on the
conversation and that the other parties benefit from it, whereas other cases show how these are interfering and disturb the contact between the minor and social worker.

This specific case study will also provide an analysis of the participants’ gaze patterns. Further research will benefit from the gaze patterns that we establish in the analysis since video recorded data is hard to obtain and thus research on this topic remains limited.

The thesis structure will first provide an overview of the existing research on community interpreting in immigration and asylum settings in chapter 2. This chapter will present more information on the interpreter’s role, gaze and translation strategies. Pöchhacker’s work “Introducing Interpreting Studies” (2004) has been used as the basic source of reference to introduce these topics. In chapter 3, the context of the research is discussed, starting with a general overview of asylum in Belgium and then shifting its focus to the specific situation for unaccompanied minor asylum seekers and refugees. In the latter, special attention has been given to working with interpreters in this specific setting. Chapter 4 gives a brief account on the methodology applied in this research. The chapter discusses the ethnographic fieldwork, that was conducted together with a fellow student in order to collect data, and explains which methods were applied to analyze the data. The subsequent chapter is devoted to the data analysis. Chapter 5 begins with situating the data and is followed by an analysis of the data with respect to the three themes that were introduced earlier: points of interfering through additions, perspective of person change and gaze. The analysis is based on a collection of extracts taken from the original transcription of the conversation. It also offers an interim conclusion on the results of each preceding topic of analysis. The final chapter will offer a conclusion in which the results of my research will be related to the existing literature and results.

Overall, this thesis wants to offer a first attempt at mapping interpreter-mediated conversation in reception centers and hopes to open up the possibility for further research. In this particular stage of reception, interpreters are a crucial link in transferring valuable information and in establishing contact between social workers and (minor) asylum seekers and refugees. The employees of the reception center face communication problems on a daily basis. In the conversations set up with interpreters, the asylum seekers get the chance to discuss problems, ask for information, etc. They are given the opportunity to express what the otherwise cannot. The information that is exchanged in these meeting help the social workers to provide the specific care and support the residents need.
2. Literature

Research on community interpreting as a field of interpreter-mediated interaction has been on the rise since the 1990s. Community interpreting is the term used to refer to interpreting and translating in public-service settings. Pöllabauer (2006) published a survey on a large corpus of research on interpreting in immigration, asylum and police settings to point out the potentials and pitfalls of researching these specific domains. She concluded that in the majority of the publications a qualitative research was conducted and that quantitative data should come up with more interesting results.

This thesis discusses a case study of interpreted interaction in a social service encounter and aims to explore the interpreter’s position in that particular triadic exchange. The data for the case study was collected at a wing for unaccompanied minor asylum seekers at the reception center for asylum seekers and refugees Klein Kasteeltje in Brussels. Research of interpreter-mediated conversations in a reception center for asylum seekers (Norström & Gustafsson 2010) has not yet received much attention compared to research on interpreting during asylum interviews and hearings (Wadensjö 1992, 1998; Pöllabauer 2004, 2006; Keselman et al. 2008, 2009, 2010; Maryns 2010, 2013; Lee 2013; Jacquemet 2014).

In 1995, a conference was held uniting interpreters and researchers alike in service of the community. They saw a fundamental difference between them and interpreters active in the field of conference interpreting. This difference originates in the fact that conference interpreting had become a recognized profession and academic discipline in its own right in a much earlier stage (Mason 2001). The conference was entitled “The Critical Link: Interpreters in Community”. Up till the mid-1990s, there was relatively no professional organization nor training for community interpreters. Basically the entire field of study had been neglected. However, the first conference meant “a turning point and at the same time a number of key publications were beginning to appear: Gentile et al. (1996); Carr et al. (1997); Wadensjö (1998); Mason (ed. 1999); and Roy (2000) have been among those to stake out the discipline and determine appropriate methods for its systematic study” (Mason, Introduction i).

Critical Link profiles itself as a leading organization “committed to the advancement of community interpreting in the social, legal and healthcare sectors” (Critical Link International). The first conference presented a complex picture of community interpreting. Mason summarizes it as following:
“to the multi-tasking processes involved in all interpreting (simultaneous listening/watching, discourse processing, speaking, self-monitoring) is added constant (re-)negotiation of role, turn management and general monitoring of the unfolding talk exchange, in which at least three parties are involved. Moreover, the interpreters are subject to conflicting pressures – from employers, clients and other participants, in the face of which becomes very difficult to maintain impartiality and professional detachment” (Mason, Introduction i).

The following section is an attempt to find a fitting definition of interpreting which reflects the viewpoint of community interpreting. An interpreter-mediated conversation is a form of social interaction with the specific feature of having at least two interlocutors who do not share the same language. The interpreter takes up the unique position in the conversation as mediator between the primary speakers. This uniqueness has been described by Wadensjö (1995). She described this as the interpreter having “a unique possibility to understand everything said and therefore a unique possibility to overview and coordinate interaction” (Wadensjö, Dialogue Interpreting and the Distribution of Responsibility 112). The interpreter’s task is to transfer an utterance from one language, the source language to another, which is the target language. Before we go any further, an important distinction has to be made relating to the expertise and skill of the interpreter. There is a crucial distinction between professional interpreting on the one hand and lay interpreting or ad hoc interpreting on the other. The latter is what we call interpreting done by people who did not receive special training. An example of ad hoc interpreters are people who are bilingual, often interpreting for their family. The interpreter’s education contributes to “the empowerment of the participants in interpreted consultation” and comes as a result of the competence of the interpreter (Tebble 26).

We will continue with Pöchhacker’s definition of interpreting. He focuses less on the role of the interpreter, but more on interpreting as an “immediate type of translational activity”. He foregrounds the immediate use of the translated sequences. This notion is reflected in the definition of interpreting he chooses to handle in his introduction to interpreting studies: “interpreting is a form of translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language” (Pöchhacker 11).
Pöchhacker’s definition is perfect to give a general definition of interpreting. However, this thesis wants to focus more on the social and interactional aspect of interpreting, which is why Wadensjö’s description of the interpreter’s position will be used as general principle. In her influential work, Interpreting as Interaction (1998), Wadensjö reflects on the tasks and responsibilities of the interpreter and how primary interlocutors interact with the interpreter. The main question she asks is what goes on in interpreter-mediated conversation? She wants to offer a perspective on the social aspect of interpreter-mediated conversation rather than the traditional focus on the quality and accuracy of the interpreters’ and translators’ work.

All social interaction sets out certain expectations concerning the participants behavior. Role can be defined by the sociologist concept of the expectations associated with a social position (Pöchhacker 147). The interpreter’s role is generally defined as an intermediary between “the communicating individuals and the institutional and socio-cultural positions they represent” (Pöchhacker 59). The interpreter often has to act as a mediator between the other speakers and has to regulate the primary speakers’ turn-taking to structure the flow of the conversation. Thereby it is expected of the interpreter to deliver the translation that is most faithful and equal to the original, suggesting that the interpreter has to remains neutral and invisible. However, these expectations are often complicated by the interpreter’s position and role issues.

This topic has been explored through the research of e.g. Goffman (1981), Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp (1986), Wadensjö (1998), Pöchhacker (2000, 2004) and Mason (2009, 2012). Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp (1986) discovered that a lay interpreter “would often shape the conversation as an active third party rather than remain neutral and invisible” (Pöchhacker 59). Whereas court interpreters their role is limited to verbatim translation and are required to take the position of an “invisible translating machine” (Pöchhacker 147).

Research showed how it is improbable that the interpreter will not intervene while translating. Interventions of the interpreter are a frequent manifestation of role related issues. These interventions can be experienced as intrusive, but are often essential to the flow of communication and to coordinate the conversation.

Interventions in coordinating turns are a central feature of the interpreter’s performance. The importance of coordination in interpreted interaction is promoted by Wadensjö (1998). She distinguishes between two types of coordination, namely “implicit” and “explicit”. Implicit coordination is when interpreters give a translation. This is the basic idea of giving a rendition of what a principal speaker said. Explicit coordination then is what she
calls “non-renditions”. These non-renditions focus on the organization of the conversation. They are “interpreter-generated contributions or responses” (Pöchhacker 150) and are for example request for repetition, requests for clarification, comments etc. “Wadensjö underlined the importance of interpreter coordinating activity in (1) performing ‘interaction-orientated’ translation, and (2) managing turns at talk.” (Baraldi and Gavioli 3-4)

The concept of coordination is the point of departure of the fairly recent work *Coordinating Participation in Dialogue Interpreting* (2012) edited by Claudio Baraldi and Laura Gavioli. The work collects a wide range of topics on participation in a wide range of settings for interpreter-mediated conversation.

In “Interpreting or Interfering?” Helen Tebble discusses two levels of interference of interpreters. On a first level it is deemed as interfering when an interpreter goes “beyond the limits of professional interpreters to coordinate talk as an equal contributor to the content and to mediate the content between the primary participants” (Tebble 24). The interpreter oversteps the functions that they are attributed. She distinguishes a second level of interfering where the interferences are not related to the interpreter’s position as active third participant. This level might possibly be less intentional and occurs “in the form of linguistic errors in the interpreter’s lexical choice, use of syntax, semantics, discourse, pragmatics, pronunciation, rhythm and intonation; or accidentally such as in the case of slips of the tongue, poor attentive listening, lapses in memory or fatigue” (Tebble 24). Interference in interpreted interaction can thus occur in” the interpreter’s level of communicative competence” and how the interpreter “understands and implements his or her role as a professional” (Tebble 24).

Pöchhacker also discusses the link between role and professionalism. Research has shown how “the interpreter’s involvement as active participant intersects in a principal way with the issue of professionalism” (152). Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp (1986) were among the first to discover that “non-professional interpreting in informal settings is characterized by the interpreters adopting a third party status” (Pöchhacker 152). Brad Davidson defined a specific role adopted by the interpreters in a clinic as “the phenomenon of interpreters assuming an institutional helper role” (Pöchhacker 152).

Quantitative discourse analysis by Rosenberg (2002) in a pediatric primary care clinic affirmed the interpreter’s role as an active third participant in interpreter mediated conversation. He supplied convincing evidence that “the interpreter is a full-fledged participant in the discourse whose responsibilities lie in the skopos of the interpreted speech event and in the expectations that the primary parties bring with them” (Rosenberg 222).
Bot (2009) proposes to add the interpreter as active participant as an extra dimension to the continuum which illustrates the involvement of the interpreter in the conversation. By adding this extra dimension, the continuum of interaction ranges from the interpreter as translation machine on the one hand, the interpreter as active participant on the other and places the interactive interpreter in between. This representation of the continuum “contributes to an understanding of interpreter behavior within the overall assumption that the key task of the interpreter is to interpret the words of the primary speakers” (Bot, Role Models 121). She observed how the different interpreters’ behavior shifted along the continuum, regardless of the model the interpreters’ said they adhere to. (122)

The interpreter’s role is often discussed in terms of footing (Goffman 1981; Wadensjö 1998, 2004; Metzger 1999; Mason 2009). In order to avoid the impression that role is a fixed stance, Wadensjö (1998) makes a useful distinction between “activity role” and “participation status or “footing”. The difference lies in whether there is room for movement. “Whereas an activity role involves mostly pre-determined stances deemed to be appropriate for fulfilling a particular socio-professional task, the ‘footing’ adopted by participants is of a temporary and evolving nature” (Mason, Role, Positioning and Discourse 53). Davies and Harré (1990) offer “positioning” as a marker of the dynamic nature of conversation. It is a feature that is “constantly changing and subject to negotiation among participants” (Mason, Role, Positioning and Discourse 53).

Footing reveals the interpreter’s alignment to the other participants and is expressed through for example pronoun use (Pöchhacker, Interpreting Participation 56). The pronominal use of the interpreter is a topic of research in Hanneke Bot’s “Dialogue Interpreting as a Specific Case of Reported Speech” (2005). She defines reported speech as “the term commonly used to report something that was said in the past” (239). Bot draws on Tannen (1989) to explain how reported speech can contribute to the understanding of the nature of interpreter-mediated dialogue. Tannen states that reported speech comes in a variety of forms other than direct (e.g. he said: I will help) and indirect reported speech (e.g. he said that he would help) (Bot 239).

Bot’s aim is to show “that changes in perspective of person are less of a problem than generally assumed”(237). Her study in interpreter-mediated psychotherapeutic dialogue wants to rebut the idea that interpreting in first person perspective generates the best quality. The shifts in person perspective “do serve to indicate the specific position of the interpreter as intermediary”, however “this does not seem to alienate therapist and patient, but merely
recognizes the interactive reality of this type of talk” (Bot 237). Most person perspective shifts were observed in interpreters’ turns, as they may want “to indicate that the words they speak do not come from them” (Bot 242) and happen from first to third person.

Bot identifies four translation strategies: direct representation, indirect representation, direct translation and indirect translation. Direct translation does not change in perspective and keeps the first person perspective in the renditions. In indirect translation the person changes from first person singular to third person singular. Direct and indirect representation report what is said by a primary speaker. The interpreter will then use a reporting verb (at the beginning) of the rendition, such as to say or to ask.

Bot refers to two questions raised by Haarhuis (2003), that form the basis of a taxonomy of changes in perspective of person in interpreter-mediated talk:

“(1) Does the interpreter use a reporting verb, i.e. does s/he add “s/he says” or a similar marker — to the words s/he translates? This strategy is referred to as a ‘representation form’ whereas a translation without reporting verb is referred to as a ‘translation form.’ (2) Does the interpreter use the same perspective of person as the primary speaker? For example: when the primary speaker says “I went to school,” does the interpreter say “I went to school” (the “direct” perspective) or does s/he change the perspective to “he went to school” (the “indirect” perspective).” (Bot 246)

Bot noticed how “the users of interpreter services believe the interpretation to be good when they note that interpreters render the translation in the first person, and seem to treat the retention of the perspective of person as the sign of professionalism” (238). However, practice showed how interpreters alternate between different strategies and sometimes use combinations of the four. The following combinations occur frequently:

(1) “Multiple representation”: the interpreter does not only add a reporting verb in the beginning of the rendition, but uses the formulation more often. The verb construction may appear at the beginning of the interpreted turn, but may also be inserted following a few words of (in)direct translation.

(2) “Mixed translation”: this combining strategy shows how the interpreter does not change the perspective of the primary speaker, but then later shifts to a different perspective in the same turn. Meaning that “he” and “I” in the interpreters’ turn both refer to the same person.
“Mixed translation/representation”: in this combination of translation strategies direct and indirect translations appear within one turn. The interpreter starts with a translation form, but then later in the turn adds the formulation with a reporting verb.

The study concluded how the divergent strategies mark “the pivotal role of the interpreter in the dialogue”. The interpreter does not only organize the structure of the conversation but also “codefines the content” (Bot 260).

Ian Mason conducted research to explore the different aspects of role in interpreter-mediated conversation (2009). His research on the changes of positioning and role has shown a range of reoccurring markers that are part of the process: “gate-keeping, footing, manipulation of preferred or dispreferred responses, contextualization cues, in-group identity, gaze and lexical choice” (Mason, Role, Positioning and Discourse 71).

The study of gaze in interpreter-mediated conversation has not received a lot of attention, but takes up an important part of this research. The most groundbreaking work was Lang’s study of gaze, posture and gesture in a Papua New Guinea court (1978). Lang discovered how gaze signaled attention and was a device to distribute turn taking (Mason, Gaze, Positioning and Identity 177). The article Mason contributed to Coordinating Participation in Dialogue Interpreting (2012), looks how gaze direction also controls patterns of participation, and not only functions to signal a participant’s attention and coordinate turns.

“There has been some evidence that gaze direction is an important device for showing attention and for the distribution of turns. (...) It also shows that gaze not only has a function in signaling attention and co-ordinating turns to talk, it also regulates patterns of participation. In particular by their patterns of gaze and other non-verbal signals, all participants position themselves and other within the exchange.” (Mason, Gaze, Positioning and Identity 177)

The expressive functions of gaze have been studied by Argyle and Dean (1965) and Argyle and Cook (1976). They suggest how gaze has the possibility to express affiliation or threat, which demonstrates how gaze can stimulate or discourage engagement with the other participants. For example the interpreter’s gaze aversion can signal neutrality or detachment. Vertegaal’s work reported how gaze has the ability to predict attention in conversations with multiple interlocutors (Mason, Gaze, Positioning and Identity 179). An additional subject in the study of gaze is seating configuration in interpreter-mediated interaction. Wadensjö (2001) observed
how the configurations might affect the quality and results of interpreter-mediated therapeutic sessions. The distribution of the participants’ seats often happens casually, but have a potential influence on the interaction.

However, the data for studying gaze is limited. First of all, because of the reluctance to allow video recording. The use of video cameras for data collection is experienced as more disturbing and intrusive than audio recording. The use of a single camera might minimize the intrusive aspect. A camera adopting a wide angle to include all participants often makes is more difficult to observe detailed gaze information.

Still the analysis of gaze patterns, even partial data, has given insight in the use of gaze in coordinating turns, gaze as a marker of affiliation or threat and gaze to signal paying or seeking attention and thus affection the role and position of the participants.

A brief overview of the literature showed how research on interpreter-mediated interaction in reception centers for minor asylum seekers and refugees has not yet been explored widely. Research in a setting as such has the possibility to contribute to the exploration of several aspects of interpreter-mediated conversation in the field of community interpreting. This specific research wants to focus on the position and role of the interpreter during the triadic exchange.
3. Research context

3.1 Asylum in Belgium

We will start sketching the context of this research by showing some figures which illustrate the current asylum situation in Belgium. These figures are taken from the annual report of the CGVS (Commissariaat-Generaal voor de Vluchtelingen en de Staatlozen or The Office of the Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons) and show how in 2015, Belgium received 44,760 applications for asylum. The figures show a strong increase of applications in the months August till December. In the first three months of 2016, 5,739 applications were registered by the CGVS, in March 2016 already 1,374 people who applied for asylum. Asylum seekers from Afghanistan take up the largest part of people who apply for asylum in Belgium (18.9%), followed by Syrians (9.0%).

The CGVS is the head asylum institution in Belgium. When refugees and asylum seekers arrive in Belgium, they are introduced to different organizations that will handle the specific needs of their situation. When a person applies for asylum, s/he requests protection from the Belgian authorities. This is because this person has encountered problems in his/her country of origin. Every foreigner on Belgian territory has the right to apply for asylum. The procedure consists of the close cooperation of different institutions concerned with offering protection to and reception of asylum seekers. Before discussing the most important institutions in the asylum procedure, we must consider that in Belgium, a distinction is made between two main types of protection offered to people who apply for asylum, viz. protection for refugees and subsidiary protection. According to the information brochure for asylum seekers, the Belgian authorities will examine whether the person is eligible for either of these two protection statuses. (CGVS, The Asylum Procedure in Belgium: Information for Asylum Seeker 8)

Asylum is a form of international protection. A country grants protection to be people that were persecuted in their country of origin. These people will receive protection as a refugee. When a person was not persecuted, but is in real danger when s/he returns to his/her country of origin, this person will receive subsidiary protection. Protection as a refugee always takes priority over subsidiary protection.

