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Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities

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Translanguaging business: Unpredictability and precarity in superdiverse inner city Leeds

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Executive Summary

The Leeds business case study focuses on Klára, a Czech-speaking community interpreter and her work with advocates providing interpreting services on an hourly-paid basis for a number of organizations. Klára's business is her interpreting work with advocates who are primarily concerned with assisting Czech and Slovak Roma migrants in Leeds with the problems they face with life in a new country, principally the complex business of claiming benefits. Our work with Klára allows an insight into the lives of these new migrants, living in precarious conditions, on the borderline between low pay employment and benefit claiming. We examine in detail the role of the different languages in these migrants' interpreter-mediated interactions. We examine translanguaging in four different areas: English/Czech/Slovak interlingual translanguaging, intralingual translanguaging in English, intralingual translanguaging in Czech and Slovak, and interdiscursive translanguaging. Our study extends into Klára's home life, where we see that Klára works hard to ensure that her children have access to the Czech language. We also examine her electronically-mediated communication, much of which exemplifies the blurring of boundaries between work and social interaction in online communication. The study took place in the Leeds suburb of Harehills. In the process of collecting data with Klára, we gained an insight into the lives of new migrants, living in precarious conditions, on the borderline between low pay employment and benefit claiming. We examine in detail the role of the different languages in these migrants' interpreter-mediated interactions, using the notion of translanguaging. Klára's work as a community interpreter means that language is crucially her business. Our study also extends into Klára's home life, and we see that Klára also makes language her business there, working to ensure that her children have regular and consistent access to the Czech language.

This report comprises eight sections overall. Following this introduction we provide background on the Roma in Leeds, the population who Klára has most contact with in her professional life. In Section 3 we discuss the foundational literature relevant to our study: superdiversity and neoliberalism; the employment and also exploitation characteristic in early stage migration; how linguistic ethnography can afford rich insights that it does into the events and practices we observe; a focus on the interpreting event from a literacy studies perspective; the site of interpreting as a

contact zone; translanguaging at work and at home; and the use of social media in superdiverse multilingual environments. Section 4 on methodology details our overall approach, gives an overview of data collection, and describes the individual data sets, and how our analysis enables them to work in combination. The two central analysis sections (5 and 6) cover respectively interaction at work and translanguaging in the home, and we include a short section (7) on mediated discourse which straddles the work/life boundary.

1. Introducing Klára, our Key Participant

Klára, our Key Participant in the Business Phase project, is from the Czech Republic. She has lived in several countries, before settling down in Leeds about fifteen years ago, where she now lives with her husband and three children. Klára's native tongue is Czech; she is also fluent in English and German and has some understanding of Punjabi, spoken by her husband and his side of the family.

Klára was born in Teplice, a small spa town near the Czech border with Germany. Her mother comes from a Jewish-heritage family from Prague, her father grew up on a farm in Southern Bohemia, which was later confiscated by the Communist government. Klára's parents moved together to Teplice after her father was offered a job there. Today, both of her parents are retired, but still very active. Klára's mother, who used to work as a teacher of mathematics at the Charles University in Prague and at high schools, still offers consultations, and her father works in a company run by his nephew, where he manages projects for him. Klára also has two brothers and three sisters; most of whom live in Prague.

Klára seems to have inherited the strong work ethic of her parents. She herself started working at the age of fourteen, when she would spend the summers doing whatever jobs she could get. She said, "everyone was on holidays, I wanted to earn some money." Klára's independent spirit manifested itself fully after she finished high school, when she went to London to work as an au-pair in 1994. In those days, travelling abroad was still relatively difficult for Czech citizens, and working as au-pairs was one of the few possibilities available. Klára stayed with the host family for one year, then she worked in pubs and bars.

Klára then returned for a short time to the Czech Republic, where she applied to study politics and humanities at the University, but changed her mind and decided to travel to the USA instead. As she says, in those days, the prospect of staying in the Czech Republic for the next five years was much less attractive than that of going to New York. After the US, Klára lived in London for another two years, followed by a short period of time in Germany, motivated by her wish to get to know a new country and practise her German. She then decided to go back to the UK, this time to Leeds, where she settled down with her now-husband and where her first daughter Txxx was born.

While at home with the baby, Klára completed a child-minding course and in the following three years she took the Clinical Language Sciences (Speech and Language Therapy) course at Leeds Metropolitan University (now Leeds Beckett). At this time, Klára had her second daughter, Rxxx, after which she started working for the NHS. She spent about 4 years in this job, during which time her son Axxx was born.

Klára started feeling that the full-time position at the NHS wasn't allowing her to be with her family as much as she would like to, and began to look for an alternative. In May 2011, she took up a training course for interpreters organized by the West Yorkshire Police, where she met people working as interpreters. Klára enquired about demand for interpreters and found out that there was a shortage of interpreters working with Czech and Slovak language. She registered with a few interpreting agencies and soon after that left her full-time position. She told us she was busy from her first day, working for Leeds City Council and the NHS, and she is still receiving a high volume of assignments.

We had the chance to observe Klára during her assignments for one of the Harehills-based charities as well as 'Welcome Group' sessions, organized by Leeds City Council and designated for the Roma community living in the area. These sessions were running for the whole day, from the morning until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, during which Klára and the advocate would attend to about 10 - 12 people. Klára was interpreting for both Czech and Slovak clients, using her Czech language and her understanding of the Slovak language. We also realized that Klára was using more than her language skills to ensure a smooth communication with the clients – gestures, empathy and her knowledge of Roma culture.

Through our domestic recordings we have also learnt about Klára's family, and how they are influenced by Czech, British and Indian cultural heritage, through her husband. This is also reflected in the languages used in the household.

2. Background: The Roma in Leeds

During our observations of Klára's work in Harehills, we realized that the majority of the Czechs and Slovaks living in the area are of the Roma ethnicity. Through Klára we started to learn more about the lives of this community and the issues they face. Being a recent migrant community, experiences from their countries of origin still have a great impact on their way of living, and we maintain that understanding their position in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia greatly informs understanding of their situation in the UK.

The Roma in the Czech Republic and Slovakia

The Roma are present in varying numbers in practically all European countries, from Greece to Finland, with total numbers estimated between 7 and 9 million in 2003 (Roma in the Czech Republic, n.d.). There are around 250,000 Roma in the Czech Republic, about 2.6% of the population. In Slovakia the figure is higher: Roma make up around 9.3% of the population, between 480,000 and 520,000 people. In both countries, this minority experiences unequal treatment on several levels. The first is education: in the Czech Republic, about 80% of Roma children are sent to special schools designated for children with learning difficulties and disabilities. This hinders their access to higher education, resulting in fewer years spent in education overall in comparison with the non-Roma population. Education is linked to employment and the potential to find work, and it is estimated that two out of three Czech Roma are unemployed (Young 1999). Another factor contributing to high unemployment is discrimination from employers, who often refuse to employ them. The majority of Roma in the Czech Republic and Slovakia therefore depend on the welfare system.

Few Roma in Eastern Europe own their homes, many depending on renting from landlords, who tend to overcharge them for properties that often do not meet acceptable standards. Not surprisingly, given their desperate situation, some Roma get involved in criminal activity, which in some cases has the form of organized crime, an example being prostitution.

The general attitude of Czech and Slovak society towards the Roma is hostile, the common view being that they are lazy, they prefer to live on benefits rather than

working and they are criminals. Political and media discourse align with public opinion in this respect and the press and politicians do not hesitate to present the Roma in this way, creating a vicious circle. Unsurprisingly the Roma are also the target of right-wing extremist groups. Although racially-motivated crime receives a higher sentence than other types of crime in Czech law, offenders are rarely prosecuted.

It cannot be said that the Czech government has not designed any policies to improve the situation; however, these are mostly inadequate and ineffective. There have also been numerous activities by NGOs, activist groups and individuals trying to change the negative perception of the Roma, but still, discrimination is deeply rooted and widespread in the Czech society, and until racism starts being recognised and effectively prosecuted, the attitude towards the Roma will not improve.