“Persons who have left their country of origin because they were persecuted for their nationality, race, political or religious beliefs or membership of a particular social group. Here
the Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951 is applied relating to the Status of Refugees. And persons who are at a real risk of serious harm if they return to their country of origin. Serious harm is the death penalty or execution; torture, inhuman or degrading treatment; a serious threat to life of a citizen by indiscriminate violence in a situation of international or internal armed conflict. Then the person is granted subsidiary protection.” (CGVS, The Asylum Procedure in Belgium: Information for Asylum Seeker, 8)

Nevertheless, there are reasons for exclusion of receiving protection as a refugee or being granted subsidiary protection:

“a foreign national may be excluded from the status of refugee or of subsidiary protection if he falls under one of the reasons for exclusion stipulated by the Geneva Convention and the Aliens Act. This would be the case, for instance, if there are serious reasons to assume that he or she has committed war crimes or crimes against humanity.” (CGVS, The Asylum Procedure in Belgium: Information for Asylum Seeker, 9)

Upon entering Belgian soil, asylum seekers have to submit an asylum application to the Immigration Department (DVZ or Dienst Vreemdelingenzaken). The Immigration Department’s task is to register the asylum application and record statements about the identity and travel route of the asylum seeker. The person’s fingerprints will also be taken by the Immigration Department “to check which EU Member State is responsible for the asylum investigation (Dublin and Eurodac procedures)” (CGVS, Asylum in Belgium, 6).

The application is then sent to the Office of the Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons. The CGVS investigates the application and plays an important role in determining if the request for protection will be granted. Determining whether someone is eligible for protection is a complex task and it demands a certain amount of time to decide if one’s asylum application is accepted. The CGVS is the only asylum institution that has the authority to carry out the investigation of asylum applications in Belgium. According to CGVS, “each asylum seeker is given the opportunity to explain the motives for his/her flight during an extensive hearing” (CGVS, Asylum in Belgium, 8).

For the duration of the investigation of his or her asylum application, the asylum seeker is placed under the care of Fedasil. Whenever someone applies for asylum, s/he will be assigned a place in a reception facility. Fedasil is the Federal Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers and is in charge of the reception of asylum seekers. One of Fedasil’s tasks is to
provide material aid to asylum seekers. These arrangements are in accordance with the 'Reception Act' of 12 January 2007. Together with its partners, Fedasil organizes reception and support services. They also provide monitoring and guidance for unaccompanied foreign minors. Next to its main task of reception, Fedasil also “coordinates the various voluntary return programmes and is responsible for the design, preparation and implementation of the reception policy”. Fedasil also tries to work closely together with the local communities. That is the reason why they promote “the integration of reception centers within the local community in the framework of a variety of initiatives”. (website Fedasil)

Belgium has fifty reception centers for asylum seekers. In total there are over 16,000 reception places. The network comprises collective and individual reception structures. These centers are managed by Fedasil, but get the support of other organizations. Their largest partner is Croix Rouge. Furthermore, Fedasil gets assistance of Rode Kruis, and as also by SESO (Sociale Dienst van de Socialistische Solidariteit), Caritas, Vluchtelingenwerk Vlaanderen and other private associates. SESO is a non-profit organization that aims to help and guide everyone who needs it, but focuses especially on asylum seekers. Caritas is an international organization that helps victims of natural disasters, war and poverty. In Belgium they specifically offer guidance and help to refugees and migrants.

These reception centers are referred to as ‘open centers’, meaning that the residents are free to enter and leave the center as they please. The centers provide all sorts of support such as social guidance, legal assistance, linguistic support and medical and psychological assistance. Residence at the reception center ends once the asylum seeker receives a negative decision on his or her application. The asylum procedure stops when all possible appeals have failed. When the asylum seeker receives a positive decision, s/he receives a resident’s permit and may start to look for his or her own accommodation. In order to find suitable accommodation s/he is allowed to remain for two more months at the reception structure. S/he also has possibility to request assistance from a Public Social Welfare Center. However, when someone receives a negative decision to his or her asylum application s/he receives an order to leave Belgium. The 'failed' asylum seekers are invited to go to one of the four centers of Fedasil that organize “open return places”. The priority of these centers lies in convincing and informing the residents about voluntary return to their country of origin. They suggest to choose this over forced return. (website Fedasil)

The current situation makes it nearly impossible to estimate how long the asylum procedure will take. At the moment, some even take up over a year, which is considerably long
for someone to live in a state of insecurity. The duration of the asylum procedure is subject to different factors; the saturation of the services for one. Figures published monthly by the CGVS on their website, show us that in March 2016 the CGVS made a positive decision for 2415 people: 1125 people were recognized as a refugee and 377 people received subsidiary protection. (CGVS, Asielstatistieken maart 2016)

3.2 The Reception Center ‘Klein Kasteeltje’

Klein Kasteeltje in Brussels is one of the reception centers under the direct control of Fedasil where asylum seekers are housed during their asylum procedure. In 1986, the old military barracks were reformed into a reception center for asylum seekers. Klein Kasteeltje is also the largest and oldest reception center for asylum seekers in Belgium, there is room for 844 people.

Klein Kasteeltje also has a specialized wing for unaccompanied minor asylum seekers (niet-begeleide minderjarige vreemdelingen or NBMV). This wing is called CADE (Center for Adolescents in Exile). The data for this thesis were collected at CADE (see chapter 5). After their arrival in Belgium, unaccompanied minors are placed in a center for observation and orientation. After a relatively short stay there, they are send to a reception center that is most appropriate to their specific situation. In Klein Kasteeltje, fifty unaccompanied minors are housed at CADE, most of them are boys. They are assisted by their own team of educators, social workers and supervisors. (website Fedasil) The team of educators, made up of eight persons, are tasked with keeping the group functioning. Each minor gets his/her own educator allocated as soon as possible. The team works in twelve hour shifts and has no fixed working days. At the center, at least one educator maintains a full-time service for the minors during the day time, at night and during weekends, which means that they are never left alone. The social workers of CADE help the NBMV’s with the administrative aspect of the asylum procedure. Each NBMV is appointed a personal social assistant in charge of their asylum procedure, but the social worker also offers psychosocial support. Next to the group of educators and the social workers, there is a reference educator who has the responsibility over the follow-up of the daily life of the minor at the center. S/he is in charge of, for example, the minor’s school, clothing and public transport pass.
3.3 Unaccompanied Foreign Minors

The information presented here is based on the brochure published by the National Contact Point Belgium of the European Migration Network (EMN) about unaccompanied foreign minors and the experiences of a social worker of CADE, the wing for unaccompanied foreign minors at Klein Kasteeltje. Of the 1374 people who applied for asylum in March there were 127 unaccompanied minor asylum seekers, which means that this group takes up 9,2% of the applications. Most of these unaccompanied foreign minors are boys between fourteen and eighteen years old. “The majority of them do not apply for asylum and are intercepted by the police forces. The largest group of these come from Algeria, Morocco, India and other European countries such as Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Romania and are often part of the Roma community. There are several reasons for their coming to Belgium: Belgium is used as a transit to the UK and Scandinavian countries; they are homeless children roaming around Europe and decide to stay in Belgium; or travelling Roma. The remaining group are those who apply for international protection. There are five countries that take up about half of all the applications for asylum: Afghanistan, Guinea, Democratic Republic of Congo, Russia and Iraq.” (my translation, EMN, Niet-Begeleide Minderjarigen in België 6) At CADE the majority of the unaccompanied foreign minors come from Afghanistan, the second largest group come from Syria.

Because of their young age and often traumatic experiences, unaccompanied minors are a vulnerable group, requiring specific care adapted to their precarious situation. Therefore, Belgium has a special law for NMBVs guardianship that is in effect since May 2004. The law prescribes how the cases of NBMVs on Belgian territory or at the border have specific conditions and require special attention. In practice this means that the government has to immediately inform the guardianship service about the presence of an unaccompanied foreign through a specific sheet of identification. (my translation, EMN, Niet-Begeleide Minderjarigen in België 6) The next step in the procedure, is for each NBMV to be admitted to a Observation and Orientation center (Observatie- en Oriëntatiecentrum or OOC), so the Guardianship Service can identify the NBMV. The OOC is a secured, but open care facility, because NBMVs do not get locked up in Belgium. However, during the past months the network for reception often got saturated, which caused unaccompanied minors to end up in temporary reception structures or even in centers for adults. Fortunately, this happened in a limited amount of cases.
The Guardianship Service and guardian play an important role in the care and reception of the unaccompanied foreign minor in Belgium. After the identification process a guardian is appointed to each NBMV. “The task of the guardian is to make sure that the government finds a sustainable solution for the NBMV that is in his or her best interest. The guardian will help the NBMV with its statutory obligations, the residence procedures and all the other legal or administrative procedures. In Belgium there are two kinds of guardianship: there is a professionalized system and a system that works with volunteers; most of the NBMVs are in the latter.” (my translation, EMN, Niet-Begeleide Minderjarigen in België 6)

The reception procedure of unaccompanied foreign minors is organized in three stages. The first phase starts in the OOC, this lasts for (more or less) fifteen days. The period of residence at the OOC can be renewed once. Fedasil is the institution in charge of two OOCs: one in Steenokkerzeel and one in Neder-Over-Heembeek. After the OOC the NBMV gets transferred to the second phase of reception. However, in this stage they make a distinction between NBMVs who apply for asylum, their reception falls under federal jurisdiction, and NBMVs who do not wish to apply for asylum. Their reception falls under the jurisdiction of the Communities. NBMVs who apply for asylum are housed in a reception center (with a division) specifically designed for NBMVs, organized by Fedasil or one of its partner organizations. They are allowed to stay there during the duration of their asylum procedure. When NBMV do not apply for asylum, they are put under the care of youth welfare centers of the Flemish and French Community, however the capacity of these centers are limited and places are sparse. When there is no room for the foreign minor in the Communities, Fedasil is responsible for the reception of a non-asylum seeking NBMV. This measure makes sure that reception of the NBMV is safeguarded. “The main goal of the second stage is to grant the NBMV a longer rest period of max. one year. During this phase NBMVs get the opportunity to go to school, learn the language of the country and ,when necessary, they receive medical and/or psychological care” (my translation, EMN, Niet-Begeleide Minderjarigen in België 7). After phases one and two of the reception policy, the aim of the third stage is to find a more lasting solution. This last phase is set up roughly after four to twelve months. Minors who have reached the age of sixteen can move on to a more stable housing or autonomous shelter adapted to his or her specific profile. In most cases they go to a local reception initiative (LOI or Lokaal Opvanginitiatief) organized by the Public Center of Social Welfare (OCMW). The places where the minors go to differs from case to case; some minors are more independent and
autonomous than others. Each NBMV is assessed on his abilities to live autonomously by his or her educators and social workers at the reception center, before they make a decision.

However, it is important to take into account that the procedure for asylum has to be seen separately from the reception structures, since there are several other possibilities. For instance, a NBMV can opt to stay with family or acquaintances living in Belgium. In some cases, the unaccompanied minor asylum seekers are placed into foster care and are assigned to a foster family, or youth welfare looks for another residence. Yet this is only in urgent cases and the waiting lists are long.

3.3.1 Education

A vital part of the care and the reception of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers is education. NBMVs are sent to school, preferably this happens as soon as possible. However, it is dependent on the availability of places in schools. The legal term for the minor to enroll is within sixty days after his or her arrival. The Flemish and French Communities in Belgium recognize the right of minors, who fall under compulsory education, to enroll in schools with specific reception classes. The main goal of these reception classes is to learn the language as soon as possible so they are able to integrate in the level of education which fits their personal competences most. NBMVs get the opportunity to learn French or Dutch, but this choice is their own and in most cases quite randomly decided. Often their preference is based on whether they know someone who goes to the same school or who is learning the same language. At the end of the academic year, the minor gets a certificate proving that he or she regularly attended the reception classes. This document grants them access to mainstream education.

3.3.2 Guardianship Service

As mentioned before, the Guardianship Service takes up an important role in the care of NBMVs. The Guardianship Service, which falls under the Federal Department of Justice, will be notified of the presence of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers upon their arrival on Belgian territory. Their first and foremost concern is to ensure a place in one of the reception centers.

The following information is based on the brochure of the Guardianship Service (Federal Public Service of Justice 2010) and on an information letter that the minor’s social worker at CADE sends to the guardian who is responsible for the NBMV.
Once the unaccompanied minor asylum seeker has been placed in one of the reception facilities, a guardian will be assigned as soon as possible. Ideally this should happen on the day the asylum application is filed, but takes up a much more time in reality. Up till today there is a real shortage of guardians. As long as the NBMV has not been assigned a guardian, the Guardianship Service stays responsible. However, it is in the minor’s best interest that a guardian is appointed quickly, since the interviews at the Immigration Department (DVZ) and Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons (CGVS) cannot be conducted until this has happened.

In order to get assistance from a guardian, the asylum seeker must: “be under the age of 18; be in Belgium without your father or your mother; come from a country outside the European Economic Area and have made an application for asylum or be in Belgium without any residence permit” (Federale overheidsdienst Justitie, The Guardianship Service 3).

The guardian is in charge of the final decision making regarding his trustee’s asylum procedure. The guardian is expected to maintain a close relationship with the staff of the reception center where the minor resides. At the reception center, the minor’s social worker supports him or her along the various steps of the asylum procedure, as mentioned previously, but the final responsibility lies with the minor’s guardian. Therefore, good communication between these two partners is of utmost importance.

Part of the guardian’s task is to take an interest in the general wellbeing of the minor he is charged with. This implies that the reception center expects him or her to take steps when certain situations demand a specific strategy (for example adapted housing or support when necessary). But most importantly, with the eye on the vulnerable situation in which NMBVs find themselves, the guardian figures as a contact point whenever the NMBV is in need. Of course, this is what is expected of the guardian in theory, but reality shows that they are often only a guardian ‘on paper’. These kind of guardians carry out their task of being present when decisions about the procedure need to be made, but do not express any further interest in the unaccompanied minor asylum seeker they represent.

3.4 Working With Interpreters

Interpreters play an important role in establishing the communication between asylum seekers and officials involved in their asylum procedure. Once the application for asylum is registered, the language of the procedure is determined. In Belgium this is either Dutch or
French. The language of the procedure is also the language that the officials speak and in which correspondence is sent to the asylum seeker. It is also be the language in which s/he can make any appeal against an negative decision on the asylum application. If the asylum seeker happens to speak French or Dutch, the interviews at the Immigration Department and during the rest of the procedure are held in that language. It is possible to ask for an interpreter if s/he does not speak French or Dutch. This implies that in this case the Immigration Department also determines the language of the asylum procedure. (CGVS, The Asylum Procedure in Belgium: Information for Asylum Seekers 11)

The reception centers also work closely together with interpreters. For instance, at CADE in Klein Kasteeltje, they rely on interpreters during different phases of the non-accompanied minor ‘s reception. During the first minimal intake, which takes place on the day of arrival at the center, the NBMV is introduced to the center and its functioning and agreements (practical arrangements?) are made. The social worker conducting this conversation is often assisted by an interpreter. Further along the procedure, interpreters are invited to assist in follow up meetings concerning education, well-being, appointments, etc. This sort of conversations often take place in the presence of the guardian of the NBMV. In theory these follow up meetings are on fixed times: after one month, three, six and nine months. However, the need for an interpreter may differ from conversation to conversation and in cases where NBMV shave been living in the center for a long time, conversations between social worker and NBMV can even be conducted without the assistance of an interpreter.

Interpreters at Klein Kasteeltje, and more specifically at CADE, are contacted through two organizations in Brussels: Sociaal Vertaalbureau van Brussel Onthaal vzw, which is a Brussels based Dutch-speaking social interpretation and translation service, and SeTIS Bxl (Service de Traduction et d'Interprétariat en milieu Social Bruxellois). Firstly, the employees conducting the conversations (especially social workers) are required to request a non-certified interpreter. Only when no interpreter is available, they request the services of a certified interpreter. The reason why they give priority to non-certified interpreters comes from the need to reduce the costs. The second reason is because non-certified interpreters are easier to come by. The language in which the interpreter translates depends upon the mother tongue of employee at the center.
4. Methodology

4.1 Ethnographic fieldwork

The methodology used in this thesis is a discourse analytical approach to the data, which we collected through ethnographic fieldwork. The data, a video recorded conversation between a social worker, an unaccompanied minor asylum seeker and an interpreter, was collected at CADE (Center for Adolescents in Exile) in the Belgian reception center Klein Kasteeltje in Brussels. The collection of the data is a result of a corroboration with a fellow student, Boris Van de Loock.

Our decision to adopt an ethnographic perspective comes firstly, from a personal interest to engage with data from firsthand experiences. And secondly, we ask the question how our linguistic analysis can contribute to issues in other research about (unaccompanied minor) asylum seekers? Ethnographic fieldwork is a strategy that involves the basic idea of ethnography: “ethnography seeks to capture and understand the meanings and dynamics in particular cultural settings. Ethnographers spend time observing and participating in the environments they seek to describe, and use a range of more and less systematic data-collection techniques to record what goes on.” (Ben Rampton et al. 2) The researcher wants to observe his subjects from as close as possible.

However, a critique has been formulated by Blommaert (2001) who challenges the idea of regarding ethnography as mere description. He wants to argue against this narrow view on ethnography, stating that

“in the field of language, ethnography is popularly perceived as a technique and a series of propositions by means of which something can be said about ‘context’. Talk can thus be separated from its context, and whereas the study of talk is a matter for linguistics, conversation analysis or discourse analysis, the study of context is a matter for ethnography (see Blommaert 2001 for a fuller discussion and references).”

(Blommaert 6)

A wider view on the positive results of adopting linguistic ethnography as research strategy, shows how “a close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and
distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity” (Ben Rampton et al. 2). This thesis wants to use linguistic ethnography as a strategy to look in particular at the mechanisms and dynamics of interpreter-mediated conversation.

The initial aim of this research was to map language use in the context of a reception center for refugees, more specifically focusing on the group of unaccompanied minor asylum seekers. However, throughout the course of the research, the focus shifted to a more detailed case study of interpreter-mediated conversation. Since asylum seekers and refugees usually do not speak the language of the host country, they have to turn to a Lingua Franca or an interpreter to express themselves. (Maryns 23) This creates an interesting and often complex language situation where different language strategies need to be developed.

In what is currently referred to as the ‘refugee crisis’, it is very relevant to have a deeper look into the importance of language in these centers. After all, communication can prove to be a significant obstacle at all levels of the asylum procedure. The high influx of asylum seekers and refugees created a rising public interest in the different reception centers of Fedasil or one of its partner organizations, causing difficulties for us to gain access to collect data for our research. We set out to contact two centers for observation and orientation (OOC) where unaccompanied foreign minors are sent during the first phase of the asylum procedure. Next to the two OOCs, we also contacted Minor-Ndako in Aalst. Minor-Ndako is an organization that helps children and minors in problematic situations. The department in Aalst, Primo, focuses on the reception of unaccompanied minors, from ages eight to twelve, in a residential social group.

Unfortunately, the replies to our applications came back negative. Two main reasons were given for the refusal. Firstly, it was argued that the minors are a very vulnerable group, especially at that stage of their reception. Secondly, it was stated that the center would not receive a tangible product after we spent time during our research there. After our research, we would not able to offer a sort of ready solution to their possible communication problems. They said that the thing the employees at the center needed most was something in return for the efforts they would put into our presence. Moreover, the centers we contacted also received a high number of applications for internships and volunteers and seemed not eager to take on two students. Especially if those students, on top of that, would to not be able to help with the daily routines at the center. Thus, our initial idea to personally observe in one of those centers was therefore cancelled after a few weeks of strive.
However, we eventually managed to obtain our research data through Boris’ inside connection at Klein Kasteeltje in Brussels. Tom is a social worker at the center’s specialized wing for unaccompanied minor asylum seekers at CADE. We were very pleased when Tom, in consultation with his supervisors, agreed to participate in our research. Moreover, he was given permission to give us a tour at CADE and to invest some of his time in helping us obtain our research data. On February 11th we set out to meet Tom and to get a guided tour at CADE.

Initially, we wanted to divide our research in two aspects of language focus, namely formal and informal conversation. We considered formal language to be conversation during official meetings about the asylum procedure, a meeting with the guardian or other information-related conversations and follow-ups on the adolescent’s well-being, whereas informal language would then involve language use on a daily basis between educators, social workers, volunteers and the asylum seeking adolescents.

Yet, the gathering of informal linguistic data proved to pose several practical problems, such as how and when we were to observe these situations. Therefore, we decided to solely focus on formally arranged interpreter-mediated conversations between the social worker and the minor. These sort of conversations happen in a fixed framework of setting and number of participants. Tom argued that our presence as observers would disrupt the intimate atmosphere of the conversation. Therefore, in order to avoid our direct presence, Tom asked the adolescents he counsels and the interpreter whether he could film their meetings. The major advantage of the video recorded material is that we can also focus on several aspects of non-verbal communication, such as gestures, gaze and eye-contact.

Research shows how the presence of a camera is often experienced as intrusive or disruptive. However, two minors and one interpreter (the same in each conversation) gave their permission to be filmed. None of the participants seem to be bothered by the camera.

Other practicalities we came across were related to the organization of the conversations. First of all, these sort of conversations have to fit in the schedule of several participants: the social worker, minor and interpreter. This requires some time. And secondly, which is more important to this research: the minor and interpreter have to give permission to be recorded. Taken all these different factors into account, we only obtained access to the data during the second week of March.

Tom is a pseudonym
4.2 Discourse analysis: case study

The data that is selected for analysis consists of a video recorded conversation between a social worker, an unaccompanied minor asylum seeker and an interpreter. The recording takes about 36 minutes. The specific data of this footage is the basis for a case study on interpreter-mediated conversation in a particular social service setting. It focuses more specifically on community interpreting in a Belgian reception center for refugees.

The first step in the data analysis was carefully watch the recordings and to write out a transcript of the conversation afterwards. For the notation in the conversation’s transcription the Jefferson transcription system is used. The video material opens up the opportunity to scrutinize non-verbal language as well. The transcription shows three columns: the first one includes the several participants of the conversation; the second one is a transcription of the verbal language and sounds of understanding; whereas, the last one contains non-verbal language or gestures.

The analysis focuses on how the interpreter positions herself as an active participant throughout the conversation. The aspects on which the focus lies are interventions, person perspective change and gaze. Patterns in the interpreter’s behavior were observed and will be discussed extensively in the next chapter on data analysis. Besides the interpreted interaction, I analyzed the non-verbal language during the conversation.

Another important feature of the data analysis is the fact that we found an interpreter to do a back-translation of the conversation between the interpreter and the minor. This interpreter, a certified court interpreter, re-translated the data for us from Farsi and Dari into Dutch. This opened up the opportunity to scrutinize the original interpretation: detecting what was transmitted in a condensed form or even omitted, finding out whether the interpreter summarized the social worker’s or minor’s speech and getting access to the specific comments or requests the minor made.

4.3 Goal

The main goal of this thesis is to use the data as a case study of interpreter-mediated conversation in a reception center. However, we hope that our research will contribute to improving the cooperation between social workers and interpreters in the future. With this research, we want to give something back to Tom and CADE. Our research hopes to make a
positive contribution to a better understanding between social worker and interpreter. Thanks to our research, Tom will have access to information that otherwise gets lost in the translation from source language to the target language. We hope our research offers new insights on the cooperation with interpreters in a social service setting.
5. Data Analysis

5.1 Data description

The set of data presented in this research paper consists of a video recorded conversation of 36 minutes and 24 seconds. For practical reasons the recording is split in two files, the first one has a recording of 29 minutes 50 seconds and the second part of 6 minutes 34 seconds. The conversation was recorded on March 7th 2016 at CADE, the wing for unaccompanied foreign asylum seekers in Klein Kasteeltje in Brussels. The participants of the conversation are an unaccompanied minor asylum seeker (UM), the minor’s social worker (SW) and a non-certified interpreter (IN).

What follows is further information on the three interlocutors. The unaccompanied minor asylum seeker in the data is a sixteen year old boy, he lived in Teheran, Iran but was born in Afghanistan and holds Afghan nationality. During the recording in March, he lived in Belgium for about three months and resided at CADE. The minor’s mother tongue is Dari, a variety of the Persian language spoken in Afghanistan. However, he also speaks fluent Farsi. Furthermore, he is enrolled at the Athénée Royal d’Evere, where he is learning French. The social worker is a young man whose mother tongue is Dutch. He works at CADE where he is in charge of the UM’s case. During the conversation he takes up to role of interviewer. The interpreter is non-certified, she is a middle-aged woman whose mother tongue is Farsi, however she is also fluent in Dari. During the conversation she interprets in Dari and Farsi. It is important to note that she is not a proficient speaker or near native speaker of Dutch, yet she translates the Farsi/Dari speech in Dutch for the social worker.

Overall, the conversation has the notable feature that all three participants seem to feel quite at ease, their sitting posture is relaxed. This possibly indicates that especially the social worker and minor are familiar with the functioning of an interpreter-mediated conversation in this particular setting. They did not seem to perceive the camera recording the conversation as disruptive.

The recorded interpreter-mediated conversation is about appointments that need to be arranged with the minor and a general follow up on his personal welfare. The transcription of the conversation is divided into nine sequences:
We consulted a certified court interpreter to provide a back translation of the sequences in Farsi. It is important, however, to acknowledge that this back-translation has its limitations as it inevitably involves yet another level of interpretation of the data. It proved at times difficult for the back-translator to faithfully transfer the interpreter’s translations due to the frequent alternation of first and third person singular. Yet, despite these limitations, the back-translation provided us with important and interesting insights on the recorded interpreter’s competence, an important part of the data that otherwise would have been unintelligible to us.

The analysis in the chapter below focuses on how the interpreter positions herself as active participant. We will look how she does this by analyzing several aspects of interpreter-mediated conversation in a social services setting. The topics of focus are additions and interventions, changes in perspective of person and gaze.

### 5.1.1 Extracts

For the analysis of the conversation, the chronology and the original numbering from the transcription is preserved. For example, turn 4 corresponds with turn 4 in the full transcription (see appendix). The personal names in the transcription have been abbreviated to ensure anonymity.

### 5.1.2 Seating configuration and camera position

The seating configuration of the participants, as shown on the picture below, is as follows: the minor (UM) sits at the far end of the table, the social worker sits at his left side and the interpreter at the minor’s right. This means that the interpreter and the social worker are facing each other, whereas the minor is positioned in between them. Both the social worker’s
and the interpreter’s chair are angled in such a way that they are sitting near the corner of the
table, close to the minor. In order to address the UM, they both have to turn their heads
sideways. They are both leaning on the table with their elbows or their arms are resting on it
when they are outstretched. The minor sits a bit further away from the table, holding his arms
in a folded position or resting his arms next to his body for the largest part of the
conversation. This configuration also proved to be the most ideal to observe gaze and gestures
with only one camera recording.

The camera is positioned in the middle of the table where all three participants are
sitting at. The camera is positioned as such that the minor is shown in frontal view, whereas
the social worker and the interpreter are facing the camera sideways. The camera’s position
gives a broad overview of the three participants, only a part of the social worker’s backside is
not visible. There are several occurrences where the social worker disappears from view, yet
the interpreter and the minor never do. Consequently the sequences where he disappears are
not used when the focus for analysis lies on gaze.

Picture 1: seating configuration and camera position
5.2 Additions and self-allocated turns

This particular set of data shows a profusion of non-renditions. Involvement of the interpreter can be seen as intrusive to the interviewer, the social worker. However, the analysis will prove that the interpreter’s involvement and her active role in the conversation offers extra information and are not always experienced as disturbing to the social worker. The interpreter’s interventions are a remarkable feature of this data; her active role and participation stand out.

Together with her status as non-certified interpreter, the particular setting and topic of the conversation contribute to the interpreter’s position as active participant. The conversation, as is already mentioned, is a general follow up on the minor’s well being in the center and a further acquaintance between him and his social worker. Unlike other institutional encounters, where the active intervention of the interpreter can be more consequential, such as in the interview at the DVZ. This means that this particular interpreter-mediated conversation does not affect the unaccompanied minor asylum seeker’s case.

The interpreter’s role as active third participant in the conversation manifests itself in the data through interventions, such as additions and self-allocated turns. The interpreter does not just give a translation of what is said, but she gets actively involved in the conversation. So is she often seen to be arguing with one of the other participants, but can also be noticed in the remarks she makes. For example, she elaborates extensively on the UM’s guardian. Most remarkably she actively asks the UM to extract more details or information.

5.2.1 Interventions, additions and omissions

The first example where the interpreter intervenes turns up in the beginning of the conversation. The social worker informs the minor that he has been allocated to a guardian, which happens to be the same one as for one of his fellows residing at the reception center. Upon sharing this information with the UM, the interpreter immediately intervenes by mentioning the guardian’s name by adding that he is a very good person.

4 Sw | waarover ik wou praten vandaag euh is dus 
eerst het goeie nieuws dat je een 
euh voogd (.) hebt toegewezen gekregen 
what I wanted to talk about today euh is the good news that
you have been appointed a guardian

5 IN *speaks Farsi*
hij zei wij hebben een voogd voor u gevonden
he said we have found you a guardian

6 UM *speaks Farsi*
ja dat is goed
yes that is good

7 SW en (.) euh dat is dezelfde voogd als van (F)
and uh it is the same guardian as (F)

8 IN *speaks Farsi*
dezelfde voogd die (F) heeft
the same guardian as (F)
aah (D) (D)

9 SW (D) ja
(D) yes

10 IN (D) heel goede
*speaks Farsi*
(D) is heel goed
(D) is very good

11 UM *speaks Farsi*
ik heb hem niet gezien
I haven't seen him

12 IN ja een oude man
yes an old man

13 SW je ken je kent ik weet niet ken je (F) goed
do you know, I don't know, do you know (F) well?

14 IN *speaks Farsi*
ken jij (F)?
do you know (F)?

15 UM *speaks Farsi*
(F)?

16 IN *speaks Farsi*
(F), een Afghaan, hij woont hier een jongen
(F), he is afghan, he lives here, a boy

17 UM *speaks Farsi*
ik bedoel zijn voogd heb ik niet gezien
I mean I haven't seen his guardian

18 IN ja de voogd hij heeft niet gezien
yes he hasn't seen the guardian

19 SW ah ja ja ma je kent (F) ja ja oke ma
tis dus die [voogd]
ah yes yes but you know (F) yes yes yes alright but so it's that guardian

20 IN [ja ]

21 SW hij heet (D) en
his name is (D) and

22 IN heel heel vriendelijke man
The interpreter's addition starts in turn 8 where she takes the initiative to state the guardian's name. When the social worker acknowledges this, she adds that “he is very good”. She says this to the social worker and translates her experience to UM. In turn 16 she clarifies who (F) is by telling the UM that he also lives at CADE. This takes away the initial confusion the UM has about (F), thinking she was referring to the guardian. The interpreter’s turn is an example of how she steers the conversation forward. Turn 22 shows how the interpreter intervenes during the social worker’s turn in 21: she breaks off the social worker mid-sentence by stating that he is “very very friendly man”, which the social worker acknowledges in turn 23. The social worker picks up on this information by telling the UM that the interpreter is familiar with the guardian. The interpreter then adds the information that she has interpreted for him a couple of times and thus explaining how they are acquainted. In turn 28 she initiates by telling the UM that he is lucky that the guardian took him on as well, upon which the UM replies with the question “is he is a good person?”. The interpreter confirms this fact in turn 30.

Turn 26 till 30 are not translated to the social worker which causes him to be shut out completely. Then the social worker closes off the conversation between the UM and the interpreter by moving on the conversation and shares the information on when the meeting is set.
The extract also shows several omissions in the interpreter’s translation. Turn 5 illustrates how she leaves out several parts in the translation of turn 4. She leaves out the introduction of the first topic, as well as “the good news”. It seems as if she does not regard the contextual information as interesting enough to translate and sticks to the core message. This suggests that she does not know how to translate this or that she just thinks that is not relevant. The IN also does not translate turn 6 of the UM.

Another instance of the interpreter’s intervention occurs in turns 56 to 70. The extract shows how the interpreter engages in conversation with the social worker about the possibility of postponing their meeting with the guardian. Here the interpreter’s non-rendition shows her active involvement in what is discussed during the conversation. It turns out that the UM will not come on time for his meeting, so the interpreter suggests to organize the meeting half an hour later.

53  SW  [waarschijnlijk] (.) zal je (2) net iets te laat zijn dan euhm then you will probably be a bit late euhm
54  IN  aaah
55  SW  (2) voor het gesprek eeh voor (.)
      [vrijdag]
      for the meeting eeh on Friday
56  IN  [ah jaa ]
      zo we kunnen een beetje misschien later of is voor (xxx)
      so maybe we could a bit later or it is for (xxx)
57  SW  ja kzalt eens eerst eens vragen aan je voogd ook eeh
      yes I will ask your guardian as well eeh
58  IN  ja
      yes
59  SW  en als da dan voor u ook past and if it suits you as well
60  IN  doe maar vier uur voorbeeld take at four o’clock for example
61  SW  voor u past vier uur four o’clock suits you
62  IN  ja nee voor mij is oke drie uur dertig maar als (xxx) komt
      yes no three thirty is fine by me but if (xxx) comes
63  SW  maar voor jou past vier uur ook but four o’clock suits you as well
64  IN  ook is goed ja
      is also good yes
65  SW  wel kzalt [vragen ]
      well I will ask
66  IN  [ik moet] twee uur hier ook
tolkien ergens anders thousand dertig (.).
This entire dialogue between the interpreter and the social worker is initiated by the interpreter’s proposition in turn 56. Arguably the nature of the interpreter’s interference cannot be experienced as intrusive or disruptive since it concerns practicalities from which all parties profit. Therefore, the sequence can be regarded as an aside discussion between the interpreter and social worker. The exchange has no real significance to the UM up till the moment in which the meeting is settled. However, although this does not seem problematic, it is recommended that the interpreter informs the UM that she will discuss the time of the meeting.

The following extract shows how the interpreter requests clarification from the social worker about the nature of the activity that is set up for the UM to attend, namely a guitar class. However, she only inquires about the exact nature of the activity after having translated the social worker’s explanation of when and where the activity will take place.
The interpreter’s request for clarification is indicated in bold and comes after the rendition she gives to the UM about the time of the meeting. This allows her to allocate an extra turn to herself after the social worker’s explanation in turn 92.

In the next extract, it becomes clear that the interpreter often has trouble to understand what the social worker tries to communicate. It indicates how the language gap might limit her understanding. She confuses the questions of how the UM is experiencing life in Belgium with a request for information on his travel route from Iran to Belgium. However, she quickly realizes her mistake and tries to self-correct and reformulate the question, before the social worker has the opportunity to further explain himself.

\[
\begin{array}{l|l}
244 & \text{SW} & \text{euh kweetnie (.) je (.)} \\
& & \text{je nu euh tleven in België je bent hier} \\
& & \text{nu al enkele maanden (.)} \\
& & \text{euhm wa vind je van tleven in België ben} \\
& & \text{je daar al wat gewoon aan geraakt ofeuh} \\
& & \text{(..) om hier in Brussel te wonen} \\
& & \text{euh I don’t know you you life in Belgium you have been hear} \\
& & \text{for several months now, euhm what do you think about life} \\
& & \text{in Belgium, have you gotten used to it or euh to live here in} \\
& & \text{Brussels} \\
245 & \text{IN} & \text{hoe heeft gera…geraakt hier} \\
& & \text{how he got here?} \\
246 & \text{SW} & \text{neeneenee} \\
& & \text{no no no} \\
247 & \text{IN} & \text{[hoe hoe ]} \\
& & \text{how how} \\
248 & \text{SW} & \text{[hij woont] nu al [enkele maanden hier in} \\
& & \text{België]} \\
& & \text{he has now been living for several months in Belgium} \\
249 & \text{IN} & \text{[ja en wat denk hij]} \\
& & \text{yes and what he thinks about} \\
\end{array}
\]

Turns 245 till 247 show: how the interpreter requests clarification, how subsequently the social worker quickly tries to correct her and how she then cuts off the interpreter’s help. This can be seen as a sort of defense mechanism where the interpreter wants to show that she is capable of understanding what is said, therefore not giving the social worker the chance to reformulate. The interpreter’s urge to self-correct is demonstrated in the overlapping speech in turns 247, 248 and 249.
5.2.2 Self-allocated turns

In the following extracts we can notice how the interpreter gets more actively involved as a participant. Beside coordinating the turns between the other interlocutors, the interpreter steers the conversation on or in another direction through a series of self-allocated turns.

In the interpreter’s turn 199 we come across a clear example of addition through a self-allocated turn. In the sequence leading up to it, the interpreter is talking with the UM about his journey to school. The UM explains to her that the journey is quite hard because they first have to take a tram and afterwards a metro. In her reply she informs him about how she thinks that “it would be easier to just take the metro”. This extract and the previous one illustrate how the interpreter wants to affirm her authority on certain topics. Her remarks consequently enhance her active participant role.

198  UM  *speaks Farsi*  
en dan straks de metro nemen  
and later take the metro
199  IN  *speaks Farsi*  
maar ik denk met de metro zal  
gemakkelijker zijn, ook met metro zal  
vijfenvijftig minuten duren  
but I think with the metro it’s easier or does it also take forty five minutes by metro  
[met tram en trein is veel]  
by tram and train is a lot
200  UM  [*speaks Farsi*]  
ja natuurlijk  
yes of course

The first thing we notice is how the interpreter omits her own remark about the metro in the rendition to the social worker. She only translates that taking both a tram and train is a bit too “much”. On the other hand, we notice here how the UM replies on her comment about the metro with an annoyed “yes of course”. This reply illustrates how he wants to contradict the interpreter on the subject. In previous and later sequences, it becomes clear that the long journey to school the UM great annoyance. He does not appreciate the interpreter’s interference, but he does not let the opportunity pass to express his dismay on the subject.

The following example demonstrates another self-allocated turn of the interpreter. She does this before she translates to the social worker. Turn 258 signifies how the interpreter’s addition functions as a request to receive more detailed information. The sequence is a reply to the social worker’s question about the UM’s experiences living in Belgium.

40
*speaks Farsi*
ja da’s goed de dienst is heel goed, maar eigenlijk ik heb geen enkele plaats gezien om te zeggen is dat goed of niet ik kan niet schatten of die plaats beter is of niet
yes, it’s good, the service is very good, but actually I haven’t seen any other place to say whether this is good or it is not, I cannot judge if that place is better or not

*speaks Farsi*
maar tot en met nu is alles in orde heel goede mensen hun gedrag is heel goed niemand ik voel mij niet als buitenlander of die nieuw uit Afghanistan komt
but up till now everything is very good, very good people, they behave well and no one, I don’t feel as a foreigner or someone who just arrived from Afghanistan

*speaks Farsi*
ya hier in asielcentrum of in de school?
yes here at the center or at school?