In Slovakia, the problems the Roma face are similar. The situation is different in that there are significantly higher numbers of Roma. This is despite the large-scale migration of Slovakian Roma to the Czech Republic after 1945, when one in three Slovak Roma are estimated to have emigrated to the Czech Republic. Those remaining in Slovakia often live in isolated, poor rural settlements and suffer an extremely precarious housing situation: sanitation and electricity is often non-existent in these settlements. This type of segregated rural settlement is not found in the Czech Republic, where, in spatial terms, the Roma are more integrated in the society (Young 1999).

Czech and Slovak immigration in the UK

Contrary to popular perception, not all Roma are nomadic. Slovakian and Hungarian Roma, for example, have a long documented history of sedentarisation (Kenrick 2007). Yet given the social inequalities that they face, as well as the nomadic roots of some of them, the Roma have stronger motives to leave their Eastern European home countries than many others in the population. However, large-scale Roma emigration only started after 2004, when the Czech Republic, Slovakia and other Eastern and Central European countries joined the EU in May 2004. Before that, in the Cold War years until 1989 migration from the Eastern and Central Europe to the West was very limited. After the transition to democracy in 1989, the movement of Czech citizens to the UK was restricted by EU immigration policies. Even so, there was still a small-scale exodus from

the Czech Republic and Slovakia not only to the UK, but also other countries such as Canada. The movement was most prominent in years 1997 and 1998, when large groups of Czech and Slovak Roma started applying for visas in Canada and UK, some claiming asylum as persecuted refugees.

The accession of the Czech Republic, Slovakia and other Eastern and Central European countries to the EU in May 2004 was a significant factor for the increase of immigration from these countries into the UK. Due to the lack of restrictions on movement of the citizens of these countries, the current exact number of people on the move is not known.

Classifications of Czech and Slovak Roma

The Roma – both in the Czech/Slovak Republic and in other countries – are far from being a homogeneous group. They do not follow common traditions or value systems, and speak a range of varieties of the Romani language, which are not necessarily mutually intelligible.

Roma in the Czech Republic are commonly classified into six groups. The most numerous are the Slovak Roma (about 75%), followed by Vlax Romani. Numerically the third group are the Hungarian Roma, followed by the Czech Roma, German Roma and Moravian Roma. All groups are still to a greater or lesser extent influenced by the beliefs and social norms their ancestors brought from India.

Language-wise, the most widespread variety is Slovakian Romani, spoken by 80% of the Slovak Roma in the Czech Republic, followed by the dialect of the Vlax Romani, which shares some characteristics with the dialects of the Romani from the Balkan Peninsula, and is not necessarily comprehensible to speakers of Slovakian Romani (Kadlec 2010). The Romani way of speaking Czech or Slovak can serve as group marker: some features are recognisable from Romani (such as grammatical structures, vocabulary, stress and intonation patterns). Such features can be considered as indicative of an ethnically-marked 'Roma ethnolect' (Borkovcova 2007).

The Czech/ Slovak/ Roma identity

The perception of ethnic identity is of course subjective and personal, especially when issues of racial discrimination are involved. In the Czech Republic, the lives of the Roma and the non-Roma appear to run parallel, without much mutual interaction. This is a consequence of the virtual separation of the Roma and the non-Roma in education and in the job market. In an interview our Key Participant Klára once observed: "I never talked to a Roma person to such an extent when I was in Czech." She then recalled an incident that occurred to her and her brother when she was six, involving an altercation with some Roma children, but as she says, "that's the closest I ever got to them." Klára actually comes from a town with a large Roma community; still, the only time she had any contact with them was when she was a child. Her experience is a typical example of the general lack of contact between the Roma and the non-Roma.

For Klára, the situation changed once she was in the UK, especially after she started working as an interpreter. Klára has the education background and language skills required for her current post, and it should come as no surprise that, given the qualifications required for the role, all four Czech interpreters working for Leeds City Council are non-Roma, whereas the vast majority of the clients are Roma. It is however ironic that only in the UK did Klára learn about the life of the people who grew up and lived side-by-side with her in the same country, and in some cases even in the same town.

Amongst most Czechs and Slovaks, discrimination suffered by the Roma is a very delicate topic. The non-Roma may either be prejudiced against the Roma, or they may feel embarrassed about the situation in their country. The conversation below, reported by JH in her field notes, would probably not have taken place had the participants been in the Czech Republic:

(...) it was a very illuminating conversation and I am happy that he [Lxxx, a Roma volunteer at one of the research sites] was so open towards us, although it was not always pleasant - 'you know that Czechs do not tolerate minorities'. He was speaking both as one of us ('the only time I speak Czech is with you two' -

referring to myself and Klára) and as not one of us ('you know that Czechs do not tolerate minorities').

The above example also illustrates that Lxxx, the Roma volunteer, identifies himself both as Czech and Roma. Direct questions relating to Roma ethnicity are a taboo in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, principally when directed from a non-Roma person towards a Roma, whereas in the UK, questions regarding ethnicity are a common component of questionnaires for monitoring purposes. In most cases we have witnessed, the Roma would identify themselves as primarily Czech or Slovak, rather than Roma in such surveys. This is also the case in surveys carried out in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. For instance figures from 1991 census in the Czech Republic show that only 33,000 people identified themselves as Roma, while the actual number was estimated at around 200,000 (Roma in the Czech Republic, n.d). Again, this fact can be viewed in light of discrimination against the Roma. The fact remains that the people concerned *are* Czech and Slovak, politically at least, in addition to having Roma ethnicity. These are the countries where their forebears have lived for centuries, and Czech or Slovak might be the only language they speak. In the UK there is no doubt however that some people prefer to identify themselves as Czech and Slovak rather than Roma in order to avoid being associated with the negative stereotype of the Roma. We have established that the Roma in the Czech Republic and Slovakia live in conditions of considerable social inequality and indeed marginalisation. Conversely, most Roma find living in the UK liberating. Whereas in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, a Roma person can be recognized relatively easily based on their appearance, the way they dress, their surname, their ethnolect etc., in the UK, they belong to one of the many migrant communities, subject to common inequalities.

Issues encountered by Roma migrants in Leeds

Almost all the Roma we encountered during our observations live in relative or even extreme poverty, in conditions of precarity along many dimensions. This is partly caused by the fact that they are a very recent migrant community, as well as having a general lack of education and work experience in their countries of origin.

Many people associate the difficulties they encounter with the challenges involved in learning English. Jobseekers' Allowance claimants may be asked to attend a compulsory ESOL classes with an employability focus, but the effectiveness of such courses is in question (Paget and Stevenson 2014). Lack of access to English is one factor that makes Roma people vulnerable in areas such as housing or employment. Many of the people we met during our observations were unemployed, a fact that is undeniably linked to the fact that our observations took place in advocacy centres. Still, there are indicators that unemployment is a prevalent issue amongst Roma in Leeds generally.

For those who are employed, the job often does not provide much stability. Based on our observations the most typical jobs include working at carwashes, factory work, packing, cleaning, housekeeping and distribution of leaflets. These jobs are usually done through agencies with zero-hour contracts, without much opportunity for progression: a common feature of low-paid employment in contemporary Britain, as we discuss below.

Claiming benefits is problematic: some people are not entitled to certain benefits because they have no work experience in the UK. But even those who are entitled to claim and receive state support need to keep up with the constant changes in the benefit system, information about which is not always clear.

Benefit entitlement is closely linked to the housing situation. Most people we met during the course of our observations rely on Housing Benefit. When this entitlement is lost, as it frequently seems to be, people might have to rely on staying with friends or relatives; we have also come across cases of homelessness. Overcharging on the part of landlords and unhealthy and insanitary living conditions are common. Landlords are no doubt aware of their tenants' vulnerability: they are unlikely to find housing through official routes due to language barriers, lack of a strong financial history and inadequate funds to pay a deposit. These factors in combination lay them open to exploitation.

The difficulty of getting children into the education system, caused in part by insufficient capacity in the schools in the area, also seems to be a recurrent problem amongst the families we met. In some cases, the parents are offered a school which because of their personal circumstances is too distant to be practical. In such cases they are given the opportunity to appeal against the decision, a process that is highly bureaucratic and can take a long time. The situation seems to be most serious at

secondary level, for children around 15 years of age, and delays could lead to these young people finding it even more difficult than they otherwise would to adapt to the British education system. These are the issues that Klára engages with in her work as a community interpreter, working with advocates who are giving advice to Czech-speaking clients, the overwhelming majority of whom are Roma.