*speaks Farsi*
in het algemeen ook de leraren op de school en de assistenten zijn heel vriendelijk
in general actually the teacher at school and the assistants are very friendly

The same kind of additions through self-allocated turns can be seen in the following sequences. However, they share a difference with the previous ones we discussed. In the next three extracts, the interpreter explicitly states in her translation that she asked the UM a question.

In the next extract the social worker wants to find out more about the UM’s life in Teheran.

kweenie euh hoe kijk je naar Teheran is da zo wa de plaats waar je tmeest thuis voelt of
I don’t know euh how do look back at Teheran, is that the place where you felt most at home or

waar was jij het beste thuis
where did you feel at home the most

wat denk je over Teheran?
what do you think about Teheran?
UM: [*speaks Farsi*] Teheran of Iran nee, maar ik ben daar opgegroeid, ik heb heel veel mooie dingen daar het is een goede plaats maar de mensen daar zijn geen goede mensen. Teheran or Iran no, but I grew up there, I have a lot of beautiful things there, it’s a good place but the people there aren’t good people.

IN: [*speaks Farsi*] waarom

UM: [*speaks Farsi*] bijvoorbeeld hier mensen doen nooit iets om als buitenlander te beschouwen maar daar in Teheran ik voelde mij als Afghaan, nooit als Iraniër. For example people here will never do something to view me as a foreigner, but in Teheran I felt like an Afghan, never an Iranian.

IN: [*speaks Farsi*] maar jouw uiterlijk is niet meer Iraniër dan Afghaan. But isn’t your complexion more Iranian than Afghan.

NA: [*speaks Farsi*] ja maar wanneer zij mijn identiteitskaart zien verandert hun gedrag 180 graden. Yes but when they saw my ID their attitude turned 180 degrees.

IN: aaah ja Teheran ik ben opgegroeid en (.). ja ik mis ook soms en ik heb herinnering (.). daar Yes Teheran is where I grew up and yes I miss it sometimes, I have memories there.

SW: mhm

IN: maar hier (.). ik voel minder discriminatie (.). dan daar. But here I feel less discriminated than back there.

SW: mhm

IN: daar soms (.). ik heb ook gevraagd je leek ook niet als Afghaan zij hij lijk ook misschien zoals Iraan zij. Often there, I also asked you don’t look like an Afghan he also looks more like an Iranian.

We can see here how the interpreter faithfully starts translating the UM’s utterances. But then in turn 278 she explicitly informs the social worker about her own question concerning his complexion. She affirms her contribution to the conversation by saying “I also asked”. We notice her doing the same in the next sequences in turn 337 and in 342.

The first extract below, from turn 328 – 337, is about the UM’s dream to become a singer and musician.
In turn 329 we observe the interpreter’s remark about the possibility to take music lessons in Teheran. From this turn it is hard to conclude whether this is a statement or a question. In the Dutch translation in turn 337, the interpreter reformulates it as a question and gives the UM’s answer to it.

In the next sequence, we observe both an addition and an omission of the interpreter. The sequence follows shortly after the previous ones about the UM’s interest in playing music. The social worker recalls the time when the UM played guitar for his fellow residents at CADE. He then wants to compliment the UM, but is cut short by the interpreter. The interpreter omits the social worker’s remark and asks a question herself. If this is a deliberate move, she succeeds in breaking off the social worker’s attempt to engage with the UM. The omission also suggests the interpreter’s lack of interest in contextual information.

The extract shows how the interpreter’s self-initiated question in turn 342 ‘removes’ the social worker’s turn from the conversation.
### 5.2.3 Conclusion

The extracts from the transcription we analyzed show how the interpreter steps out of her function as translator. There are two examples where her interventions lead to an aside with the social worker and the UM. These already show how the interpreter positions herself as active third participant.

Furthermore, the analysis also shows two examples in which the interpreter requests clarification. In one of the sequences, we notice how she is eager to correct her own mistakes and interrupts the social worker’s explanation. Arguably, this can be interpreted as an intentional disruptive move.

Other examples of addition taken from the interpreter-mediated conversation, let us observe how the interpreter engages in spontaneous conversation with the minor in self-initiated turns. We observe how she goes beyond her function as translator by asking her own questions. However, we notice that these self-initiated turns are used to benefit the depth of the interview. The addition of the interpreter’s question provide more detailed information.
By informing the social worker of additional questions, the interpreter signals her active role as participant in the conversation. The extracts want to illustrate how the interpreter’s additions help to position herself as a full participant and not merely as “an invisible translating machine” (Pöchhacker 147). It might suggest how the interpreter wants to show the social worker her unique position of being able to engage in direct conversation with the interviewee. However, it is not possible to prove this assumption by the collected data without consulting the interpreter about it.

A couple of observations can be made about the interpreter’s omission of contextual information or complete turns of the social worker. It might indicate the lack of linguistic proficiency, a disinterest in contextual information or a move to disrupt contact between the social worker and the minor. However, the social worker does not seem to be aware of this.

The interpreter positions herself as third participant and shows this by actively participating in the conversation. Her additions generally come with good intentions. The self-allocated turns serve to elicit further information or to safeguard the flow of the conversation.

In only a few cases, the interpreter’s intervention could possibly be experienced as disruptive by the social worker, but here this is not the case or at least there is no conclusive evidence.

### 5.3 Changes in perspective of person

Changes in perspective or person occur when the interpreter adds a reporting verb (e.g. “he said”), generally at the beginning of a rendition, and when the personal pronoun is changed. The change usually goes from “I” into “he” or “she”. (Bot, Dialogue Interpreting 237) In order to discuss these phenomena, Bot’s terminology will be used to indicate the different translation strategies (see Chapter 2 Literature). In the data we will look at the strategy of direct representation, which indicates the interpreter’s wish to distance herself from someone else’s words. And we will also analyze the interpreter’s use of direct and indirect translation strategies. Furthermore, we will analyze the strategy of “mixed translation”, which is a combination of direct and indirect translation (Bot, Dialogue Interpreting 250).

These frequent shifts between direct and reported speech imply that the interpreter in this case is not consistent, whereas according to their deontology, interpreters are generally encouraged to render their interpretation in the first person. However, in practice we note
that shifts from first to third person, as well as addition of a reporting verb, are frequently applied. The interpreter makes a distinction between her own and the other interlocutors' words, which then contributes to the idea of the interpreter being more than a translation machine.

Because it was not possible for me to have direct contact with the interpreter, we are unable to discover the interpreter's true intentions behind her shifting translation strategies. Quite possibly it is an indication of the interpreter's non-certified status. Her status might cause a more lenient attitude to giving a word by word translation. Or it might also be an indication of the interpreter's proficiency in Dutch.

5.3.1 Translation from Dutch to Farsi

When the interpreters gives a translation of what the social worker says to the UM, she will give a direct representation most frequently. We observe how she starts rendition with “he said”. The difference with indirect representation is that she keeps the same person perspective after the reporting verb form.

Next to direct representation, the interpreter will also resort to direct translation, mostly in shorter turns of the social worker. In direct translations we observe how she does not use a reporting verb and translates in the same person perspective of the social worker.

1) Direct representation:

The three extracts that follow are examples of direct representation. In the first extract the social worker informs the UM that he has been allocated to a guardian.

The second extract is about the open art studio. The social worker explains how his colleague knows the directions and that he will give them to the UM on the next day.
In the next extract the social worker wants to know how the UM feels about making the long journey to school each day.

These three sequences above show how the interpreter starts her translation of the social worker’s utterances with “he said”. She refers to the social worker through the third person ‘he’, followed by the simple past of to say and a reproduction of the social worker’s words. This suggests that she creates distance between the social worker’s words and herself by reporting what is said.

The next example where the interpreter gives a direct representation of the social worker’s speech. The two turns fit in a longer sequence about the minor’s life in Teheran.

In the sequence above, the interpreter uses a different reporting verb in her translation. Turn 291 shows the only occurrence of ‘to ask’ as reporting verb. The interpreter does not only give a direct representation of the social worker’s words, she also turns his remark into a question.

2) Direct translation:

109 | SW | das hier nog een (.)
euhm blaadje met de uitleg kweetnie of da
In this first example, about the minor’s guitar class at Globa Aroma, we can already notice the difference with direct representation. In a direct translation the interpreter preserves the social worker’s use of the personal pronoun “you” to address the UM. Examples of the same strategy are given in the following extracts.

The next extract shows how the social worker wants to know if the UM is in contact with his family. The interpreter omits the social worker’s attempts to formulate this question. She leaves out “I don’t know, I was actually wondering” and summarizes the message in a short question.

The next example of direct translation shows how the interpreter maintains the person perspective of the social worker in “tell me”. In the translation, “me” refers back to the social worker and not to the interpreter. In turn 413 the interpreter omits a large part of the social worker’s words. In her translation, the focus lies on negative remarks the UM might have about CADE.
In direct translation, we notice how the interpreter does not start her rendition with a reporting verb to indicate the social worker’s words. This also implies that the interpreter takes on the same first person perspective of the social worker. However, what seems remarkable is that the interpreter tends to summarize what is said more in a direct translation than when she gives a direct representation of the social worker’s turn. In the last example, she omits a large part of the social worker’s carefully formulated question and only translates whether something is going wrong.

### 5.3.2 Translation from Farsi to Dutch

In translations of the minor’s speech to the social worker, the interpreter shifts between strategies more often. In most cases, she resorts to giving a direct translation, less often an indirect translation. The conversation also generated two examples of mixed translation, which are more complex, but they did not compromise the interpretation of the message.

1) **Indirect translation:**

In the next extracts, the interpreter changes the perspective of person from first to third person singular, when she translates to the social worker. As such, the interpreter signals that she talks about the UM and reports back what he says, without using a reporting verb.

Turn 17 and 18 follow on the social worker’s question if the UM knows (F), another resident.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turn</th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Translation (Dutch)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ik bedoel zijn voogd heb ik niet gezien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>I mean I haven’t seen his guardian</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja de voogd hij heeft niet gezien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>yes he hasn’t seen the guardian</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This example is situated in the larger sequence about the UM’s ability to understand his teacher when he is speaking French.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turn</th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Translation (Dutch)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>veel natuurlijk niet maar ik kan het in het algemeen begrijpen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>it is not a lot of course but I can understand it in general</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>de keren hij begrijpen niet alles maar (.) een beetje die dingen ja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

164
This final example of indirect translation is a reply of the UM when the social worker suggests he can visit the clothing shop at the center on Wednesday afternoon.

438 | UM  | *speaks Farsi*  
    |     | hoe kan ik om twee uur want ik heb school 
    |     | how can I go at two o'clock I am in school  
439 | IN   | aah hij hij heeft school hoe kan gaan naar e school 
    |     | aah he he has school how can he go to a school 

These short sequences reflect how the interpreter uses an indirect translation to transfer the UM’s speech turns. However, the interpreter does not apply this strategy frequently as a translation strategy. The examples show how she uses indirect translation to report short comments of the minor to the social worker.

2) Direct translation:

Analysis shows how the interpreter most frequently gives a direct translation of what the UM says. The examples show how the first person singular is preserved in the translation.

In the first extract the UM tells that he sometimes attends the extra language classes at the center. No reporting verb is used in the translation and “I” refers back at the UM.

233 | UM  | *speaks Farsi*  
    |     | sommige tijden ik ga naar die lessen 
    |     | sometimes I go to those classes  
234 | IN   | ja de periode dat was geweest ja ik was euh geweest 
    |     | yes the past period I have euh gone 

In the second extract the UM explains that he did not actually live in Teheran, but in a village nearby. We observe how the interpreter translates in the same first person perspective of the UM.

292 | UM  | *speaks Farsi*  
    |     | ja Teheran is een grote en ontwikkelde stad 
    |     | yes Teheran is a big and developed city  
293 | IN   | uhu mhm 
294 | UM  | *speaks Farsi*  
    |     | maar wij waren niet in centrum van Teheran zoals (Tadjerish) wij waren dichtbij (Hasanabad) en (Com) daar is meestal een dorpelijke wijken, ik was in (sharereere) 
    |     | but we weren’t in the center of Teheran like (Tadjerish) we were close to (Hasanabad) and (Com), there the

sometimes he doesn’t understand everything but some stuff 
yes
neighborhoods are more like villages, I was in (Sharerees) uhu mhm ik was niet euh ja we woonden niet in Teheran ik weet ze zijn ook goede mensen of ze zijn ook goede mensen met ontwikkel ontwikkel uhu mhm I was not euh yes we didn’t live in Teheran I know they are also good people or they are good people with develop develop

The last example, also shows how the translation preserves the first person perspective. The minor asked one of the other assistants for information a camp, but he did not understand what she said.

*speaks Farsi* ja ik heb het gevraagd maar ik begrijp niet goed wat ze zegt yes I have asked it but I do not understand what she says

ik versta niet ik heb gezegd maar ik versta niet wat ze zeggen (. ) wat ze antwoorden I do not understand I have said it but I do not understand what they say what they answer

Throughout the conversation, direct translation emerges as the interpreter’s most preferred translation strategy, when she gives a rendition of UM’s utterances to the social worker. In the examples above, the interpreter uses the same perspective of person as the UM. In direct translation a reporting verb is not used, thus the utterances of the primary speaker coincide with the interpreter.

3) Mixed translation:

The first example of mixed translation, in which the interpreter uses both ‘I’ and ‘he’ to refer to the minor, can be seen in a sequence about how the minor feels at school.

*speaks Farsi* ja de school is een goede school maar ik heb net ingeschreven ik weet het niet yes the school is a good school, but I just enrolled, I don’t know

ja hij vindt ik denk zijn school is goed (. ) goede school maar ja ik ben nieuw ik weet nog niet euh yes he thinks I think the school is good a good school but yes I am new I don’t know it euh
The second example also illustrates how the interpreter switches between first and third person in the same turn. In the extract the minor asks if the center can buy him a guitar, which he will repay afterwards.

458 | UM *speaks Farsi*  
--- | ---  
*kunnen ze niet een gitaar kopen en ik zal dan afbetalen met mijn geld*  
*can’t they buy a guitar and I will repay it with my money*

459 | IN  
--- | ---  
edmm *hij wil* ja en *hij wil graag (.) een gitaar hebben maar *ik zeg* misschien kan jullie voor mij kopen en dan van mijn geld euh zak euh  
edmm *he wants yes he would like to have a guitar but I say*  
maybe you can buy it for me and then from my euh money euh pocket

These last extracts analyze how the interpreter applies mixed translation as a strategy. In both turn 223 and 459, the interpreter starts the rendition with indirect translation, using the third person to refer at the UM. She continues with a direct translation, in which she shifts to first person perspective. These shifts in the same turn complicate the translation.

4) Direct representation:

Lastly, an example of direct representation reveals how the interpreter’s intonation is used to question what the minor says. In this extract about the guitar class, the UM says he knows the location of Globa Aroma, but the interpreter’s questioning tone and direct representation reveals her skepticism about the UM’s reply. We observe this in turn 100.

97 | SW  
--- | ---  
*ik weet nie of da je da weet zijn das in de moutstraat zesentwintig (.) dat is waar globa aroma (.) weet je het kantoor zijn van globa aroma*  
*I don’t know whether you know where it is, it at moutstraat twenty-six, that is where globa aroma, do you know where the office of globa aroma is?*

98 | IN *speaks Farsi*  
--- | ---  
*wet jij waar de bureau van hen is?*  
do you know where their office is?

99 | UM *speaks Farsi*  
--- | ---  
*ja ja ik weet het waar het is, het is dichtbij de asielcentrum ik ben al gegaan*  
*yes yes I know where it is, it’s close to the reception center, I already went there*

100 | IN  
--- | ---  
hij zeg is dicht bij ↑hier  
he says it is nearby?
The rising intonation and focus on “hier” in the original signal the interpreter’s doubt. The interpreter’s use of a reporting verb and the third person in her translation, express how she wants to distance herself from the UM’s words.
5.3.3 Conclusion

The analysis shows how the interpreter’s shifts between direct representation and direct translation when she translates to the minor. She provides a direct translation of the social worker, when he clearly asks something to the UM. She preserves the second person pronoun ‘you’ when she addresses the UM. The interpreter chooses to opt more for direct representation of the social worker’s statements. This is a form of direct reported speech, the turn starts with a reporting verb. The direct representation of the social worker’s utterance is preceded by “he said” and followed by a (direct) translation of his words. The frequent use of direct representation marks the distance she wants to create between herself and the social worker.

The analysis observes how the interpreter selects more translation strategies when she is giving a rendition from Farsi to Dutch. In the translations of what the minor says the interpreter shifts between: direct and indirect translation, mixed translation and direct representation. Indirect translation is selected most frequently in shorter sequences. This means that the interpreter reports on what the UM said and changes the first person perspective to third person perspective. In longer sequences, the interpreter switches to a direct translation of the UM’s speech turn. In this case, she maintains the first person perspective and then “I” refers to the UM. The interpreter also gives a mixed translation of the UM’s words. This means that in one turn she shifts between indirect and direct translation. The third and first person both refer to the UM. When the interpreter gives a direct representation, she reports on what the UM says with a reporting verb and in the third person perspective.

We can conclude that the interpreter frequently switches between strategies during the conversation. The motives behind these shifts might happen unconsciously, but might as well indicate the interpreter’s lack of proficiency in Dutch. Nonetheless, the use of direct representation is a distancing move of the interpreter and enhances her position as an active participant. We also observe how the use of a reporting verb does not seem to compromise the comprehension. Neither do one of the primary participants experience it as a disturbing element. On the other hand, direct translation signals alignment with the primary speaker, but does not seem to reduce this position.
5.4 Gaze patterns

The camera’s positioning offers an almost perfect view on the interlocutors’ faces, thus creating the possibility to follow face-directed gaze to a certain degree. It is not possible to determine the social worker’s and interpreter’s gaze with pinpoint accuracy, but some general conclusions can be made on the basis of the given data. During the analysis it is important to bear in mind the pitfalls of judging gaze from video recorded data. The most frequently made mistakes are “to overestimate the amount of face-directed gaze and to overlook ear- or beyond-the-ear gaze” (Mason, Gaze, positioning and identity in interpreter-mediated dialogues 183). However, in the data we were able to observe that gaze is either directed towards one of the two other interlocutors or that it is away from both.

The sequences used to analyze gaze in the data is divided into four sections. Firstly, gaze of all the interlocutors will be analyzed in the social worker’s speech turns. Secondly, the social worker’s gaze patterns will be discussed when the interpreter translates to the minor. Thirdly, the gaze patterns will be analyzed when the minor is speaking. Lastly, the interpreter’s gaze patterns will be focused on during translating. The tables that are used for the analysis show the interlocutors’ gaze, indicated by an arrow (→) pointing towards the person they are looking at or when they look away. The speaker is indicated in bold. An overall conclusion on gaze will be made at the end of the gaze analysis.

5.4.1 Gaze patterns when the social worker speaks to the minor (UM)

In the following social worker speech turns, the gaze patterns of all the interlocutors are observed. The picture below shows a moment in which gaze patterns can be studied in turn 119.
**Gaze in turn 119: (pt.1) 5’27” – 5’58”**

SW: ja euhm wel (. ) zoals ik eens gezegd had ook euh (. ) hij hij weet een atelier zijn hier in de buurt (. ) een open atelier waar je gewoon binnen kunt stappen en waar dat je (. ) euh kan tekenen en er zijn daar ook allemaal andere kunstenaars die daar komen om te schilderen of te (. ) tekenen of wat ze doen euhm en daar kan je iedere dag naartoe gaan (. ) tot tien uur ’s avonds euh dus da begint om twee uur ’s middags dacht ik en da’s tot tien uur ’s avonds dus na school kan je daar perfect naartoe gaan als je daar zin in hebt

English translation: yes euhm well like I have already said he he knows an art studio somewhere nearby, it’s an open studio that you can enter freely and there you can, euh draw and a lot of other artists come there as well to paint or to draw or whatever they do there euhm and you can go there every day till 10 in the evening euh so it starts at two in the afternoon and it’s till ten in the evening so after school you can perfectly go there if you’d like that

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Table 1: turn 119</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>UM</strong> → UM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SW</strong> →</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this entry we notice that the social worker predominantly keeps his gaze fixed at the UM, but interrupts this pattern to either look away or to look at the interpreter. First, when he looks at the interpreter, it is to indicate the end of his turn. Second, when the social worker looks away while he is speaking, this is mainly because he is using gestures to support his words. Yet what strikes us most is that the interpreter clearly maintains her gaze fixed on the social worker for 29 seconds of the speech turn. She only interrupts her gaze to glance sideways at the UM. The UM’s gaze at the social worker is interrupted a couple of times when he is following the social worker’s gestures in the air. Near the end of the social worker’s turn, at 5’57”, he throws a glance at the interpreter, which she returns. This marks his request for translation.

**Gaze in turn 161:** (pt.1) 7’52” – 7’59”

**SW:** mhm (. ) ja (.) een klein beetje en als de leerkracht aan praten is vooraan in de klas begrijp je dan wat die zegt

**English translation:** mhm, yes, a little bit and when the teacher is speaking in front of the class do you then understand what he is saying?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: turn 161</th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UM →</td>
<td>6”</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td>0”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In →</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td></td>
<td>5”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
<td>4”</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td>1”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this short turn, we notice again that the interpreter and the UM direct their gaze for the longest time at the social worker when he is speaking, 5 seconds and 6 seconds respectively. The social worker focuses on the UM for the largest part of his turn, but his gaze is deflected twice; once when he looks at the interpreter for two seconds at the begin of his turn and once when he looks away.

**Gaze in turn 207:** (pt.1) 10’21 – 10’29”

**SW:** ja maar der=der zitten in een Nederlandstalige school dichtbij maar de meeste Franstalige scholen zijn net iets verder ook allemaal

**English translation:** yes but there there are Dutch schools nearby but the French schools are all just a bit further away
The social worker’s pattern differs from the previous two turns. During this short turn the social worker maintains his gaze directed at the person he is addressing, this is rather an exception but a result of the short time span. We notice that the interpreter and UM exchange a glance of approximately 1 second.

**Table 3: turn 207**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UM  →</td>
<td></td>
<td>1”</td>
<td>7”</td>
<td>0”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In  →</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td></td>
<td>7”</td>
<td>0”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW  →</td>
<td>8”</td>
<td>0”</td>
<td></td>
<td>0”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gaze in turn 237: (pt.1) 12’21” – 12’40”**

SW: euohm kvroeg mij lijk ook af euhm (.) kga gewoon (2) eeh tis natuurlijk altijd wa moeiliijk om met een talk te praten eeh omda we nie rechtstreeks kunnen praten ma kwou eigenlijk ook gewoon is me jou praten (.) om elkaar wa better te leren kennen dus (.) kweetnie kga je gewoon wa vragen stellen euhm als je vragen hebt voor mij mag je ook altijd vragen stellen

English translation: euhm i was actually wondering if euhm, i will just eeh, of course it’s always a bit hard to talk with an interpreter, because we can’t speak directly but i just wanted to talk with you, to get to know each other a bit better. I don’t know i’ll just ask you some questions euhm if you have any questions for me you can always ask them

**Table 4: turn 237**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UM  →</td>
<td></td>
<td>2”</td>
<td>15”</td>
<td>2”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In  →</td>
<td>4”</td>
<td></td>
<td>14”</td>
<td>1”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW  →</td>
<td>11”</td>
<td>3”</td>
<td></td>
<td>5”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this slightly longer turn of 19 seconds, the social worker looks away for 5 seconds, directs his gaze at UM for 11 seconds when addressing him and a total of 3 seconds at the interpreter. He allocates the interpreter’s turn by looking at her for a second. In the following two turns that will be discussed the same pattern will be discovered where UM and the interpreter direct there gaze remarkably longer at the social worker showing their engagement to the speaker. Important to notice is that the social worker will always direct more gaze towards the minor
than towards the interpreter, clearly indicating engagement and a wish for interaction with UM.

_Gaze in turn 355: (pt.1) 20’39” – 21’16”_

SW: euhm (.) dus ja kweetnie tis natuurlijk maar een klein dingetje eh tis niet de de grote les direct euhm tis al een eerste manier om misschien bezig te blijven met muziek euhm we gaan ook kijken voor die gitaar hier te herstellen euhm (.) en misschien ja nu ist belangrijk dat je eerst euhm je Frans beter wordt euhm (.) maar (.) euh als dat je droom is (.) dan euhm (.) kan je met je voogd ook later kijken of dat da misschien ook iets is wa da je in school je op wil richten op muziek en kunst

English translation: euhm , well yes I don’t know it’s only a small thing of course eh it’s not immediately the the big lesson euhm it’s a first way to maybe keep busy with music euhm we’ll also see to fix the guitar we have here euhm and maybe yes now it is important that firstly euhm your French improves but euh if that’s your dream then euhm you can later on see with your guardian whether it’s something you can focus on in school on music and art

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UM →</td>
<td></td>
<td>1”</td>
<td>27”</td>
<td>9”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In →</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td></td>
<td>30”</td>
<td>5”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
<td>15”</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td></td>
<td>19”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table five, there is a striking difference between social worker gaze directed at the UM and gaze directed at the social worker by the UM and the interpreter. In turn 353 the social worker looks away for the biggest part of his turn, for a total of 19 seconds. He only gazes directly at the UM for 15 seconds. This pattern is parallel to the gestures the social worker makes: when he deflects his gaze it is while he supports his speech with many gestures. The is a reoccurrence of this in many of his longer turns, see turn 387 as well. It seems that whenever the social worker discusses something complicated, he tends to look away more frequently.

Yet again, as seen in the previous tables, we note that the interpreter and the UM gaze at the social worker for a much longer time. In this turn, there is a remarkable difference
between the UM and the social worker. The UM gazes for almost double the amount of time at the social worker, than the social worker gazes back at him.

**Gaze in turn 387:** (pt.1) \[24'03'' - 24'36''\]

SW: mhm euh kweetnie of dak daar informatie over moet geven over de mogelijkheid voor de familie om naar hier te komen = da wilt eigenlijk zeggen dat jij zelf eerst positief moet hebben euhm en als je positief krijgt voor je achttiende verjaardag (.euhm (.e) kan je (.e) een aanvraag doen om je ouders naar hier te laten komen euhm dan is da ook wel nog eens een proces dat ook wel een lange tijd kan duren (.)

English translation: mhm euh I don't know it that's something I need to give more information about the possibility for your family to come here it actually means that you yourself firstly have to receive positive euhm and if you get positive before your eighteenth birthday euhm you can apply to have your parents come here euhm then that's also quite a long procedure that might take a while

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6: turn 387</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>UM</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During this turn, the social worker gazes for almost the same amount of time at the UM as the UM gazes back at him, there is only a slight difference of 3 seconds. However, it is once again the social worker who deflects his gaze more than the UM. Both of the interlocutors disrupt their gaze by looking away for a notable amount of time.

The social worker explains the rather complex procedure to apply for family reunion. We can observe a link between the difficulty of the social worker’s explanation and the interpreter’s gaze. The more difficult the matter is that the social worker discusses, the longer the interpreter keeps her gaze fixed on him.

### 5.4.2 Gaze patterns of social worker while the interpreter translates
These gaze patterns follow after the social worker’s speech turns that were analyzed in the section above. The extracts show the translation from Dutch to Farsi. This means that the social worker and the UM are in listening mode, while the interpreter is in speaking mode.

**Gaze in turn 120:** (pt.1) 5′58″ – 6′06″

IN: *speaks Farsi* hij zei dat er een atelier is waar je mag tekenen je mag naar daar vanaf twee uur tot tien uur ’s avonds gaan is open
English translation: *he said that there is an open studio, where you can draw and you can go there, it’s open from two till ten in the evening*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
<td>3″</td>
<td>5″</td>
<td></td>
<td>0″</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 7, we see that the social worker divides his gaze direction from the interpreter to the UM, but we note that he looks 2 seconds longer at the interpreter. This shows that the social worker stimulates continuous engagement with both the interpreter and the UM.

**Gaze in turn 162:** (pt.1) 7′58″ – 8′01″

IN: *speaks Farsi* als de leraar iets in de klas zegt kan je dat begrijpen
English translation: *when the teacher is speaking, are you able to understand him?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
<td>1″</td>
<td>2″</td>
<td></td>
<td>0″</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can note the same pattern here: when the interpreter gives a rendition of what the social worker says, then the social worker maintains direct gaze at the interpreter. He briefly turns his head to look at the UM near the end of the rendition. This suggests that he anticipates the UM’s answer.
Gaze in turn 240: (pt.1) 12′40″ – 12′47″

IN: *speaks Farsi*  hij zei we zullen een aantal vragen stellen om elkaar beter te leren kennen je bent nieuw hier

English translation: he said we will ask some questions to get to know each other better since you’re new here

Table 9: turn 240

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
<td>7″</td>
<td>0″</td>
<td></td>
<td>0″</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This turn shows a discrepancy between the gaze patterns in the previous turns, because here the social worker’s gaze is focused solely on the UM during the interpreter’s turn. Presumably, this is because he wants to establish contact between the UM and himself, which is reflected in his proposal to get better acquainted with each other. When the social worker gazes at the UM, while the latter listens to the interpreter, it signals his wish for engagement with the UM.

Gaze in turn 356: (pt.1) 21′16″ – 21′40″

IN: *speaks Farsi*  hij zei dat nu is het belangrijk om de Franse taal goed te leren als jij wilt jouw dromen waarmaken en dan wij kunnen met jouw voogd praten als jij echt een talent hebt om u naar een kunstschool te kunnen inschrijven je kan daar alles leren

English translation: he said now it’s most important to learn French well. If you would like to fulfill your dreams and then we can discuss with your guardian if you really have the talent to enroll at an art school where you can learn everything

Table 10: turn 356

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
<td>10″</td>
<td>2″</td>
<td></td>
<td>12″</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the interpreters’ translation the social worker looks away for 12 seconds at a point in between the UM and the interpreter or he casts his eyes downwards at the desk. He divides his gaze is mainly between the UM and looking away, which signals disengagement with the interpreter.
Gaze in turn 400: (pt.1) 24'55" – 25'15"

IN: ah ja ah ja *speaks Farsi* hij zei je moet eerst positief krijgen en erkend als vluchteling als het gebeurt als jij nog minderjarig bent, minder dan achttien jaar, jij kan hen naar hier brengen, hoe oud ben je nu?

English translation: ah yes ah yes, he said that you firstly have to receive positive and be a recognized refugee. If this happens when you are still under aged, younger than eighteen years old, then you can bring them here, how old are you now?

Table 11: turn 400

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>7&quot;</td>
<td>8&quot;</td>
<td>7&quot;</td>
<td>5&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this turn it is important to note that the social worker disappears completely from view after 25'13". Because he reaches out to take a paper, that lies somewhere behind the camera’s position, we assume that his gaze is directed away from the other interlocutors during the last two seconds of the interpreter’s turn. Here we see the returning tendency of the social worker to divide his gaze between the interpreter and the UM.

5.4.3 Gaze patterns when the minor (UM) is speaking

The following tables show a selection of the UM’s speech turns in which gaze of all three interlocutors is observed.

The next two turns discuss how the UM feels about living in Belgium. Gaze patterns are observed in both turns and presented together in table 12. These turns are complementary, but separated from each other through back channeling cues from the interpreter.

Gaze in turn 255 and 257: (pt.1) 13’22” – 13’53”

255: UM: *speaks Farsi* ja da’s goed de dienst is heel goed, maar eigenlijk ik heb geen enkele plaats gezien om te zeggen is dat goed of niet ik kan niet schatten of die plaats beter is of niet
English translation: yes, it’s good, the service is very good, but actually I haven’t seen any other place to say whether this is good or it is not. I cannot judge if that place is better or not.

257: UM: *speaks Farsi* maar tot en met nu is alles in orde heel goede mensen hun gedrag is heel goed niemand ik voel mij niet als buitenlander of die nieuw uit Afghanistan komt

English translation: but up till now everything is very good, very good people, they behave well and no one, I don’t feel as a foreigner or someone who just arrived from Afghanistan

Table 12: turn 255 and 257

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UM →</td>
<td></td>
<td>14&quot;</td>
<td>0&quot;</td>
<td>17&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In →</td>
<td>24&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>0&quot;</td>
<td>7&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
<td>26&quot;</td>
<td>2&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>3&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the UM speaks, he directs gaze at the interpreter for 14 seconds in total and he gazes away for about 17 seconds. More remarkably, when the UM is speaking he does not gaze at the social worker. He almost does not acknowledge his presence at that moment. It will prove to be a reoccurring pattern of the UM: during his turn he will gaze away frequently and not direct gaze at the social worker. Whereas, both the interpreter and the social worker sustain gaze at the UM when he is speaking. The UM clearly establishes positive engagement with the interpreter during his speech turns.

Gaze in turn 269: (pt.1) 14’48” – 15’09”

UM: [*speaks Farsi*] Teheran of Iran nee, maar ik ben daar opgegroeid, ik heb heel veel mooie dingen daar het is een goede plaats maar de mensen daar zijn geen goede mensen

English translation: Teheran or Iran no, but I grew up there, I have a lot of beautiful things there, it’s a good place but the people there aren’t good people

Table 13: turn 269

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UM →</td>
<td></td>
<td>10”</td>
<td>0”</td>
<td>11”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In →</td>
<td>21”</td>
<td></td>
<td>0”</td>
<td>0”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
<td>21”</td>
<td>0”</td>
<td></td>
<td>0”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most distinctive feature in this turn is that both the interpreter and the social worker keep their gaze fixed on the UM during his turn. The UM almost equally directs his gaze at the interpreter and away by looking up.

**Gaze in turn 294:** (pt.1) 17’07” – 17’17”

UM: *speaks Farsi* maar wij waren niet in centrum van Teheran zoals (Tadjerish) wij waren dichtbij (Hasanabad) en (Com) daar is meestal een dorpelijke wijken, ik was in (Sharereee)

English translation: but we weren’t in the center of Teheran like (Tadjerish) we were close to (Hasanabad) and (Com), there the neighborhoods are more like villages, I was in (Sharereee)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14: turn 294</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In →</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW →</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interpreter leans forward towards UM during his turn. She also keeps her gaze fixed at him during his turn. She shows her understanding through back channeling cues, thus encouraging the UM to continue. She never gazes at the social worker when the UM is speaking Farsi. The UM directs his gaze mainly at the interpreter in return, but still looks up for about 4 seconds during his turn. The social worker’s gaze then stays fixed on the UM, only deflecting his gaze on the interpreter when she shows her understanding.

**Gaze in turn 383:** (pt.1) 23’13” – 23’34”

UM: *speaks Farsi* nee mijn moeder niet, maar ze hebben wel kunnen geld verzamelen om mij naar hier door te sturen ze hebben gezegd aan mij jij mag gaan we hebben momenteel geen geld meer we zullen terugkeren naar Iran of, maar als jij je verblijfsdocumenten hebt kunnen krijgen jij kan ons misschien oproepen of terug naar hier brengen

English translation: No my mother is not, but they could collect some money to send me here. They told me that I could go but that they did not have enough money left, so we will return to Iran or, but if you have received your residence permit you can maybe call on us or bring them back here.
The pattern of the UM and the interpreter, where they do not direct gaze at the social worker, is maintained here. This results in the exclusion of the social worker. We can also note that the UM again gazes up or down for double the amount of time that he gazes at the interpreter. This reoccurs in the sequences where he is asked to recall something from his past or when he has to discuss an event connected with Iran or Teheran. During the UM’s speech turn the social workers gaze is fixed at the UM the entire time.

**Gaze in turn 414:** (pt.1) 26’47” - 27’00”

Turn 414 follows on the social worker’s question whether the UM has remarks on the center.

UM:

[*speaks Farsi*] ja, ik heb nu geen broek, ik heb geen kledij, ik heb het gevraagd en ze zeiden tegen mij dat ik moet wachten  

English translation: yes, I do not have any pants, I do not have any clothes, I have asked it and they told me I have to wait

In turn 414, we remark how the UM looks away for 11 seconds, in a relatively short turn of only thirteen seconds. The subject he discusses is rather sensitive (a request for clothes), which might have expressed itself in not wanting to gaze directly at the interpreter. He gazes only for 2 seconds in total at the interpreter. Again, he does not gaze at the social worker. When the interpreter looks away, she does so to also look at the UM’s pants, after he points at them. The social worker tries to maintain his gaze directed at the UM, but he glances away a couple of times at a lower point or down at the desk.
5.4.4 The interpreter’s gaze patterns in translated sequences

The tables below show the interpreter’s gaze during her translations (from Dutch to Farsi and from Farsi to Dutch). All three interlocutors participate in the sequences. The speech turn and the translation are reproduced in the table. The interpreter’s gaze is indicated by **IN** →.

**Interpreter gaze in turn 203 till 208: (pt.1) 9’59” – 10’32”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turn</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>Away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>ma zie jij da zitten, iedere dag, but do you feel up to it every day</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>6”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>6”</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>ja als het was hier, dichtbij was beter, ik geen sommige ergens, hier dichtbij, yes if it was here nearby it is better I no some go somewhere close by</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td></td>
<td>5”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>ja maar der=der zitten in een Nederlandstalige school dichtbij maar de meeste Franstalige scholen zijn net iets verder ook allemaal, yes but they are at a Dutch school nearby, but most of the French school are just a bit further away</td>
<td>6”</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>3”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: turn 203 - 208
This sequence shows that when the social worker is speaking, the interpreter directs her gaze mainly at him. But when the interpreter translates from Farsi to Dutch, so when she addresses the social worker, she has the tendency to focus her gaze somewhere else. We also observe that when the UM speaks or when she addresses the UM, her gaze is directed mostly at him.