3. Literature Review

In this section we sketch out the background of relevant themes emerging from our data and informing our analyses.

Superdiversity and neoliberalism

In the 1970s a group of ideologically inspired economists captured the ears and minds of politicians. The central plank of their 'neoliberal' model was that growth and development depended on market competitiveness; everything should be done to maximize competition and competitiveness, and to allow market principles to permeate all aspects of life (Standing 2011:1).

So how can we understand in broad terms the context of the Roma migration and the responsive work of interpreting and advocacy which is the focus of Klára's work? The overall socioeconomic context in which we locate this study is that of neoliberalism in a globalized *superdiverse* world (Vertovec 2006, 2007, 2014). Neoliberalism is described by Harvey (2005) and Standing in his book *The Precariat* (2011). It is an approach to the economy which has prevailed in the UK and more or less globally for some three decades, and is arguably a major shaping force to current "austerity" policies in a globalized, mobile, superdiverse world. The long-term consequences of the turn to neoliberalism are amply demonstrated in the data we collected, in two main ways. Firstly in the pervasive precarity of employment of all concerned, both the community interpreters and advocates we interviewed and observed, as well as their clients. Our data is full of zero-hour contracts, self-employment, the use of internships and voluntary work as a pathway to employment and crucial social service provision being shouldered by volunteers. These are the stock-in-trade of a new work order for many in present day Britain. Users of the interpreting services worked in low pay, casual employment, often mediated through employment agencies. Many were moving in and out of low paid work onto benefits and back again. Secondly the neoliberal impact is demonstrated in the process, documented in Gilbert (2004), of the transformation of welfare to fit the neoliberal agenda: 'it has become almost universally accepted that social policies heretofore providing "passive" income supports to unemployed people should be replaced by measures designed to promote employment' (Gilbert 2005: 5).

The impact of this shift towards benefits designed to promote employment was very much in evidence in our case study, where it was clear that being unemployed meant negotiating a Byzantine complexity of procedures to gain benefits, aided by advocates and interpreters, hourly-paid or voluntary. Access to benefits for people living just above or below the cut-off points for eligibility is thus in itself precarious. It is precarious to work in the low pay, highly casualized sector. It is equally precarious to try and survive on benefits, or to shift between the two, depending upon unpredictable income week by week. Many people whom we encountered had been without benefits to which they were entitled for weeks and months, due to lack of English knowledge, lack of orientation to the procedures for claiming benefit, lack of access to sound advice. Precarity is a way of life for everyone we encountered in this case study, including the community interpreters and advocates and indeed their third sector organizations.

Advocates and community interpreters acted as mediators and cultural brokers (see below) for clients negotiating this complexity. What makes this particularly crucial for the members of the Roma community with whom Klára interacted, is that the Roma are a relatively recently settled group, still finding their way around life in Harehills, Leeds and the UK more generally. The problematic they are experiencing is characteristic of early stage migration. The role of those available who can interpret and mediate the difficulties they encounter in their lives is as low paid workers in the neoliberal socioeconomic landscape of the contemporary UK.

Early stage migration, exploitation, work, enterprise and the Roma

The sense we obtained from our fieldwork of the Roma in low pay, casual, precarious employment is echoed by the trends identified in larger scale studies of migration.

According to a recent OECD report:

Immigrants also tend to be more likely to do temporary and part-time jobs - in Spain, more than half of immigrants, about 56%, have only temporary work, compared with 31% of locals. And, increasingly, immigrants are becoming self-employed. The reasons for this vary: It could indicate that immigrants are becoming more well established in their adopted countries and have the

financial means to set up businesses; or it could be a sign that the barriers to finding a job are so high that it's easier for them to work for themselves.

(OECD 2014:90)

Interestingly these two causes for self-employment resonate across the four case studies: the Cardiff, London and Birmingham case studies all focus on self-employed small business. In Leeds, the precarious nature of low pay, casual work, and employment through agencies, points to the latter. This is not to say that among the Roma there are not those who aspire to enterprise, as will be seen in our subsequent work with the Roma: the Roma aspire to their own cultural spaces and this focus has the potential for enterprise.

Another feature of the precarity of early stage migrants is their vulnerability to exploitation (Shelley 2007), noted in the above section, and again we found ample evidence of this in our data, whether it was landlords renting sub-standard accommodation, or agencies which take money in exchange for benefit-related services but which actually provide little or no service.

Linguistic ethnography, events and repertoires

Within sociolinguistics currently, two major approaches or traditions can be identified: variationist sociolinguistics which seeks to establish correlations between specific linguistic variables and an ethnographically informed sociolinguistics which descends from the field-defining work of Gumperz and Hymes (1986). There are also recent encouraging signs of a greater methodological pluralism, with researchers in urban sociolinguistics combining the correlational with the ethnographic approaches. The ethnography of communication tradition, in the UK at least, has evolved into what is commonly termed *linguistic ethnography* (Copland and Creese 2015) and this is the approach adopted in our research. A key construct in the ethnographic approach, from Hymes onwards, is the *event*, and it is on the event that our empirical research on Klára's community interpreting work first focused. In its original formulations, as speech event (Hymes) or as literacy event (e.g. Baynham 1995), the event construct assumed a settled time and place. However in a mobile world this cannot always be assumed. In our data, what Kell (2009) calls *transcontextual literacy events* involved

face-to-face negotiations round a benefits claim form, but also included side moves such as phone calls to the benefits agency helpline to clarify some aspect of the claim or the status of the applicant's claim. Another key term is that of *linguistic repertoire*, first developed by Gumperz and Hymes to characterize the range of language varieties and styles of speaking available to an individual speaker which inevitably crossed languages and registers. Rymes (2014) develops a repertoire approach, moving consciously beyond language as a focus for communication in superdiverse settings. In Section 3 below we describe further how linguistic ethnography operates as a research approach.

Interpreting events, mediation and cultural brokering

While there is a substantial literature on translation (see Munday 2001 for an introduction and overview), the field of interpreting is less well developed in research terms. Munday takes the view that interpreting studies is best considered as a parallel field to translation studies. A set of distinctions we do however borrow from translation studies in our research is Jakobson's classification of translation as intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic (Jakobson 1959 reprinted in Venuti 2000). In addition to the more obvious and expected interlingual translanguaging, we found in our data many examples of intralingual translanguaging, shifts from specialized register into every day English, in an endeavour to explain technical terms used in the benefits claiming process. Intersemiotic translanguaging involved shifts and switches between spoken and written, visual and verbal. Culturally- and contextually-oriented translation studies such as Tong-King Lee's *Translating the Multilingual City* (2013) indicate an emergent strand in Translation Studies which resonates with that we are trying to achieve here.

Our starting point is also work done on mediation and cultural brokering in multilingual contexts (Baynham and Masing 2001 for example). Baynham and Masing analyse multilingual literacy events in Vanuatu, achieved in the lingua franca Bislama and the local vernacular Aulua, distinguishing a particular role of mediator in which a more knowledgeable other mediates literacy activity to achieve a literacy purpose. This is very much in evidence in the interpreting events we observed. Interpreters such as Klára and the advocates she worked with, and whose work she sometimes seemed to

know better than they themselves did, are mediating between the claimant and the benefit giving institution. This involves multimodal activity, face-to-face communication in a variety of languages (interlingual translanguaging), elicitation of information orally or via reading relevant documentation for the purposes of completing a claim, intralingual translanguaging in the rendering of complex terms of the benefit trail into language that clients could understand, phone calls to benefit helplines to clarify the state and stage of a case. Such events involve Kell's transcontextual flows (2009): they are not located in just one time and space.

The interpreting event: a literacy studies perspective

In our observations of Klára's work as an interpreter alongside an advocate, we saw all the characteristics of the literacy event as it had been identified and described in literacy studies (see for example chapters in Baynham and Prinsloo 2009). In our case the literacy event is multilingual of course, characterized by constant translanguaging, between English, Czech, Slovak and, between the Roma themselves at times, the Roma language. Our focus is on the languages the Roma use not to interact with each other, but with the institutions they encounter in managing their daily lives. A foundational collection of papers on Multilingual Literacies is Martin-Jones and Jones (2001); also relevant is the work of Keating (2009) on literacy practices of Portuguese women in London. More recently the work of Warriner and others has focused on transnational literacy practices (e.g. Warriner 2007). Kell (2009) introduces a transcontextual dimension to the literacy event which is very much in evidence in our data, as when a benefit claim which is being completed online provokes a call to the benefits helpline to clarify some issue. In the face-to-face environment the client produces relevant documentation in paper form which is the subject of oral negotiation, leading to completion of the online form by the advocate and including frequently clarificatory phone calls to the benefits helpline. This, as Kell argues, disrupts settled ideas of the literacy event as occurring in a fixed time and place, leading for a need to conceptualize transcontextual flows of information.

The interpreting contact zone

The interactional events in which we observed Klára may be seen as taking place in a 'contact zone', a social space where 'disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination' (Pratt, 1992: 4), or, more neutrally, in the Scollons' terms, in a 'site of engagement' (Scollon and Scollon, 2004). This suggests that we need to bear in mind the linguistic ideologies at work, particularly how the different languages at play may be differently valued (Lee 2013). Such a site/zone is first and foremost a physical place (generally a 'built environment') in which an interactional event occurs. Where interaction is not completely random there will always be an interactional purpose or goal, if not multiple goals, and new goals may emerge as interaction proceeds.

Moreover, non-random goal-oriented interaction can only proceed on the basis of a number of conditions. Firstly, some degree of jointly-achieved understanding (Bremer, Roberts et al, 1996) is needed: the space where this co-operative work (or 'collusive' work, to use McDermott and Tylbor's [1987] terms) is carried out may also be seen as a 'contact zone', though in this case the term will suggest not only a material place but the place's 'semiotic message' (Jakobson 1960). History of use counts, involving normative ways of doing things within the particular local affordances and constraints (places can thus be 'centring institutions' in Silverstein's [1998] sense). Material contents are relevant: furnishings and other objects, including texts and digital electronic devices. Finally it matters what the mental/symbolic activity (i.e. semiotic activity) is which goes on in the place.

In this sense a contact zone is the mental-material space in which semiosis occurs and which contains all the things contributing to that semiosis. We refer to 'mental and material' since cognitive activity often involves minds, bodies, and environments (see Merleau-Ponty 1945/2012). For example, meaning-making during a dispute about a place in a queue would involve not only mental phenomena but physical bodies, objects, and spaces. You do not need mental representations (signs) of phenomena which you can readily perceive, e.g. bodies, check out tills, floor space, etc.

The term need not be restricted to interactions involving 'disparate cultures' because – since it seems safe to say no two people share exactly the same culture (Everett, 2012:

49) – every communicative interaction will inevitably involve some degree of cultural disparity and, to be successful, the bridging/translation of cultural difference.

Translanguaging at work and home

In the section above on linguistic ethnography, we saw how the term *linguistic repertoire*, originated by Gumperz and Hymes, has come to the fore as a way of showing how speakers deploy complex language resources in locally situated ways. Li Wei and Garcia (2014) show how linguists and anthropologists started to use the term *linguaging*, to emphasize the dynamic, processual aspect of language in use (Li Wei and Garcia 2014:9-11). Derived from this theoretical move, *translanguaging* is a term first introduced by the Welsh linguist Cen Williams, based on the Welsh *trawsieithu*. Here is how Li Wei and Ofelia Garcia define it:

translanguaging is an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages.

(Li Wei and Garcia 2014:2)

Here we see the influence of the idea of linguistic repertoire, mentioned above. We have already discussed how the translanguaging we encountered was not just between languages (interlingual) but also involved register shifts, from technical to everyday and *vice versa* (intralingual translanguaging). We focus on two domains, translanguaging at work, in Klára's day to day activities as a community interpreter, and in the home, where Klára and her Panjabi speaking husband bring up two teenage daughters and a younger son, a linguistic environment involving English, Czech and a rather smaller amount of Panjabi. In traditional ethnography of communication, domains were treated as separate. Here of course, these domains overlap and sometimes blend in interesting ways. This is partly because of Klára's precarious freelance, self-employed status, and partly because some fellow interpreters are also friends. The affordances of mobile technology make it easy for Klára to blend home and work at times, though it seems that work impinges on home more than home impinges on work.

Social media in superdiverse multilingual environments

The online language and interactive practices of our Key Participant and her family mainly involve SMS use, i.e. mobile phone text messaging, but also encompass the use of other social media sites such as Skype and Facebook, and web practices involving surfing the internet. The notion of online networks remains pertinent in an age of transnational migration and transnational and translocal communication. Networks online might or might not map neatly onto established networks that exist in geographical space, and of great relevance to our study is how online interaction helps create, sustain and extend family and work relationships, and in what directions. In our fieldwork we observe the spatial and temporal organisations of the family and of work bleeding into one another through the use of SMS and other online communication such as email, Facebook and Skype.

In this respect, it is helpful to consider interaction as occurring at particular *scales* (Collins, Slembrouck and Baynham 2009). Scale helps develop an understanding of linkages between the global and local, and transnational and situated communication. A scalar approach to interaction in sociolinguistics typically considers scale as stratified (Blommaert 2010). Spatially, interaction at lower scales takes place locally, and is contextually located and situated, while interaction at higher levels involves translocation, and is widespread. With reference to temporal scales, interaction tends to be viewed as evanescent (at lower scales) or persistent (at higher ones). However, interaction using SMS and other social media can be translocal (and indeed transnational and transcontextual) and situated, concurrently. In a nutshell, when we interact online, we are with each other in time but not in space. Likewise digitally mediated interaction can be both ephemeral and enduring. Even written communication that takes place synchronously, i.e. in real time (e.g. text chat and some SMS) - leaves a trace in the form of a log which can be returned to. Thus in online discourse, scalar hierarchies are not fixed (see also Canagarajah forthcoming). And to return to our data, the disruptive affordances of online technology on temporal and spatial scale are evident in much of the online discourse we have observed. A clear example is when Klára has a conversation about work using SMS outside the workplace (e.g. in the home) and outside her working hours (e.g. in the evening or early morning).

A further related affordance of digital technology is its characteristic of extending space beyond the physical. Interaction online is frequently described as taking place in virtual spaces and of comprising virtual networks. Spatial metaphors are useful when describing much online interaction taking place online because such online spaces can share characteristics with communities that exist in geographic space. Useful in our research is the notion of affinity space (Gee 2005): many of the online spaces encountered in our fieldwork share characteristics of affinity spaces, rather than of more fixed communities or settlements. As Gee says, 'affinity spaces can do lots of the sorts of work we have asked the notion of a "community of practice" to do, but without some of the baggage what "community" carries' (2005: 232). Affinity spaces are spaces online where, among other things, common endeavour is primary, everyone shares a common space, and intensive, extensive, individual, distributed and dispersed knowledge are encouraged (Gee 2005: 225-228). Much of our KP's activity online (e.g. interaction on EBay, engagement with Czech- and English-language gossip pages, the perusing of tourist information and hotel review sites) can be characterised as contributing to the creation and sustaining of affinity spaces.

A characteristic of the interaction we have observed is the tendency for written conversations online between work colleagues using SMS and Facebook to pull towards non-work topics. They also tend towards informality, a feature of online written interaction that has long been recognised (Werry 1996; Kress 1998). The technologies of online communication have a further affordance: they contribute to disturbing fixed conceptualisations of boundaries between languages, and of the notion of discreet languages, ideas which are central to our understanding of language use in contexts of superdiversity generally. Established understandings of language use are challenged because – bound by history and geography as they are – they do not take account of the reality of many people's individual language experience, local trends and situations. Moreover, global sites of language use online are not necessarily associated with one particular fixed geographical place or one particular population. Hence online communication contributes to the argument against viewing linguistic and cultural boundaries as fixed. Sociolinguistic study of multilingualism online has typically taken the perspective of code-switching (e.g. Hinrichs 2006; Koutsogiannis and Mitsikopoulou 2003; Palfreyman and al Khalil 2003; Danet and Herring 2007). Linguists of internet

communication also recognise that in interaction online in transnational spaces detached from geographical moorings there is a tendency for 'mixed code' varieties to emerge, as described by Lam (2004), very redolent of our own data.