**Interpreter gaze in turn 220 till 227: (pt.1) 10'59” – 11'55”**

**Table 18: 220 – 227**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IN</th>
<th>transcription</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ja ja vind je het de moeite de school eeh eeh</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ja de school is een goede school maar ik heb net ingeschreven ik weet het niet</td>
<td>5”</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ja hij vindt ik denk zij school is goed (.). goede school maar ja ik ben nieuw ik weet nog niet eeh</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td>5”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ja (.). ja kijk (.). de bedoeling is nu alleszins van die school om het Frans aan te leren eeh en voornamelijk daar op te richten om Frans te leren (.). en dan daarna zie je nog wat je kan doen (.). binnen de verschillende delen van het onderwijs ma nu is voornamelijk belangrijk om Frans te leren</td>
<td>17”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The pattern we observe in the previous sequence, as seen in table 17, reoccurs here as well. We notice how the interpreter only gazes directly at the social worker for a significant time, when he is speaking. We see this in turn 224. This observation goes together with her sustained gaze at the UM during renditions in Farsi. However, turn 225 seems to be an exception in this gaze pattern, because here she looks down at the desk for 8 seconds instead of gazing at the UM.
**Interpreter gaze in turn 314 till 332: (pt.1) 18’16” – 19’38”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IN</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>transcription</th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>314</td>
<td>vind je dat een grote verandering om nu in een grote stad te wonen</td>
<td>3”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you think it’s a big change to live in a big city now?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>315</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>4”</td>
<td>1”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>is dat een grote verandering om in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Is it a big change?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>316</td>
<td>ghhhh</td>
<td>10”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brussel is de hart van Azië, is dat juist?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brussels is the heart of Asia, is that correct?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>317</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>1”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nee het hart van Europa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No the heart of Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>318</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>1”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>319</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>3”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>320</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>1”</td>
<td>1”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>een heel grote stad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it’s a very big city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>321</td>
<td>is eh ja Brussel is is groot en ook is hart van (.). Europa eh door de</td>
<td>4”</td>
<td>5”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>commission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>it’s eh yes Brussels is is big and it’s also the heart of Europe because of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the commission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>322</td>
<td>SW mhm</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>323</td>
<td>IN ja europeén commissariat</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yes European commissary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>324</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>10”</td>
<td>2”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dingen mij heeft blij gemaakt is ik was</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vroeger in mijn dromen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dat ik ben naar hier gekomen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the things that make me happy is</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>that in my dreams I always wanted to come here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>325</td>
<td>IN mhm eeuw wat make maak</td>
<td>3”</td>
<td>1”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mij euh blij dat ik ik</td>
<td></td>
<td>10”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(.) denk ik kan euh (.)
ja euhm aanraken de
droom dat ik heb voor
toekomst
mhmm eeh what makes me euh
happy is that I can euh yes touch my
dream for the future

326 SW
ja (.) en welke droom
isda precies hoe zie jij
[jouw droom voor je]
yes and which dream is that exactly
how do you see your dream

327 IN
[*speaks Farsi* ]
wat waren jouw andere
dromen
what were your other dreams

328 UM
*speaks Farsi*
ik wil graag een zanger
worden en ik wil viool
en piano leren spelen
I would like to be a singer and I
would like to learn how to play the
piano and the violin

329 IN
*speaks Farsi*
je kon dat ook in
Teheran leren spelen
you also could learn how to play in
Teheran

330 UM
*speaks Farsi*
nee ik kan dat niet
no I could not

331 IN
*speaks Farsi*
waarom
why

331 UM
*speaks Farsi*
te duur
too expensive

The interpreter’s gaze pattern remains more or less the same in table 19. We note how her
gaze stays directed at the UM during Farsi exchanges, whereas she gazes more frequently and
for a longer time away, when she translates in Dutch to the social worker. However, again we
notice that she sustains a more focused gaze when she listens to the social worker in his turns.
Interpreter gaze in turn 412 till 418: (pt.1) 26’28” – 27’11”

Table 20: turn 412 - 418

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IN</th>
<th>transcription</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>UM</th>
<th>away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>412</td>
<td>euhm nu oke (.). kweetnie of er nog zaken zijn da je aan mij wil vragen euh dingen (.). dater hier da je nog nodig zou hebben dingen die hier mislopen of (.). dingen die goed lopen misschien euhm well okay, I don’t know if there are things you would like to ask me, euh things which you need, things that go wrong or things that maybe go right</td>
<td>11”</td>
<td>3”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>413</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> wil jij iets zeggen aan mij over hier als het niet goed is would you like to tell me something if there’s something not good</td>
<td></td>
<td>4”</td>
<td>1”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>414</td>
<td>[<em>speaks Farsi</em>] ja, ik heb nu geen broek, ik heb geen kledij, ik heb het gevraagd en ze zeiden tegen mij dat ik moet wachten yes, I don’t have pants, I don’t have clothes, I asked and they told me I have to wait</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td>11”</td>
<td>1”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>415</td>
<td>[uhu aha ] hij heeft niet genoeg euh broek uhu aha he does not have enough a pants</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>416</td>
<td>mhm</td>
<td>1”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>417</td>
<td>pyjama en ook euh jean (.). heeft geen jean altijd moe ze zeggen wachten wachten pyjamas and also euh jeans, he doesn’t have a jeans and they always tell him to wait</td>
<td></td>
<td>4”</td>
<td>2”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>418</td>
<td>ben je al naar de vestiaire geweest hier have you already been to the cloakroom?</td>
<td>2”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The same observation about the interpreter’s gaze pattern can be made in this sequence. This reoccurring pattern indicates the interpreter’s strong engagement with UM. The interpreter aligns her through this pattern with UM rather than with the social worker. She will only sustain her gaze at the social worker when he is talking in Dutch. This signals her efforts to understand him. The video also showed that the interpreter does not direct gaze at the social worker when she is translating a sensitive subject. The video revealed how UM expressed signals of discomfort while speaking about his lack of clothing. This feeling is transferred by the interpreter and expressed through her gaze aversion in order to mimic UM.

### 5.4.5 Conclusion

The schemes below give a simplified representation of the gaze patterns generated in the analysis. The schemes show the intensity of the participants’ gaze when someone speaks. It shows the gaze intensity for each participant, which ranges from nothing (-) to very focused (+++++).

#### Scheme 1: when the SW speaks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM addressed</th>
<th>SW addressed</th>
<th>IN addressed</th>
<th>Nobody addressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>++++</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM</td>
<td></td>
<td>++++</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some predominant patterns of gaze can be observed. Firstly, we observe the three interlocutors’ gaze while the social worker addresses the unaccompanied minor. The pattern observed is that the social worker either looks at the UM or looks away. In most cases, he gazes directly at the UM for a considerable amount of time during his turn, but frequently averts his gaze as well. While speaking, he also looks at the interpreter for a couple of seconds, either during the conversation or near the end of his turn. Most of the social worker’s gaze aversions occur when he uses a lot of gestures to support his speech.

On the other hand, the interpreter will keep her gaze fixed on the social worker during his turn. This can be interpreted as signaling her efforts to pay attention during the social worker’s explanation, since it is of importance that the interpreter understands what is said. Furthermore, the analysis suggests how the UM’s gaze at the social worker encourages positive engagement between him and the social worker. This observation is made because the UM mainly gazes directly at the social worker. We observe this as a reoccurring pattern of the UM’s efforts to keep his gaze fixed on the social worker, when the latter is addressing him.
During a shorter turn, as we can see in table 3, we remark how the social worker also maintains his gaze fixed at the UM.

**Scheme 2: when the IN speaks Farsi**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM addressed</th>
<th>SW addressed</th>
<th>IN addressed</th>
<th>Nobody addressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>++++</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Scheme 3: when the IN speaks Dutch**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM addressed</th>
<th>SW addressed</th>
<th>IN addressed</th>
<th>Nobody addressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the next two analyses are used to create scheme 2 and 3. In the scheme, we can observe the gaze intensity when the interpreter speaks.

In 5.2.2, the focus was on the social worker’s gaze when the interpreter translates from Dutch to Farsi. During the interpreter’s turns, the social worker tends to direct gaze at the UM or to avert his gaze rather than gazing at the interpreter who is speaking. For example, in table 9 we notice how during the interpreter’s turn of 7 seconds, the social worker sustains his gaze at the UM. The social worker’s gaze at the UM might reveal disengagement with the interpreter, however, the evidence is not convincing enough to clearly do so. The observations might imply that the social worker tries to establish contact with the UM during the interpreter’s turn, but that he does not always succeed in doing so. This is perhaps because the UM does not direct gaze at the social worker during his interactions with the interpreter. Table 11 shows the largest discrepancy with the previous pattern of the social worker’s gaze. We notice there how the social worker almost equally divides his gaze between the UM and the interpreter.

The analysis shows the interpreter’s gaze patterns as last. The main pattern that developed through this analysis is that the interpreter focuses her gaze directly at the person speaking, be it the social worker or the UM. We analyze the interpreter’s sustained gaze at the social worker, when he talks, as a manifestation of her efforts to pay attention. During Farsi sequences we notice that she mostly sustains her gaze at the UM. However, during translations from Farsi into Dutch, where she addresses the social worker, she more frequently averts her gaze than she establishes a link with him. This gaze aversion might signify disengagement.
with the social worker or reflect neutrality or detachment to what UM has said. The last extract illustrated how gaze aversion might also transfer signs discomfort on a specific subject of a primary speaker.

### Scheme 4: when the UM speaks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UM addressed</th>
<th>SW addressed</th>
<th>IN addressed</th>
<th>Nobody addressed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SW</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>++</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+++</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>+++++</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+++++</td>
<td>+++</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thirdly, the gaze patterns during the UM’s speech turns is analyzed. In this case, we again focus on the gaze of all three participants. A distinct pattern could be distinguished here: during his turns the UM never looks at the social worker. The UM will either direct his gaze at the interpreter or he will look up or down during longer turns, especially where he has to speak about his past or his family. The UM’s gaze divides his gaze almost perfectly between looking at the interpreter and looking away. Both the social worker’s and the interpreter’s gaze are mainly directed at the UM while he is speaking. This pattern differs strongly from when the social worker is speaking, there we noted that the UM has the tendency to direct gaze at the social worker, in order to encourage engagement. Whereas here, we notice the UM’s strong disengagement with the social worker during speech turns in Farsi.

The observations in this analysis reveal that gaze more specifically indicates a signal for engagement with the speaker and the will to pay and seek attention. The social worker’s most dominant gaze pattern indicates how he recognizes the interpreter as participant. The data also shows how the interpreter does not use gaze as a tool for the coordination of turns. She does not wait for a visual cues to participate in the conversation. Quite frequently, the interpreter initiates her turn while the social worker keeps looking at UM or even when he has not finished his speech turn. This suggest the interpreter’s tendency to self-allocate turns (see 5.2) which contributes to her position of active third participant in the conversation. The interpreter’s most dominant gaze pattern shows how she gazes directly at the social worker when he is speaking to the UM. The second remark we can make on the interpreter’s gaze is that she tends to look away more frequently when she addresses the social worker. When the interpreter and the UM communicate in Farsi, both mainly direct their gaze at each other.
6. Conclusion

This thesis presents a case study of interpreter-mediated conversation in a reception center for asylum seekers and refugees. The data is collected at CADE, the wing for unaccompanied minor asylum seekers at Klein Kasteeltje. An extensive discussion about the research context and methodology can be found in chapters 3 and 4.

The analysis of the video recorded interpreter-mediated conversation, between a social worker and unaccompanied minor asylum seeker, explores the topics of: interventions, additions and omissions; person perspective change and gaze.

The case study wants to prove how the interpreter uses the previously mentioned topics to establish an active third participant role. Her positioning moves are subjected to a detailed analysis in which we show how she establishes her role. The analysis lets us observe how the interpreter succeeds in positioning herself as active participant. The interpreter’s position results in active engagement with the other participants. The participants’ position and alignment changes constantly throughout the conversation. Positioning is a feature of interpreter-mediated conversation, that Mason observes to be constantly negotiated between the participants (Mason, Role, Positioning and Discourse 53).

The setting and the interpreter’s non-certified status also play an important part in how she defines her role. The analysis confirms how the interpreter’s translation practices illustrate that “non-professional interpreting in informal settings is characterized by the interpreters adopting a third party status” (Pöchhacker 152). The specific setting and topic of the conversation, a general follow-up with the social worker at CADE, and the relaxed atmosphere reduce the need for professionalism. Presumably, the factors enhance the interpreter’s involvement in the conversation.

Furthermore, the two levels of interference which Tebble distinguishes can be observed in the practices of the interpreter. On a first level, the interpreter clearly moves beyond her limits as mediator between the primary participants. She actively contributes to the conversation, as the analysis of interventions, additions and omissions shows. It marks how the interpreter understands and implements her role as a professional (Tebble 24). The second level is where the interpreter manifests her communicative competence. In several sequences, we interpret requests for clarification and omissions as an indication of low proficiency in Dutch.
In 5.2, we see how the data presents an abundance of examples in which the interpreter intervenes. More than once, she engages in spontaneous conversation with either the social worker or the unaccompanied minor. We observe how the interpreter has the tendency to self-allocate turns, in which she addresses the minor directly, by asking a question for example. Our conclusion was that she does this to elicit further information, which in turn benefits the conversation. However, we cannot say with certainty what her true intentions are. The interpreter’s additions are closely connected to the omission of contextual information in the translation of the social worker’s turns. We can only guess whether this is a deliberate move. If so, it has the potential to shut down the social worker’s attempts at establishing contact with the minor. If not, it possibly indicates the interpreter’s linguistic limitations or lack of interest.

Next, we review the change of person perspective in the interpreter’s renditions in 5.3. In this part of the analysis, Hanneke Bot’s terminology is used to refer at the interpreter’s different translation strategies. Throughout the conversation, we observe how the interpreter alternates between giving a direct and indirect translation or a direct or indirect representation. We distinguish the two through the use of a reporting verb in representation. It is impossible to determine why the interpreter shifts between strategies while translating.

However, we can observe the reoccurrence of certain patterns. The interpreter uses direct representation (e.g. “he said can you do that every day”) most often when she translates from Dutch into Farsi. We see how direct representation is used to mark distance from the words of the social worker. But the insertion of a reporting verb does seem to compromise the understanding of the rendition. A different pattern emerges when the interpreter translates from Farsi into Dutch. She demonstrates the use of a wider variety in translation strategies, but also shifts more frequently between them. We observe how the interpreter prefers to give a direct translation of the minor’s words. The switches in translation strategy only enhance the interpreter’s third participant role. This would not be the case if the interpreter’s role is reduced to that of translation machine.

The video recording of the conversation creates the possibility to conduct research on the gaze patterns of the participants. This is an interesting feature, since research on gaze patterns is limited. There is a lack of research material due to the difficulties researches face to gain permission to make video recordings. Therefore, the material presented here hopes to further stimulate research on this subject. The results of the analysis contribute to how gaze regulates patterns of participation. The observations of the gaze analysis confirm how
participants position themselves (Mason, Gaze, Positioning and Identity 177). The gaze patterns reveal how the interpreter uses gaze to align herself with or distance herself from the other participants.

A lengthy discussion of gaze is given in 5.4. We conclude how the gaze patterns reveal alignment with other participants. A deep intensity of gaze at a certain participant signals efforts of paying and seeking attention. On basis of the analysis, we can make the overall conclusion that all the participants stimulate positive engagement with each other. The only exception we can observe is when the minor addresses the interpreter. During these exchanges in Farsi, the minor does not direct gaze at the social worker, not once. In those sequences the interpreter and the minor hold each other’s gaze for most of the time. The conclusion provides a simplified illustration of the gaze patterns in four schemes.

Many other aspects of interpreter-mediated conversation remain to be examined. The data has the possibility to contribute to research on for example code switching and the use of gestures. However, the analysis is limited to three topics that give the best opportunity to investigate how the interpreter positions herself as third participant. The case study can do no more than illustrate theories on these subjects. Nonetheless, the data and this thesis make a unique contribution to the existing research.


Pöllabauer, Sonja. "During the interview, the interpreter will provide a faithful translation.” The potentials and pitfalls of researching interpreting in immigration, asylum, and police settings:
8. Appendix: transcription

Transcription conventions:

SW  social worker  
IN interpreter  
UM  unaccompanied minor  
= latched speech  
(.) micropause  
> < faster tempo  
(xxx) not clear what is said  
(word) uncertain about orthography name of person or place  
(2) short pause (in seconds)  
... selfcorrection  
[ ] speech overlap  

Sounds

Backtranslation

UM uses English or French

** indicates Farsi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turns</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Speech</th>
<th>Non-verbal language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>voila (.) euhm (.) [dus ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>[<em>speaks Farsi</em>] jij speelt gitaar?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>waarover ik wou praten vandaag euh is dus eerst het goeie nieuws dat je een euh voogd (.) hebt toegewezen gekregen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> hij zei wij hebben een voogd voor u gevonden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ja dat is goed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>en (.) euh dat is dezelfde voogd als van (F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> dezelfde voogd die (F) heeft aah (D) (D)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>(D) ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>(D) heel goede <em>speaks Farsi</em> (D) is heel goed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ik heb hem niet gezien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja een oude man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>je ken je kent ik weet niet ken je (n) goed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ken jij (F)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> (F)? nods no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> (F), een Afghaan, hij woont hier een jongen points at door</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ik bedoel zijn voogd heb ik niet gezien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja de voogd hij heeft niet gezien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>ah ja ja ma je kent (F) ja ja oke ma tis dus die [voogd]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>[ja ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>hij heet (D) en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>heel heel vriendelijke man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>ja vriendelijke man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>de tolk kent [hem ] [<em>speaks Farsi</em>] ik heb een aantal keer voor hem getolkt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>[<em>speaks Farsi</em>]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hij heeft jou ook aangenomen je hebt geluk
is hij een goeie persoon?
ja heel goeie persoon
oke
euhm hij komt vrijdag om drie uur dertig
om drie uur hij zal naar hier komen en ik zal ook voor u tolken
morgen
nee vrijdag
vrijdag ja ik weetnie (.)
euh op Victor Horta is dat jij op school zit he
jouw school is victor horta
nee
pronounces school name in French (de weg)
ivre ja
ah jea
(athénae royal de ivre) oui euh op kweetnie of da jullie in de namiddag les hebben
je had vandaag les namiddag
ja
mhm
tot hoe laat hebben jullie les de vrijdag
tot welk uur
drie uur tien na drie
tien na drie (. en hoe lang doe je er ongeveer over om naar hier te komen
hoe lang duurt van daar tot hier
ja
ongeveer vijfminuutig minuten
vijfminuutig zo
vijfminuutig minuten dus
[*speaks Farsi*]
[waarschijnlijk] (. zal je (2) net iets te laat zijn dan euhm
aaah
(2) voor het gesprek eeh voor (.) [vrijdag]

[ah jaa ]
zo we kunnen een beetje misschien later of is voor (xxx)

ja kzalt eens eerst eens vragen aan je voogd ook eeh
ja
en als da dan voor u ook past
doe maar vier uur voorbeeld
voor u past vier uur
ja nee voor mij is oke drie uur dertig maar als (xxx) komt
maar voor jou past vier uur ook
ook is goed ja
wel kzalt [vragen ]
[ik moet] twee uur hier ook tolken ergens anders thousand dertig (.)
adolf ja
ja niet
nee
in Brussel
[ja ]
dus] vier uur ook is beter voor mij ja
oke kzalt ook vragen aan de voogd dan ofdat om vier uur goed is dan is dat misschien goed dan kan je na school (.)
euh direct het gesprek eh
*speaks Farsi* we zullen de afspraak rond vier uur plaatsen dat is beter
ja dat is beter voor mij want ik moet van school naar hier komen
[ja als] ik kom hier bijna is vier

Second sequence: guitar class and art studio

ja (.) oke (.) ça va
euh ook nog iets anders (.) prdumdum euhm
waar heb ik da gelegd (2) ik heb eens gebeld naar de organisatie (.) waar dat jij ooit is bij gitaar bent gaan spelen
*speaks Farsi*
takes out paper
jea
*speaks [Farsi*]
acts out guitar playing
euhm prdudum jij mag (.)
ejou
points at paper
euhm (.) woensdagnamiddag
euh (.) nog eens terug gitaar gaan spelen
woensdagnamiddag
inds globa aroma
uhu
ja dus euh (.) de organisatie heet (.)
indicates something on paper
ja ik heb gezien

ja [bij (B B) he]

hij is een zwarte
da waar een zwarte afrikaan

ja wil je tis daar dat je nog eens wilt naartoe terug gaan he

je gaat weer naar daar

aah

euhm dus woensdag (.). om tien na drie (.).
euhm moet je daar zijn (.). en da duurt tot zes uur

tien na drie moet daar zijn tot zes uur

om te spelen of of

toe toe muziek te oefenen

om gitaar te spelen en te oefenen

das eigenlijk iedere woensdag

elke woensdag je mag gaan

ik weetnie of da je da weet zijn das in
de moutstraat zesentwintig (.). dat is
waar globa aroma (.). weet je het kantoor
zijn van globa aroma

weet jij waar de bureau van hen is

ja ja ik weet het waar het is, het is
dichtbij de asielcentrum ik ben al gegaan

hij zeg is dicht bij thier

is dichtbij euh tis tien minuutjes wandelen

op tien minuten

ja

weet je dat zijn

ik ben een keer geweest

ja aah *speaks Farsi*
één keer
ik heb een keer geweest
das hier nog een (.)
euhm blaadje met de uitleg kweetnie of da je da nodig hebt misschien alleszins hier staat ook woensdag om (.) tien na drie als ge wilt kun je da hebben euh
jij mag het hebben maar je moet om tien na drie daar zijn
woensdag
woensdag
ja iere kgaat nog keer
woensdag voila
woensdag ja
woensdag voila
euhm voor (.).
euhm (2) het tekenen euhm ja ik weet nie of da je nu als eens meegegaan bent met (R) ma ik weet nie praat je veel met (R)
(R)
jij praat met met hem (R)
met wie
ja euhm wel (.) zoals ik eens gezegd had
ook euh (.) hij hij weet een atelier zijn
hier in de buurt (.) een open atelier
waar je gewoon binnen kunt stappen en
waar dat je (.)
euh kan tekenen en er zijn daar ook
allemaal andere kunstenaars die daar
komen om te schilderen of te (.) tekenen
of wat ze doen euhm en daar kan je iedere
dag naartoe gaan (..) tot tien uur ’s
avonds euh dus da begint om twee uur ’s
middags dacht ik en da’s tot tien uur ’s
avonds dus na school kan je daar perfect
naartoe gaan als je daar zin in hebt
hij zei dat er een atelier is waar je mag
teken je mag naar daar vanaf twee uur
tot tien uur ’s avonds gaan is open
oké
waar is het
waar is het
| SW | euhm (.) wel (.) het probleem is da ikzelf het adres nie weet maar (R) kom je daarmee overeen of is da iemand waarmee je niet zo goed overeenkomt moet maar zeggen |
| IN | *speaks Farsi* hij zei je hebt goede relatie met (R)? |
| UM | *speaks Farsi* ja |
| SW | zie je tzitten om aan haar eens te vragen en niet zoeken als je zelf niet [zoekt he ]< |
| IN | [*speaks Farsi*] hij zei hij kent de adres maar hij kent het adres niet |
| UM | *speaks Farsi* ja maar hij heeft nooit iets aan mij gezegd |
| IN | hij heeft niks tegen mij gezegd |
| SW | ah nee ma euh durf jij het hem eens vragen (.) [om mee te gaan] |
| IN | [*speaks Farsi*] kan je van hem vragen |
| UM | *speaks Farsi* ja ik kan het hem vragen |
| SW | en als ik tis eigenlijk (T) (.). andere assistent (.). die da geregeld heeft |
| UM | *speaks Farsi* assistent (T) |
| SW | assistent (T) ja dus (.) ik weet het zelf niet maar als ik (T) zie ik denk dat hij morgen komt kan ik het ook eens vragen en kan ik jou morgenavond euhm (.). de de (.). weg (.). ale (.). de weguitleg geven |
| IN | [*speaks Farsi*] als je wil hij zei ik kan morgen jou tonen hoe kan je naar die plaats gaan mhm |
| UM | *speaks Farsi* met kaart |
| IN | met map bedoel je |
| SW | met map of (.) [gewoon zeggen ] |
| IN | [*speaks Farsi*] ja met de kaart of zo uitleggen |
| UM | *speaks Farsi* ja dat is beter |
| IN | *speaks Farsi* is beter dat hij het adres geeft of aan |
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|p{8cm}|}
\hline
Line | Role | Text | Notes |
\hline
146 | UM | *(R)*
\hline
147 | IN | *speaks Farsi*
voor mij is het geen verschil
\hline
148 | SW | ja (.) je ziet maar he ik euh kga t
sowieso (.) ik ga t sowieso geven als je
niet kan wachten kan je t ook altijd
vragen aan *(R) euh open atelier
\hline
149 | IN | *speaks Farsi*
op het einde zal ik het aan jou geven
\hline
\hline
| Line | Role | Text | Notes |
\hline
150 | SW | euh hoe gaat het op school
\hline
151 | IN | *speaks Farsi*
hoe zit de school
\hline
152 | UM | *speaks Farsi*
school is lastig en te ver
\hline
153 | IN | beetje ver
\hline
154 | SW | beetje veel (.)
tis int Frans allemaal zeker he
\hline
155 | IN | *speaks Farsi*
in Franse taal
\hline
156 | UM | jaa
\hline
157 | SW | begrijp je tal een beetje (.) het Frans
als de [leerkracht bezig is]
\hline
158 | IN | [*speaks Farsi*]
jij begrijpt Frans een beetje
\hline
159 | UM | *speaks Farsi*
nu een beetje
\hline
160 | IN | een beetje
\hline
161 | SW | mhm (.) ja (.) een klein beetje en als de
leerkracht aant praten is vooraan in de
klas begrijp je dan wat die zegt
\hline
162 | IN | *speaks Farsi*
als de leraar iets in de klas zegt kan je
dat begrijpen
\hline
163 | UM | *speaks Farsi*
veel natuurlijk niet maar ik kan het in
het algemeen begrijpen
\hline
164 | IN | de keren hij begrijpen niet alles maar
(.) een beetje die dingen ja
\hline
165 | SW | mhm
\hline
\hline
| Line | Role | Text | Notes |
\hline
166 | IN | *speaks Farsi*
en in je klas me (.) wie zit je daar
allemaal zijn da
\hline
167 | UM | *speaks Farsi*
met wie in de klas zit jij
\hline
168 | SW | de kleine ja
\hline
169 | UM | *(S)
\hline
\end{tabular}
SW ja ja
UM (S) (Am) (Al)
SW ja (Al) is daar ook en jullie zitten allemaal samen in één klas
UM jea (. ) yes
IN mhm
*speaks Farsi*
in een klas zitten
UM *speaks Farsi*
ja
IN *speaks Farsi*
(Al) uit Iran
UM na afgan nee van Afghanistan
IN Afgan ja
SW ja ( . ) oke euuh ma bon heb je tgevoel dat een beetje
vooruit gaat want dat eigenlijk
belangrijkste
IN *speaks Farsi*
hij zei dat is belangrijk dat je voelt je bent aan het leren
UM *speaks Farsi*
ja ik heb heel veel geleerd maar sommige
jongeren (Al) komen niet want het is te ver
IN mhm *speaks Farsi*
je wilt dat ze samen met u komen op school
UM *speaks Farsi*
ja maar wij willen graag dat de school een beetje dichtbij ons is want 's morgens als wij opstaan komen wij te laat op school
IN ja mhm
ja is een beetje ver en sommige kindjes zoals (Al) kom niet elke dag want is ver
MW mmh
IN en ja ik zou graag ergens dicht (. ) meer dichtbij
SW omdat een beetje ver is he
IN ja
SW ja tis hoeveel hoelang doe je er ongeveer over vijfenvijftig minuten
IN vijfenvijftig
IN vijfenvijftig minuten
SW vijfenvijftig minuten
IN [*speaks Farsi*]
het duurt vijfenvijftig minuten
UM [*speaks Farsi*]
ja we moeten eerst de trein nemen en dan via de metro
IN [maar der is geen] tram of bus
ja je=jullie gaan met een tram
we moeten eerst de tram nemen
en dan straks de metro nemen
maar ik denk met de metro zal gemakkelijker zijn, ook met metro zal vijfenvierentwintig minuten duren [met tram en trein is veel]
ja natuurlijk
ja het is in ever he ja
ma zie jij da zitten iedere dag
hij zei kan jij dat elke dag doen, wat denk jij
ja als het was hier dichtbij was beter (.)
i geen sommige ergens hier dichtbij ja maar der=der zitten in een Nederlandstalige school dichtbij maar de meeste Franstalige scholen zijn net iets verder ook allemaal
de scholen die dichtbij zijn Nederlandstalig
nee (E) spreekt Frans maar hij gaat naar Sint-Gillis he (E) en *speaks Farsi*
ja
euh
(M)
*speaks Farsi* (vriend)
ja
ma tis ook nie zo heel dichtbij he niet op wandelafstand
soit tdoet er niet toe (.)
dus tis wel een goeie school op zich dus tis wel de moeite om naar toe te gaan indicating end
aah de de school dat hij ga ↑ja
giving gesture:
Ist een goeie school (.) ben je

brings two hands
towards UM

*speaks Farsi*
wat denk je dat jouw school goede school is

UM
*speaks Farsi*
ja de school is een goede school maar ik heb net ingeschreven ik weet het niet

ja hij vindt ik denk zij school is goed (.) goede school maar ja ik ben nieuw ik weet nog niet euh

ja (.) ja kijk (.)
de bedoeling is nu alleszins van die school om het Frans aan te leren eeh en voornamelijk daar op te richten om 92rans te leren (.) en dan daarna zie je nog wat je kan doen (.) binnen de verschillende delen van het onderwijs ma nu ist voornamelijk belangrijk om Frans te leren
gesture
indicating a period

*speaks Farsi*
hij zei dat is belangrijk om nu de Franse taal goed te leren en dan ga je straks iets uitkiezen van wat ga je doen

en hoe sneller (.) da je het leert hoe sneller (.) da je een school dichterbij kan zoeken

*speaks Farsi*
hoe sneller je de Franse taal leert wij zullen een dichtbij school voor je vinden maar je moet op je taal concentreren das niet belangrijk dat de school te ver is van hier om zo snel Frans te leren praten

*speaks Farsi*
ja hij zei dat is belangrijk om nu de Franse taal goed te leren en dan ga je straks iets uitkiezen van wat ga je doen

hier de dinsdag en donderdag

*speaks Farsi*
dinsdag en donderdag is hier we hebben bijles ga je naar die bijlessen of niet

*soms ik ga daar*

[soms ja ]

*speaks Farsi*
sommige tijden ik ga naar die lessen

ja de periode dat was geweest ja ik was euh geweest

ja dus wel goeie hulp of

*speaks Farsi*
hebben je geholpen?

ja het helpt

*nods yes*

Fourth sequence: personal welfare and dreams

euhm

kvroeg mij lijk ook af euhm (.) kga

makes a lot of
gewoon (2) eeh tis natuurlijk altijd wa moeilijk om met een toulk te praten eeh omda we nie rechtstreeks kunnen praten ma kwou eigenlijk ook gewoon is me jou praten (.) om elkaar wa beter te leren kennen dus (.) kweetnie kga je gewoon wa vragen stellen euhm als je vragen hebt voor mij mag je ook altijd vragen stellen non

*speaks Farsi*

hij zei we zullen een aantal vragen stellen om elkaar beter te leren kennen je bent nieuw hier

240 IN

hij zei we zullen een aantal vragen stellen om elkaar beter te leren kennen je bent nieuw hier

241 UM

sounds of understanding

242 IN

ja

243 UM

oui

244 SW euh kweetnie (..) je (.).

je nu euh tleven in België je bent hier nu al enkele maanden (.).

euhm wa vind je van tleven in België ben je daar al wat gewoow aan geraakt ofeuh (.) om hier in Brussel te wonen

245 IN

hoe heeft gera…geraakt hier

246 SW neeneenee

247 IN [hoe hoe ]

248 SW [hij woont] nu al [enkele maanden hier in België]

249 IN

[ja en wat denk hij over ]

250 SW [wa denkt hij over over België]

is hij het al een beetje gewoow

251 IN

mhm

*speaks Farsi*

hij zei je bent hier een aantal maanden wat denk je over België

252 IN

mhm

*speaks Farsi*

hij zei je bent hier een aantal maanden wat denk je over België

253 UM Belgique

254 IN

*speaks Farsi*

ja

255 UM

*speaks Farsi*

ja da's goed de dienst is heel goed, maar eigenlijk ik heb geen enkele plaats gezien om te zeggen is dat goed of niet ik kan niet schatten of die plaats beter is of niet

256 IN

sounds of understanding

257 UM

*speaks Farsi*

maar tot en met nu is alles in orde heel goede mensen hun gedrag is heel goed niemand ik voel mij niet als buitenlander of die nieuw uit Afghanistan komt

258 IN

*speaks Farsi*

ja hier in asielcentrum of in de school?

259 UM

*speaks Farsi*
in het algemeen ook de leraren op de school en de assistenten zijn heel vriendelijk

ja ik ben eh nogal nieuw kwet niet veel maar ik zie (.). allemaal zijn tegen ons heel vriendelijk assistent en hier (.). in center school leraar allemaal zijn heel vriendelijk en ik voel mij niet buitenlander (.). en ik voel goed hier maar ik kan niet vergelijken hoe is hier met andere land want ik was niet geweest andere land maar ik voel goed hier

je voelt je goed hier (.). oke ma (.). is er je hebt heel lang in Teheran gewoond he

*speaks Farsi*
kom je uit Teheran?

Teheran ja ja

*kweenie euh hoe kijk je naar Teheran is da zo wa de plaats waar je tmeest thuis voelt of

*speaks Farsi*
waar was jij het beste thuis

*sounds of understanding* nods head

*speaks Farsi*
wat denk je over Teheran

*speaks Farsi*
Teheran of Iran nee, maar ik ben daar opgegroeid, ik heb heel veel mooie dingen daar het is een goede plaats maar de mensen daar zijn geen goede mensen

*speaks Farsi*
waarom

*speaks Farsi*
bijvoorbeeld hier mensen doen nooit iets om als buitenlander te beschouwen maar daar in Teheran ik voelde mij als Afghaan, nooit als Iraniër

*speaks Farsi*
maar jouw uiterlijk is niet meer Iraniër dan Afghaan

*speaks Farsi*
ja maar wanneer zij mijn identiteitskaart zien verandert hun gedrag 180 graden

aaah
ja Teheran ik ben opgegroeid en (.). ja ik mis ook soms en ik heb herinnering (.). daar

mhm
maar hier (.). ik voel minder discriminitie (.). dan daar

mhm
daar soms (. ) ik heb ook gevraagd je leek ook niet als Afghaan zij hij lijk ook misschien zoals Iraan zij

er is en hij zeg ja maar daar nog als zij bijvoorbeeld ik weet niet waar als zij ontdekken (. ) ik ben Afghaan zij zo it was de gedrag het was een beetje anders ja dus en das een heel groot verschil voor jou tussen Teheran en Brussel

*speaks Farsi* dans volgens jou het grote verschil tussen Teheran en Brussel

*speaks Farsi* ja heel veel

*speaks Farsi* ja hier is iets helemaal anders ze respecteren mensen meer

*speaks Farsi* het is nooit vergelijkbaar met Teheran

ja (. ) ik voel mij ik ben in andere wereld en euh (. ) ja hier is (. ) existentiel humanity (. ) is meer (. ) ik voel het meer dan daar en ja ik kan niet vergelijken

ma (. ) Teheran is ook wel een heel grote stad he denk ik (. ) Teheran

*speaks Farsi* hij vraagt Teheran is ook een heel grote stad

*speaks Farsi* ja Teheran is een grote en ontwikkelde stad

*speaks Farsi* maar wij waren niet in centrum van Teheran zoals (Tadjerish) wij waren dichtbij (Hasanabad) en (Com) daar is meestal een dorpelijke wijken, ik was in (Sharereee)

uhu mhm ik was niet euh ja we woonden niet in Teheran ik weet ze zijn ook goede mensen of ze zijn ook goede mensen met ontwikkel ontwikkel

uhu mhm maar wij was ja hm ergens in een ehm (. ) deeltje ja en en (. ) arme plek ja regio van in (Sharereee) die noem (Sharereee) das de naam van de regio
hm ja dat is arm normaal waar arme mensen
wonen en daar meestal met dorpen mensen
dorpen en ah of

ja dus je bent eigenlijk niet gewoon om
in een stad te wonen

nee nee
*speaks Farsi*
je was niet in de stad

*speaks Farsi*
nee het was niet in de stad

het was in een stukje ver van Teheran en
veel (xxx)

dus eigenlijk woonde je niet in een grote
stad [dus das ook ]

je hebt niet in een grote stad gewoond

*speaks Farsi*
nee (Hasanabad) was een dorp

het was eh een dorp (Hasanabad) noemde
zijne

*speaks Farsi*
het was zoals een dorp

ja ja dat is bijna zoals [een dorp ]

*speaks Farsi*
maar groter dan dorpen hier

maar is groot is niet zoals de dorp hier
is groter dan hier

mhm
dorp

vind je dat een grote verandering om nu
in een grote stad te wonen

*gahhh*
*speaks Farsi*
Brussel is de hart van Azië, is dat
juist?