Turning specifically to SMS, many linguistic studies of texting begin by attending to 'textspeak', the playful uses of SMS and the language of text messaging, with its characteristic abbreviations, emoticons, and attempts to render into text the paralinguistic and prosodic features of speech (e.g. Crystal 2008). More substantial analyses of the particular nature of SMS discourse can be found in Tagg (2012) and Spilioti (2011). Less well-documented however is the situated use of SMS in multilingual and superdiverse contexts. Thurlow and Poff (2013) make a case for more research that focuses on 'situated or ethnographic analyses of the real, everyday contexts of texting' (2013: 180). They note the importance of 'resisting a superficial fascination with technology – and, in the case of texting, with fleeting linguistic curiosities – in favour of a deeper engagement with the cultural contexts and communicative practices that give both technology and language their real meaning' (ibid.). We would argue that the study of the situated use of SMS in superdiverse multilingual environments, and of new media and new communication technologies in general, requires an approach informed by linguistic ethnography, as outlined earlier.

Discourse analysts and applied linguists are currently attending to research methods associated with the analysis of online discourse. Recent work includes an edited collection by Jones and colleagues (2015), and a volume by Tagg (2015). Barton and Lee's (2013) examination of 'language online' provides a useful way-marked path for the study of the language practices involving online communication; these authors note the relevance of the work of Scollon and colleagues in mediated interaction (e.g. Scollon 2001).

4. Methodology

Approach

This study of translanguaging and translation in the domain of business and entrepreneurship in Leeds adopts an approach which can be described as a visual linguistic ethnography. As discussed above, linguistic ethnography stresses the importance of reflexivity, foregrounds issues of context, and highlights ‘the primacy of direct field experience in establishing interpretive validity’ (Maybin and Tusting 2011: 517).

Linguistic ethnography

As noted in the discussion above, linguistic ethnography enables us to understand language in use, and in our case, the role of multilingualism as a resource where multiple repertoires are in play. Linguistic ethnography couples ethnography and linguistics: ethnography provides a focus on wider contexts, while linguistics offers the possibility of micro-analyses of language use which participant observation and field notes cannot provide. An ethnographic approach is characterised by participant observation over time, in-depth systematic data collection from various sources such as field notes, open-ended interviews and inductive analysis initiated during data collection, a focus on patterns in situated practice, and on the whole ecology of a particular setting. Such an approach can show the relationships between local lived experiences and practices and macro-level institutional and societal structures. A *visual* linguistic ethnography attends to the visual and spatial semiotic dimension of meaning, bringing in attention to physical positioning, the semiotic landscape and the written environment of the field work sites.

Semiotic landscape and semiotic contexts of interaction

A strand of our research which we do not dwell upon at length in this report, because it will be addressed elsewhere, involves the documentation of the linguistic and semiotic landscape in and around the research sites. Linguistic landscaping is the detailed study

of written texts visibly situated in public spaces. More broadly – and more powerfully – it is a way of seeing:

semiotized space as a material force in social, cultural, and political life, something we ourselves have shaped as a meaningful system-of-meanings (a sociolinguistic system in other words) and that never stops acting as a compelling force on our everyday conduct.

(Blommaert 2013: 15)

This latter approach, which we adopt, draws heavily on two theoretical frameworks, both of which introduce spatial and historical dimensions to the analysis of social action. First, geosemiotics: ‘the study of the social meanings of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world’ (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 211). Second, nexus analysis, which offers a set of heuristic tools and a key idea – that every social event occurs at a specific spatial and temporal point where ‘historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas, and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from this moment of social action’ (Scollon and Scollon, 2004: viii). The Scollons call the point in time and space where a ‘nexus of practice’ occurs a ‘site of engagement’. In our study the sites of engagement are the two research sites, Migrant Counsel and The Centre (see below). Though these sites are less than half a kilometre apart they clearly ‘inhabit’ and visually constitute radically different semiotic worlds, one a shop front in the busiest shopping street in Harehills (see Fig. 4.3 below), the other off the main road in a quiet relatively open green site, next door to a primary school (see Fig 4.4 below). This present report does not attend in detail to the visual semiotic dimension of our work: that can be found in a separate report that focuses specifically on this area. The analysis in that report explores these semiotic worlds in terms of their influence on the face-to-face interaction which takes place in them. That separate study combines analysis of photographic and other ethnographic data (including interviews and ‘photo elicitation’) relating to the linguistic landscapes of the two research sites, with attention focussed on the visual, spatial, and historical dimensions of the sites as semiotic contexts of interaction.

Overview of data collection

The Key Participant and her recruitment

The study focuses on one key participant, Klára, in her domestic and business roles, the latter as a freelance interpreter/translator, working mainly with the Czech and Slovak population of Leeds. She was recruited onto the project through the professional network of JH, the bilingual researcher working at the Leeds site of the project.

Research sites

Lying 1.5 kilometres NE of Leeds city centre the electoral ward of Gipton and Harehills (G&H) has a population of 27,078. It is therefore the second most populous ward in the city and has the highest proportion of people from BME communities (64.2%) and the highest proportion of non-white residents (57.6%). 35.8% of residents describe themselves as 'White British' and 37% as Asian/British Asian (largely Pakistani and Bangladeshi). The rest of the population is made up of people of over 60 nationalities and ethnicities with as many main languages being spoken. 60.7% of residents speak English as a main language (Census 2011). G&H is the most deprived ward in Leeds and has the highest number of children in poverty. Crime rates there are also the highest in the city (UK Crime Statistics 2014).



Figure 4.1 Harehills from the city centre

Possibly the most distinctive aspect of the ward is that it binds together two urban areas which could hardly be more different—except in their levels of deprivation. Harehills is dense with late Victorian-age back-to-back and through-terraced housing, while low-density Gipton was a slum-clearance project conceived in 1930s reaction to the overcrowding and squalor of the Industrial Age. Moreover, Harehills developed as a result of successive phases of inward migration, while Gipton’s population has been solidly white and ‘hard pressed’. However, due to recent trends in the movement of people, Gipton is now taking on some of the features of its superdiverse neighbour and the boundaries between the two areas are becoming somewhat less clear.



Figure 4.2 Central Gipton (©Google Earth)

Workplace spaces

Migrant Counsel (MC) is located—along with a number of other migrant-focused charities—in a parade of shops near the major junction of Harehills Corner. This area is generally seen as the heart of Harehills and the focal point of commercial life for many ethnic minority groups. Migrant Counsel provides a bilingual advocacy service for migrants here. The clients are principally Roma. Klára was employed to assist volunteer advocates as a Czech/Slovak interpreter.



Figure 4.3 The parade of shops with Migrant Counsel

The Centre is located in portakabins on the grounds of a Primary School on one of the few roads linking Harehills and the Gipton estate. Here a 'Welcome Group' organized by the Gypsy, Roma, Traveller Outreach Team (Leeds City Council) provides a free advisory service with the assistance of four interpreters, one of whom was Klára. Since we were unable to gain consent from Leeds City Council for audio recording, our records of interaction here were limited to field notes.



Figure 4.4 The Centre (© Google Maps)

Other spaces

Audio and some field note data were also collected in Klára’s family home as well as from her online spaces, including Skype and Facebook, and mobile-mediated text-messaging (SMS).

Language around Harehills

Using a linguistic/semiotic landscape approach combined with a visual ethnographic approach (above) the whole of the G&H ward was studied to observe trends in migration, settlement, and interaction—especially business interaction. Particular attention was given to the neighbourhoods of the two research sites and to the sites themselves as the built environments and semiotic contexts of interaction. As noted above, data from this part of the study is presented and discussed in the separate *Linguistic Landscape* report.

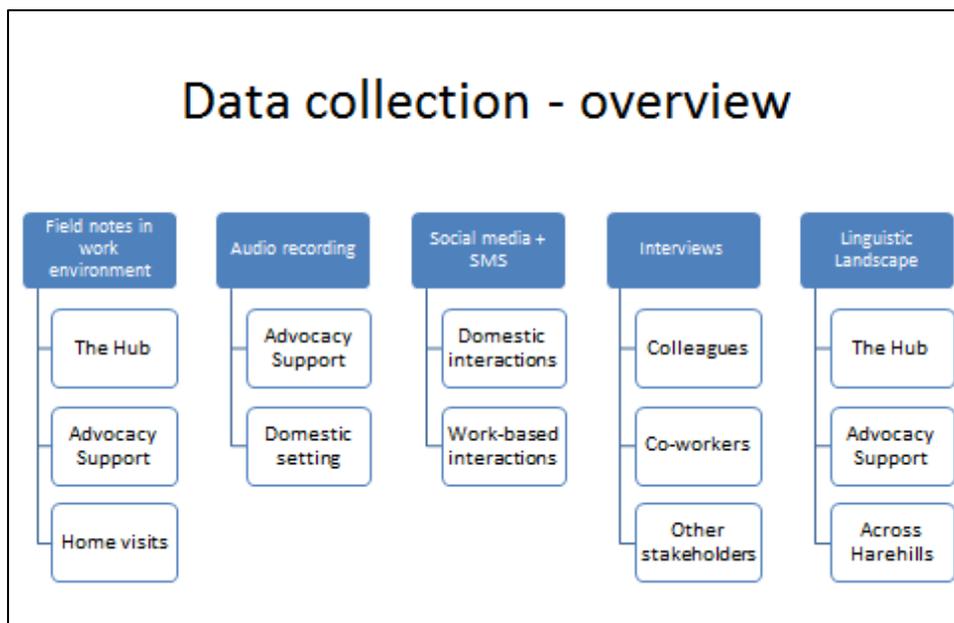


Figure 4.5 Data Collection Overview

Timeline for data collection

Dates	Activity
September – December 2014	Observation in KP's work environment. Field notes.
October – December 2014	Observation and audio recording of KP's work environment
November – December 2014	Observation and audio-recording of KP's home environment
November – December 2014	Collection of SMS, Skype and other interactional data
November 2014 – January 2015	Interviews with KP's colleagues, co-workers and other stakeholders
September 2014 – January 2015	Collection of Linguistic Landscaping data

The data collection involved the production of a series of interim reports: a theme-based summary of observational field note data; a theme-based summary of interview data; a report of interactions in the workplace, a further one of interaction in Klára's domestic settings (including her online interaction with her family), a report of Klára's online interactions and a study of the semiotic landscape of her work spaces. Data collection and preliminary analysis were iterative: the analysis of a particular data set interacted with the analysis of other data sets collected or generated earlier. For example, the schedules for the semi-structured interviews were informed by early findings from the observational field notes, and in turn informed the focus of attention in the analysis of the interactional data.

Ethical concerns

Klára was provided with a project information sheet outlining the nature and purpose of the project, her role in it, and how the data and analyses were intended to be used. She was then asked to sign a consent form which set out her responsibilities and rights. These included the right to see data and review consent on an ongoing basis. Klára was

made aware that all data would be anonymised but that anonymity could never be guaranteed. Other participants (Klára's family, work colleagues, and clients, along with interviewees from a range of backgrounds) were given the same project information in their main language and asked to sign consent forms or, if they wished or were unable to sign, give oral consent, which was audio recorded. A number of Klára's clients declined consent and their interactions were not audio recorded.

Individual data sets and analyses

In this section we describe the procedures of data collection and analysis in relation to the individual data sets: field notes, audio recordings (work, home, and other places), online and SMS data, interviews, and linguistic/semiotic landscape data.

Field notes

Overall the researchers took 33 sets of field notes at sites in Harehills, Leeds, between September and December 2014. The field notes were principally of observations of Klára, as our Key Participant. The work that Klára 'officially' does is interpreting, though much of this work also involves advocacy in some way. The main sites of the observations were Migrant Counsel, where Klára worked on Mondays during the observation period, and The Centre, where she worked on Thursdays. We also refer to notes taken when Klára was on home visits.

The team began the analysis by reading through the field notes in batches, and developing a list of emerging themes: Interpreter and other participant roles in interactional events; Interpreter as advocate, and advocacy as a role; Documents and their resemiotisation; Poverty and negotiating the 'poverty business'; Settings and spaces of interaction; The Roma as a group. These themes were allocated to team members, who each took responsibility for further developing one or more theme.

Audio recordings: work setting

Because we were unable to gain consent from Leeds City Council to audio record their advisors working with clients at The Centre, we made arrangements with Migrant Counsel for Klára to provide interpreting services at their Monday drop-in sessions for a period of ten weeks. These were the only work recordings we made, and we recorded only in those cases where the clients (and those accompanying them) gave consent. In all, 18 advocacy sessions were recorded by JH, together with a further 13 conversations involving variously JH, Klára, or Migrant Counsel employees engaged in work-related talk. All advocacy session recordings were transcribed and translated to a rough but workable level of detail and underwent preliminary analysis at repeated team meetings. Ultimately, three recordings were selected for further in depth analysis, as being both representative of the data set as a whole and at the same time offering a range of unique, contrasting, and interesting features. These recordings were then fully transcribed and translated and underwent further and more detailed analysis.

Audio recordings: home setting

Klára made 26 recordings of interaction within her domestic settings, between 6 November and 15 December 2014. The recordings ranged in time from a few minutes to half an hour. All were transcribed to a workable level of detail, and eight of the longer transcripts were transcribed in their entirety, with relevant sections translated. The recordings were made by Klára using a voice recorder provided for her by the project. Many of the interactions take place in Klára's kitchen, at various times of day, though some are in other parts of the house and also in the car.

The main participants in the spoken interactions, in addition to Klára, are her husband Jxxx and three children, Txxx, Rxxx and Axxx:

- Klára migrated to the UK in early adulthood and has lived in Leeds for a number of years. Her mother tongue and most expert language is Czech, and in addition to English, she speaks German and Russian.
- Jxxx is a speaker of English and Panjabi who migrated from India to the UK with his family aged 6. As Klára puts it, 'he's British more than anything else.' The Indian heritage is present in the family through the cuisine, language (Klára and

the children speak some Panjabi) and cultural awareness they have gained through contact with Jxxx's relatives and other Panjabis in Leeds.

- Txxx and Rxxx are their daughters, aged 14 and 12. Txxx, according to Klára, 'feels more Czech than British' and speaks Czech well. Rxxx is 'English and that's it', says Klára, and at home sometimes uses slang expressions and engages in language crossing (Rampton 2005), drawing on features from Caribbean English in her talk. The children spent summer months in the Czech Republic as young children. On the recordings it is sometimes unclear which of the daughters is speaking.
- Axxx is their son, aged 6. Axxx has not spent extended periods of time in the Czech Republic. According to his mother he prefers to speak English rather than Czech, even when with other Czech children.

Social media and SMS

Turning to social media data, the team worked with logs of 39 mobile-mediated text message (SMS) interactions between Klára and her daughters, and of extended family conversations on Skype. In these cases we see how the domestic domain extends beyond the physical bounds of the home: SMS conversations take place between family members who are geographically dispersed across Leeds, while the Skype conversation is transnational, between Klára in the UK and her mother in the Czech Republic.

We also collected logs of SMS interaction between Klára and her colleagues, and between Klára and her accountant. In these cases, we observed how interaction concerning work is interlaced with more socially-oriented discourse.

Data were collected on Klára's web surfing activities that she carries on while interacting with family members online and face-to-face. Data included detailed reports of ten online sessions captured using the software BB Flashback.

Interview data

The Leeds team carried out 12 interviews with a range of key stakeholders, from volunteer advocates to police officers, who we encountered in some way during this phase of the research. Klára was interviewed on three occasions, including a recorded

informal lunch conversation towards the beginning of the data collection, and an interview which focused on her interaction with the linguistic landscape.