*speaks Farsi*
nee het hart van Europa

*speaks Farsi*
Europa

*speaks Farsi*
ja

*speaks Farsi*
een heel grote stad

is eh ja Brussel is is groot en ook is
hart van (. ) Europa eh door de commission

mhm
een europeén commissariat

*gahhh*
*speaks Farsi*
dingen mij heeft blij gemaakt is ik was
vroeger in mijn dromen dat ik ben naar
hier gekomen

mhm eeh wat make maak mij euh blij dat
ik denk ik kan euh ja euhm aanraken de droom dat ik heb voor toekomst

ja (.)
en welke droom isda precies hoe zie jij jouw droom voor je

wat waren jouw andere dromen

ik wil graag een zanger worden en ik wil viool en piano leren spelen

je kon dat ook in Teheran leren spelen

nee ik kan dat niet

waarom

tevuur

en viool te leren en piano te leren en ik heb gevraagd kan deze dingen ook in Iran ook doen en hij zeg nee daar is heel heel duur wij hadden niet financiële ja de middelen ervoor euh (.).

ma dus je je gitaar kan je al een beetje spelen kheb je hier ook al keer horen zingen

hij zei ik heb gezien dat je gitaar speelde

ja dat is juist

je hebt wel alle jongens meegekregen eh ze waren allemaal aan het] luisteren

je hebt al een gitaarles gehad

twee drie keer bij iemand klas gehad die kon gitaar spelen

ja mhm

in Iran

ik heb gevraagd (xxx) gitaar heb je geleerd en zeg al een twee drie keer bij iemand in Iran
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>347</th>
<th>SW</th>
<th>ja</th>
<th>acts out guitar playing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>348</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja geleerd (.) en dan hij heeft ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>349</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>verder zelf ah je hebt veel zelf geleerd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> dan ben je beginnen oefenen alleen?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ja ik heb via de clip van youtube</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>352</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja van youtube en dinge ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>353</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>ah jaja oke da heeft wel geholpen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>354</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>haha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>euhm (. ) dus ja kweetnie tis natuurlijk maar een klein dingetje eh tis niet de de grote les direct euhm tis al een eerste manier om misschien bezig te blijven met muziek euhm we gaan ook kijken voor die gitaar hier te herstellen euhm ( . ) en misschien ja nu ist belangrijk dat je eerst euhm je Frans beter wordt euhm ( . ) maar ( . ) euh als dat je droom is ( . ) dan euhm ( . ) kan je met je voogd ook later kijken of dat je misschien ook iets is wa da je in school je op wil richten op muziek en kunst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>356</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja <em>speaks Farsi</em> hij zei dat nu is het belangrijk om de Franse taal goed te leren als jij wilt jouw dromen waarmaken en dan wij kunnen met jouw voogd praten als jij echt een talent hebt om u naar een kunstschool te kunnen inschrijven je kan daar alles leren</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>357</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td>mhm <em>speaks Farsi</em> goed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>358</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja is goed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>359</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>ah en euhm nu da je ook voogd hebt aangesteld eh das ook wel belangrijk euhm (2) je hebt nu een voogd da wilt ook zeggen dat je voogd een ( . ) euhm een afspraak gaat maken bij dienst vreemdelingenzaken terug waar je geweest bent waar je je vingerafdruk gegeven hebt euhm voor je eerste interview in de komende tijd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>mhm <em>speaks Farsi</em> hij zei jouw voogd moet telefoneren naar DVZ , de plaats waar de buitenlanders gaan aanmelden om te zien wanneer je mag gaan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fifth sequence: family

voor jouw interview te maken met jouw voogd

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>362</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>sounds of understanding</em></td>
<td>nods head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>363</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>mhm euhm (.) kweetnie (.) kvroeg mij eigenlijk ook nog af euh heb je heb je eigenlijk nog veel contact met je familie nu [op deze moment]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>je hebt contact met jouw familie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>365</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> een of twee keer heb ik naar hen gebeld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>366</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>een keer twee keer ik heb gebeld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>367</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>euh sinds dat je in Belgie bent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>368</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> wanneer je in Belgie bent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>369</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>das nie zo heel veel he</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> dat is niet veel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ja dat is juist ja ik kan niet veel praten want het is te duur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>uhu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> en ik krijg hier niet veel geld</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>is duur ik kan niet altijd bellen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>377</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>eja (.) oke en euh ze zijn nu eigenlijk ook (.) zij zijn terug in Afghanistan eh op dit moment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ze zijn naar Afghanistan gegaan?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>379</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>380</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>ja mhm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>381</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>en (.) hoe hoe gaat het met hen want ze hebben uiteindelijk ook lang in Iran gewoond ze zijn nu terug in Afghanistan (.) kunnen ze zich wat terug settelen in Afghanistan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>382</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ze zijn terug naar Afghanistan gegaan, ze kunnen daar blijven?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>383</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> nee mijn moeder niet, maar ze hebben wel kunnen geld verzamelen om mij naar hier door te sturen ze hebben gezegd aan mij jij mag gaan we hebben momenteel geen geld meer we zullen terugkeren naar Iran of, maar als jij je verblijfsdocumenten hebt kunnen krijgen jij kan ons misschien oproepen of terug naar hier brengen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mijn vader heeft ook problemen en hij kan niet daar te lang blijven

in Afghanistan?

Zij kunnen niet het is voorlopig zijn daar zij kunnen niet altijd daar blijven (.) maar zij hebben een beetje ja geld voor mijn (xxx) gemaakt om ik kan reizen naar hier te komen bij Europa (.) maar misschien later ze ga terug naar Iran of misschien als ik hen ja papier krijgen misschien ik kan hen uitnodigen ofzo

euh kweetnie of dak daar informatie over moet geven over de mogelijkheid voor de familie om naar hier te komen = da wilt eigenlijk zeggen dat jij zelf eerst positief moet hebben euhm en als je positief krijgt voor je achttiende verjaardag (.) euhm (.) kan je (.) een aanvraag doen om je ouders naar hier te laten komen euhm dan is da ook wel nog eens een proces dat ook wel een lange tijd kan duren (.)

maar tis vooral belangrijk dat de aanvraag kan gebeuren voor je achttiende verjaardag

zo hij moet wachten tot als hij wordt achttien

nee neenee hij moet eerst positief krijgen

ja

heeft hij positief (.)

mhm

op zijn interview dus een erkend vluchteling

mhm

dan kan hij een aanvraag doen om zijn ouders naar [hier te laten komen]

[ah ja oke ]

maar enkel als hij op dat moment nog onder de achttien jaar is

ah ja ah ja

hij zei je moet eerst positief krijgen en erkend als vluchteling als het gebeurt als jij nog minderjarig bent, minder dan achttien jaar, jij kan hen naar hier brengen, hoe oud ben je nu?

*speaks Farsi*

*speaks Farsi*
Ja nu is hij zestien hij is zestien

Normaler wijze ligt de periode van je beslissing (.) euhm gaat voor je achtstiende verjaardag zijn he euhm dus eeh tazal tkan nog altijd tkan nog even duren eh ma je bent ook nog geen achtstien jaar dus we hebben nog tijd euhm en dan kunnen we de aanvraag doen euhm dan kan het ook nog eens een lange tijd duren voor alle dat euhm (.) dat zij effectief naar België kunnen komen maar ne keer da je positief hebt is da wel iets waar we (.rond kunnen werken (.)) dus als je positief hebt can je daar ook aan denken van (.i ik wil familiehereniging doen

Hij zei dat als je jouw documenten hebt kunnen krijgen als het gebeurt voordat je achtstien jaar bent je mag jouw vader en moeder naar hier brengen, het zal lang duren, maar je hebt nog tijd je bent nog jong

Ma dus nu (.) ons eerst richten op de (.positiwe beslissing van jou das nu belangrijkste

Nu is het belangrijk om een positieve beslissing te krijgen

Aah

Kaat ons daarop hopen he ja

Ja (. inshAllah

Laughs

InshAllah tis da eh

All three laughing

Euhm nu oke (.) kweetnie of er nog zaken zijn da je aan mij wil vragen euh dingen (.) dater hier da je nog nodig zou hebben dingen die hier mislopen of (. dingen die goed lopen misschien

*speaks Farsi*

Wil jij iets zeggen aan mij over hier als het niet goed is

*speaks Farsi*

Ja, ik heb nu geen broek, ik heb geen kledij, ik heb het gevraagd en ze zeiden tegen mij dat ik moet wachten
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>415</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>[uhu aha       ] hij heeft niet genoeg euh broek looks at pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>416</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>mhm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>417</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>pyjama en ook euh jean (.) heeft geen jean altijd moe ze zeggen wachten wachten points at window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>418</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>ben je al naar de vestiaire geweest hier with large arm movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>419</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ben je al naar de vestiaire geweest hier nods yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>420</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> ben je al naar de vestiaire geweest hier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>421</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td>nah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>422</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>aah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>423</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>je bent nog nooit naar de vestiaire geweest hier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>424</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> hier is een winkel voor kledij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>425</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td>[nah       ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>426</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>[<em>speaks Farsi</em>] je moet naar daar gaan vestiaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>427</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>428</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>vestiaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>429</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>de vestiaire een klerenshop hier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>430</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> er is hier een kledingshop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>431</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td>[nah       ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>432</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>hier in het klein kasteeltje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>433</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> je bent nog niet geweest?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>434</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>435</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>nee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>436</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>nee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>437</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>oke euhm (.) tis geen belofte want tis een probleem da heel veel jongens hebben we hebben eigenlijk (.) veel te weinig kleren voor iedereen (.) euh k zal vragen dat jij woensdagnamiddag dan misschien nog (.) eeh je moet om (.) kwart na drie daar zijn dus misschien dan om twee uur of zo eens gaan naar de klerenshop hier voor een broek tis geen garantie dat er een zal liggen die jouw maat is (.) maar we kunnen eens gaan kijken points at paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>438</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em> hoe kan ik om twee uur want ik heb school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


| 439 | IN | aah hij hij heeft school hoe kan gaan naar e school |
| 440 | SW | de woensdagnamiddag (.) heb je normaal geen school |
| 441 | IN *speaks Farsi* | woensdag |
| 442 | UM *speaks Farsi* | woensdag ben ik vroeg gedaan met school |
| 443 | IN *speaks Farsi* | woensdag |
| 444 | SW | ja ja |
| 445 | IN *speaks Farsi* | als je terug bent moet je naar de kledijwinkel gaan |
| 446 | UM | aah |
| 447 | IN | ja |
| 448 | SW | ja oke (.) |
| 449 | IN *speaks Farsi* | kijken of ze wel broeken hebben, maar hij kan het niet garanderen |
| 450 | SW | [anders ] |
| 451 | IN *speaks Farsi* | zie m ook gezegd dat heeft wel euh kleren |
| 452 | SW | kleren |
| 453 | IN (klele) | (klele) |
| 454 | SW | ja ja inderdaad |
| 455 | IN *speaks Farsi* | hij zei wel zullen straks naar boven gaan als er daar |
| 456 | SW | [achter da we met N] gesproken hebben |
| 457 | IN *speaks Farsi* | broeken liggen of kledij |

**Seventh sequence: guitars**

| 458 | UM *speaks Farsi* | kunnen ze niet een gitaar kopen en ik zal dat dan afbetalen met mijn geld |
| 459 | IN | hmm hij wil ja en hij wil graag (.) een gitaar hebben maar ik zeg misschien kan jullie voor mij kopen en dan van mijn geld euh zak euh |
| 460 | SW | afgaat |
| 461 | IN | ja |
| 462 | SW | we hebben hier een gitaar maar het probleem is dat onze snaren kapot zijn |
| 463 | IN | uhu |
| 464 | SW | en we willen nu eigenlijk voornamelijk de snaren veranderen (.) |
euhm zodat als er weer goeie snaren
ophlingen dan kan jij altijd spelen zolang
als jij hier bent euhm en
465  IN  "*speaks Farsi*
acts out changing
strings
466  UM  "*speaks Farsi*
throws hand in
the air above
beetje kapot
467  IN  is is kapot deze gitaar
468  SW  ja ja awel ma [we willen kijken voor
nieuwe snaren en voor de gitaar te laten
vermaken ]
469  IN  [*speaks Farsi*  
we willen het herstellen
470  IN  mhm
471  UM  "*speaks Farsi*
zeg maar ik heb vier gitaren in de kelder
gezien
472  IN  "*speaks Farsi*
473  UM  "*speaks Farsi*
Pt.2
474  IN  hij heeft euh in de kelder vier een
gitaar gezien
475  UM  "*speaks Farsi*
vier gitaren
476  SW  ja maar (. ) tprobleem is dat de snaren
kapot zijn
477  IN  "*speaks Farsi*
alle vier zijn kapot
478  UM  "*speaks Farsi*
479  SW  en we willen kijken voor nieuwe snaren
[eerst oke ]
480  IN  [*speaks Farsi*]
rummaging through
bag
481  SW  maar tis effectief iets waar da wij mee
bezigt zijn om
[te kijken voor een gitaar voor jou]
482  IN  [*speaks Farsi*  
hij zei je hebt de vorige keer heel mooi
gitaar gespeeld wij willen dat weer horen
483  UM  "*speaks Farsi*
oke dat is goed
484  SW  ja oke
485  UM  yes
486  SW  ça va (. ) want alé (. ) je had de vorige
keer zo mooi gespeeld ( .)
dus wij willen ook wel da jij [nog verder
can spelen]
487  IN  [*speaks
Farsi*  
we zijn ze aan het voorbereiden

Eight sequence: camp

488  UM  "*speaks Farsi*  
points at window
er staat iets geschreven dat er een programma is over hiphop kan je dat voor mij uitleggen.

IN (hiphop)

UM *speaks Farsi*
ja ik begrijp het niet goed we kunnen daar zingen.

IN der is een activiteit en we kunnen daar zingen (.).
hij wil ook een (xxx)

SW hiphop of wa zeg je
IN ja hij zeg hiphop

UM *speaks Farsi*
het is een papier dat daar is

IN der is een papier hangen daar

SW hier aan de hier in CADE ja
IN ja

UM ja

IN ja

SW voor activiteit
IN ja je kan zingen daar

SW ja(.) en jij wil graag er naartoe gaan shows hand to UM

IN *speaks Farsi*
jij wil naar ginder gaan

UM *speaks Farsi*
ja

IN ja

SW en heb je tal gevraagd aan (T) en (Ma)
IN *speaks Farsi*
heb je het aan T gevraagd

UM *speaks Farsi*
ja ik heb het gevraagd maar ik begrijp niet goed wat ze zegt

IN ik versta niet ik heb gezegd maar ik versta niet wat ze zeggen(.) wat ze antwoorden

SW wel(.) ik ga gewoon vlug een keer gaan vragen want ik weet niet welk papier je bedoelt >gaat vlug neeker vragen en dan kan ik het (xxx)<

IN *speaks Farsi*
ig ga nu vragen en terugkeren

SW leaves room from 1’33 till 2’49, UM and IN talk

IN het is een goede voogd

UM ik heb hem nooit gezien

IN Vrijdag zal je hem zien, het is een oude man, hij is op pensioen, het is een goede man, maar zij hebben geen recht om je financieel te helpen, maar hij helpt je met andere dingen, bijvoorbeeld een keer wilde hij (F) naar een Afghaans restaurant gaan maar we hebben het niet gevonden, en we willen naar een Iraans restaurant gaan maar het was gesloten.
| 514 | UM | Hij is een heel goede persoon. |
| 515 | IN | wat is precies zijn werk van een voogd? |
| 516 | UM | hij is zoals jouw vader en moeder want hij bent minder dan achttien jaar, heel goed dat je naar hier bent gekomen, heb je een broer en zus? |
| 517 | IN | ik heb een kleine zus, in Iran wilt er niemand een kindje hebben |
| 518 | UM | van welke provincie van Afghanistan ben jij? |
| 519 | IN | wat is precies zijn werk van een voogd? |
| 520 | UM | ik ben van (Gazni) |
| 521 | IN | hoelang zijn jouw vader en moeder in Iran? |
| 522 | UM | het was vanaf 1370 |
| 523 | SW | dus (. ) euhm (. ) tis bijna vakantie ( . ) holds up two fingers |
| 524 | IN | [ *speaks Farsi * ] hij zei na twee weken zal de vakantie beginnen holds up two fingers |
| 525 | UM | aaah joa |
| 526 | SW | ja ja euhm volgende week nog niet maar volgende week woensdag is er een informatie ( . ) euh dag de woensdagnamiddag na school |
| 527 | IN | mhm |
| 528 | SW | euh en dan zal er informatie gegeven worden euh over een kamp dat plaats zal vinden de tweede week van die ( . ) paasvakantie en das een hele week mhm |
| 529 | IN | dat je gaat oefenen voor euhm hiphop teksten te doen maar ook euh instrumentaal alles er rond acts out guitar playing |
| 530 | SW | aah tis zo |
| 531 | IN | aaah tis zo |
| 532 | SW | euh en ook dansen dances |
| 533 | IN | *laughs* severs waving movements and acts out playing guitar |
| 534 | UM | *laughs* |
| 535 | IN | maar dus volgende week woensdag eerst een infomoment ( . ) volgende week woensdag kan je je inschrijven zestien maart |
volgende week zestien maart moet je jouw naam inschrijven, volgende week woensdag moet je jouw naam inschrijven, volgende week woensdag, ja, is met de assistent ja in (xxx), dus ja zestien maart komt er iemand naar hier, [*speaks Farsi* ] iemand komt naar hier uitleg geven, ja, om hoe laat woensdag hij ga naar [informatie geven] voor het exacte uur maar tis niet nu woensdag maar de woensdag erna, [*speaks Farsi* ] niet volgende week maar de week daarna, iemand komt naar hier, oouh en dan moe je ook nog een keer oren openhouden en herinneren dat de woensdagnamiddag (.), zestien maart moet je hier zijn voor in te schrijven (.) voor hiphop, mhm [*speaks Farsi* ] volgende week zal iemand komen die uitleg zal geven je moet jouw naam inschrijven, oke, oke, da ga wel (.) das wel een leuk iets he

Ninth sequence: fine and closing up conversation

*speaks Farsi* wanneer ik hier was in België, ik was nieuw, ik heb een boete gekregen, in de tram? ja, hij heeft een boete gekregen in tram, ja we hebben er nog altijd niets extra over gehoord der is een brief gestuurd geweest voor te vragen voor vermindering (.) maar we hebben er nog geen extra info gehad over, [*speaks Farsi* ] hij zei we hebben wel gevraagd om die boete te kunnen verminderen maar we hebben nog altijd geen antwoord gekregen jullie gaan regelen he, tis die brief da je gegeven hebt he, [*speaks Farsi* ]
<p>| 562 | UM | de brief je hebt aan hem gegeven | SW |
| 563 | IN | <em>speaks Farsi</em> | ja |
| 564 | SW | ah ja ja | nu zit in (xxx) |
| 565 | IN | nu wachten wij op antwoord daarvan | ja |
| 566 | UM | <em>speaks Farsi</em> | wij wachten op antwoord |
| 567 | IN | <em>speaks Farsi</em> | je moet wachten |
| 568 | SW | ja moeten nu gewoon wachten tegen dat | wij wachten op antwoord |
| 569 | IN | <em>speaks Farsi</em> | wij wachten | non-specific gestures |
| 570 | UM | <em>speaks Farsi</em> | ja oke |
| 571 | SW | oke | |
| 572 | IN | ja | |
| 573 | UM | yes | |
| 574 | SW | ça va | |
| 575 | IN | [<em>speaks Farsi</em>] | |
| 576 | UM | yes | oui |
| 577 | SW | kga efkes alles nog omcirkelen wa ik moet | |
| 578 | IN | <em>speaks Farsi</em> | |
| 579 | UM | aaah | |
| 580 | IN | aha | |
| 581 | SW | oke | |
| 582 | UM | oke | |
| 583 | SW | ça va | |
| 584 | UM | ça va | |
| 585 | SW | vrijdag komt je voogd dan | |
| 586 | IN | <em>speaks Farsi</em> | |
| 587 | UM | <em>speaks Farsi</em> | |
| 588 | IN | <em>speaks Farsi</em> | |
| 589 | UM | yes | |
| 590 | SW | ça va | |
| 591 | UM | ça va | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>592</th>
<th>IN</th>
<th><em>speaks Farsi</em></th>
<th>SW and UM shake hands, UM gets up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>593</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>ga je naar boven</td>
<td>points up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>594</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>wil je naar boven?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>595</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>596</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>kan je (N) naar hier laten komen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>597</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>zeg aan (N) om te komen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>598</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>dankuwel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>599</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td>graag gedaan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>UM</td>
<td><em>speaks Farsi</em></td>
<td>Tot ziens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>