Key members of MC and volunteers at the organisation were interviewed in order to give a broader view of MC itself and the work carried out there, and to offer their perspectives on the nature of life in Harehills for Roma people. The staff at the Centre were represented in interviews by Txxx, one of the GRT outreach workers who leads the Welcome Group. In addition, a Czech interpreter and one of Klára's colleagues, Mxxx, was also interviewed.

The research team met weekly to discuss the data. The interviews were transcribed, and themes emerged through close and repeated reading of the transcripts. These themes, around which this report is organized, are summarised thus:

- The Roma a diverse group. Czech and Roma identity. The issues of the Roma community
- Settings/spaces/contact zones
- The business of interpreting
- Economic precarity, socio-economic status,
- The content of interpreting events

5. Interaction at work

We begin our analysis sections by examining the interactions of Klára, her colleagues and their clients in the spaces of work. The analysis is based on the recordings and field notes taken during observations at Migrant Counsel and The Centre, September-December 2014.

Czech Roma migrants, economic precarity and the benefits maze

Harehills, as our visual ethnography and ward history show us, is an area that is shaped and formed by migration and the linguistic streetscape gives ample evidence of the layering and accretion over time as businesses emerge and fail, adapt over time to new markets. These changes will be visible in the quite rapid changes over time in our photographic documentation of streetscapes. Of the migrations that have shaped Harehills, the Roma are among the very latest. A new migration creates opportunity along a number of dimensions. A newly migrated group creates a knowledge problem for statutory and voluntary agencies. What do we know about the Roma? This creates a demand for knowledge and an opportunity for Roma with a particular kind of cultural capital to step forward and become cultural brokers. As it dawns on local organizations, statutory and voluntary, then a need to recruit Roma workers of different sorts emerges: maybe as teaching assistants, advocates, community development workers. So there is demand for people with suitable skill sets to fill these positions, often a demand that is hard to meet. Of course another demand is for interpreters, and this is what makes our choice of a self-employed community interpreter as our business theme Key Participant particularly appropriate. Cultural brokering and interpreting is the activity par excellence of early stage arrival and settlement.

It is interesting to try to position this in relation to the other case studies, which focus on relatively longer settled groups, whose length of settlement is perhaps indexed by the kind of business that have developed as a result of the efforts of people who have seen a need a potential demand and thus an opportunity as we have suggested above. So the existence of a Chinese butchers stall in Birmingham market suggests a clientele, a demand for what they provide. Someone somewhere seized an opportunity.

So what kind of opportunity is community interpreting? Firstly there is a gap, a need, a demand, this time a communication gap which can be addressed by those with the right language skills and cultural capital. Again the demand may exceed the supply.

But what kind of activity is community interpreting? Without using the term judgementally one could say that interpreting is always parasitic to something else. To understand what this something is we need to be more specific about the context. The Roma migration in Harehills is not an affluent migration. We are at the intersection of migration and poverty. So what is the business in hand? In our data it is overwhelmingly the business of poverty, how to survive precariously in a situation of – at times – great poverty. This is simply evidenced in our data, for example this interview with advocacy worker Txxx:

Interview with Txxx

Cos now we're coming across more and more erm for want of a better word destitution really because we're having to go to food banks to get families food for em we used to try and get it from children's centres but not as much as we are now.....I think when you see a family and they've got no money and no food and no nappies or baby milk and things like that, it's, it is summat that needs to be a quick response or summat sorting out within the next couple of days otherwise you're going to see children and a baby with no milk and erm, not even able to have a nappy on.....So, but I think they were quite proud as well because I were going I don't need to phone Social Care to get you some food from the foodbank, I can get you some food and they were still saying, no, they would ask family or some, or friends (JH: really) yeah and other people take you to one side 'cause they're embarrassed about not having any food and being able to feed their family. You know, it's understandable

So in our data the interpreting activity is more often than not focused on gaining access to benefits, family income support and tax credits. It might sound cynical to describe poverty as a business, our business, but consider how many people are involved in servicing poverty, in the statutory agencies that manage benefits, the voluntary agencies that help with access to benefits, indeed those who research poverty. Think of the hard work involved in negotiating the benefit jungle, with its ever mutating procedures and pathways. In a very real sense poverty is the focus of our business case. Poverty and those who are employed on it is our business.

So what is meant by the work or business opportunities afforded by a new migratory settlement? For the statutory and voluntary sector this could result in the recruitment of new workers ideally from the Roma community, certainly opportunities for interpreters and advocates, though in the voluntary sector there may be substantial use of volunteers. As for the private sector, existing local businesses will adapt what they offer to new perceived markets. The proliferation of Eastern European grocery stores is a case in point. The photo here shows two private enterprises of different sorts: a Polish agency offering a range of services alongside a solicitors' office prominently offering immigration services.



Figure 5.1 Private sector services: A Polish agency and a solicitor's office

There is also of course a darker side to the private sector, for instance the exploitation by slum landlords, private agencies that charge extortionate fees for services that would be free in the public or voluntary sector. This dark side is still business, but it is unregulated exploitative business, screwing profit out of the misery of others. Again this is amply evidenced in our data. And finally well beyond the scope of our study but still

business, there are activities such as sex work, drug selling, human trafficking, protection. These activities are by no means central to our data, but there are echoes and evidence here and there. There is ground-breaking research going on with regard to migration, sex work and human trafficking, by people such as Nick Mai (2011, 2013).

Our research takes us into a world of zero-hour contracts, self-employment, agency work, cash in hand, voluntary work. Linguistically, interaction in this sphere is what Pennycook and Otsuji call *multilingualism from below* (2015). This is true of Klára and the other community interpreters and advocates we interviewed, who exist, in terms of their income, precariously on hourly paid work or short term contracts. This is the reality for virtually everyone involved in our case, interpreters, advocates and clients. There seems to be a blurring between the sectors, statutory, voluntary, private. The statutory sector is increasingly run as a business, with outsourcing and competitive contracting, along the neo-liberal model in which everything is construed on a competition basis. A number of the interpreters and advocates we interviewed had micro-size private businesses running alongside the day job. As Sxxx says:

I'm doing a business, yeh, I'm doing a business as a translator. I'm providing a translation service to the people of the community and anyone who needs a translation. I'm doing translations in almost lots of languages. I'm using other interpreters.

Oh you have a private ...

Yes, yeh. So I've got a private business now which is a small scale business.

The role of mediation

So the crucial business at hand is that of mediation. Klára and the advocates she works with is mediating between the procedures of the benefits-giving institutions and the lifeworlds of the clients. The relationship between Klára and her advocate co-workers is interesting. It often seems as if Klára is better informed than the advocates themselves and is able to step in with detailed information about some procedure which the

advocate lacks. So we note at times a blurring of role between advocate and interpreter. But the basic structure of mediated interaction is: A who doesn't share a language with B, communicates with B by means of C who shares both B and C's languages.

M do you intend to claim reduction of your council tax?

K zažádala ste si o snížení council tax?

N ne

K ne, nežádala ste si, když ste si žádala o housing?

K she says no, no...

(M is the advocate, K the interpreter, N the client)

Here Mxxx asks a question, which Klára interprets in Czech, Nxxx replies and Klára relays her answer in English. This is the typical triadic structure of the interpreting event (cf Li 2011) The systematic shifting between languages in the mediated interpreting event, which we will see in the data below, we can understand as a special type of translanguaging.

The interpreting event in the contact zone

We observed repeated interpreting events, all with a very similar structure. The rooms were not specifically designated or designed for interpreting/advocacy, typically with bare institutional tables and chairs, appropriated temporarily for the purpose at hand. Again typically, interpreter and advocate were seated on one side of the table with the client, often with a friend, relation or child, seated at the other. The client would typically arrive with a clutch of papers, often dog eared, either in a plastic bag, a wallet or folder or a shopping bag. These are the sedimented accumulation of relevant documents, containing information that may be pertinent to the claim. A proportion of time is spent fishing around in the document cache to find the relevant information. The early part of the interpreting event is typically spent establishing what claim the client wants to or can make, whether it is a new claim or there is a claim in process. If the latter the task is to establish what stage the claim is at. If there is a claim to be made, it

will typically be made on-line with the advocate completing the form on a laptop, asking questions which are translated by the Klára the interpreter in the familiar three participant structure of mediated interaction.

There are a number of major sources of difficulty, both for the clients (more or less continually) and (frequently) for the interpreter and advocate as well. The first is to construct what steps are actually required in the procedure to claim a particular benefit, while establishing whether the client is eligible and what stage he/she is at. These are generally very complex, liable to change and can provoke confusion in the interpreter and advocate as well as the client. Typically interpreter and advocate work together to resolve such issues, and it is not always clear what the division of labour is. In the lead-in to extract 5.1 below we noticed that a significant proportion of the early stage of the interaction is devoted to working out what the procedures are for claiming and where a client is in the process. Following that, once it becomes clear that the client has to make a new claim because the old one has lapsed, the action moves on-line to filling in a new application. On a number of occasions Klára and Mxxx also admit confusion, as we see in the transcript in extract 5.1. NB words spoken in English in the original (on the left) are reproduced in bold in the translation (on the right).

M did you receive or are you currently getting return-to-work credit, in-work credit or self-employment credit? I don't think so	
K nevracíte se sem do práce? Nevracíte se zpátky do práce? Někej kredit z práce? Já tomu pořádně taky nerozumím (laughs) it's a complicated question (laughs). But it - no.	K You are not going back to work here? You are not going back to work? Some work credit? I don't really understand it myself (laughs) .it's a complicated question (laughs). But it - no.

Extract 5.1

Working out what is required is by no means a negligible task as can be seen in the following interaction from the beginning of the session (extract 5.2):

K tak s čím chcete pomoci?	K so, what do you need to help with?
L Nó... mně sa... ja som robila. Chcela som ist' na sociálku, vlastně na podporu, ale že prišol papier, P forty-five, nikdo mi to neveděl vypisať, ani ja to neviem, no a do [...] jsem to vypisala a ani som to neodeslala a zastavili mi to, že mám	L Well... I... I worked. I wanted to go to the benefit office, actually to the jobseekers' allowance, but I received a paper, the P forty-five , and noone knew how to fill it in for me, and I don't know that either, well and [...] I filled it in, I haven't even sent it out and they stopped it because
K jobseekers	K jobseekers
L ano	L yes
K vy jste so vo to, jste se přihlásila a pak vám to zastavili	K you have, you have applied for it, and then they stopped it
L ano	L yes
K a máte ty dopisy tady?	K and do you have the letters here?
L ano	L yes
K right, this lady used to work, she worked and then her job stopped, so she wanted to sign on, she started to sign at the jobcentre, claiming jobseekers' allowance, then she received P45 and I don't know whether she said she had to fill in some forms, she did not know how to fill it in properly, and then [...] jobseekers has been stopped. So she would like the help. With the jobseekers. And I asked her about the letter, if she	

had any paperwork on her.	
JH můžu jenom vaše jméno, jo?	JH can I just ask for your name, yes?
L Lxxx	L Lxxx
JH Lxxx... děkuju.	JH Lxxx... thank you.
M so her jobseekers' has stopped	
K takže se Vám to, Vám to zastavili	K so it has, they've stopped it
L ano	L yes
K kdy Vám to zastavili	K when did they stop it
M from twenty seventh of August	
L ale mi neposílali žádné peniaze, nič	L but they weren't sending me any money, nothing
M because she didn't go to sign	
K she just said she didn't receive any money	
M she didn't go to sign her declaration. She didn't go to the jobcentre, maybe she was supposed to go there	
K vy jste měla jít [...]	K you were meant to go [...]
00:02:25 L ja som mala jít na podpis lenže me povedali že já som resident test neprešla	L I was meant to go to sign but they told me that I hadn't passed the residency test
K takže ste tam nešla	K so you did not go there
L no	L yea
K she didn't go because she was told she didn't pass residency test	

Extract 5.2

Transcontextual dimensions of the interpreting event: Phoning the helpline

The documentation which the client brings along to the meeting is an indication that these events have a history. The documents are a sedimentation of past activity and events, potentially relevant to the present one. It may be relevant for example to have the names and dates of birth of children as well as the address of their schools and date they started there. So this is an example of transcontextual trajectories (Kell 2009): the documentation is brought along to each new meeting and can be drawn on to provide relevant information for a new claim. The other very characteristic feature of these meetings is a call made to the relevant benefits helpline, either to check the progress of a claim or to clarify some aspect of the procedure for claiming. These are typically undertaken in the first instance by the advocate and may involve many repeated and frustrating attempts to get through. Once through, the advocate will typically introduce him/herself, making clear that they are speaking from an advocacy organization. The phone may be handed to the client to identify themselves, which provokes a flurry of anxiety, with interpreter and advocate prompting while the client answers the identification questions. In this case Mxxx is phoning to try and establish the status of Lxxx’s JSA claim. It turns out that it has lapsed because she didn’t come to sign on at the Job Centre:

09:15 Hi this is Mxxx, I’m calling from a charity in Leeds called Migrant Counsel, we support clients whose first language is not English.	Mxxx gets through
<i>Mxxx explains the situation based on the letter Lxxx gave her. Mxxx gives them her National Insurance Number, name, date of birth.</i>	
00:10:31M is she single or married?	

K ste vdaná	K are you married	
L single	L single	Lxxx understands before Klára's translation
K single		
M single		
K Vy rozumíte		Klára speaking in an encouraging tone. Like when she speaks to her children on domestic recording tapes
L uh-uh (laughs shyly)		
<i>11:54 M what day did she sign on? Which jobcentre? Right... so would that be online? She puts the phone down.</i>		
M So, they said that because she failed to attend so we'll have to do another claim for her online. [...] again.		

Completion of on-line benefits applications is also a very characteristic activity in the advocacy interpreting events. Here Klára is working with Lxxx to complete her current benefit claim on-line.

K co byla vaše poslední práce, jak jste pracovala	K What was your last job, when you worked
L ja som robila v hoteli, Etap.	L I worked in a hotel, Etap.
K she worked in hotel Etap. Co jste tam dělala?	K she worked in hotel Etap. What did you do there?
L upratovačku	L a cleaner
<p><i>Name and address of the last employer? Was it through an agency? Lxxx doesn't have it. Klára: it's on Marsh Lane, isn't it? Because I go interpret sometimes round the corner, for the Work programme. It was an agency, Lxxx doesn't remember the name. She sent the contract off to the jobcentre. Through an agency, through a friend's mum.</i></p>	

Translanguaging

Translanguaging as defined earlier is clearly a bread and butter activity in community interpreting and we have already seen examples of the characteristic structure of the interpreting turn (Li 2011). However as well as the interpreting turns proper there are many instances of translanguaging in social chat, off-task but revealing. What complicates the picture linguistically are the languages involved: English, Czech and

Slovak. The consequence of this is that the interlingual translanguaging data we have collected can involve both English-Czech translanguaging and Czech-Slovak translanguaging. To the extent that a number of interactions involve English (spoken by the advocate and the interpreter), standard Czech, (spoken by the interpreter) and relatively frequently a blend of Czech/Slovak, spoken by the client, we can talk routinely of English/Czech/Slovak translanguaging. Although some Roma are considered to speak an ethnically marked variety of Czech and or Slovak (or 'ethnolect' – see section 2), the use of the Roma language itself is rigorously kept ingroup and not used in outgroup interactions (Borkovcova 2007). Our data therefore consists of outgroup interactions between Czech and Slovak Roma, a speaker of standard Czech and the English advocate. We have recordings of whispered interaction between the client and those accompanying her, but these are not transcribable. As discussed above, we term this *interlingual* translanguaging.

As well as interlingual translanguaging, we have also identified translanguaging that goes on between registers, as for example when a speaker explains an English technical term in plain English. This we have called, following Jakobson, *intralingual* translanguaging. Clearly this also crosses languages, as when the interpreter will explain a technical term in English not with an equivalent term in Czech, but with a simplified gloss or explanation in Czech. At this point there is an intersection: the translanguaging is both inter- and intralingual. A further category of translanguaging, *intersemiotic* translanguaging, is less in evidence in our data, though there are numerous examples in the Birmingham video data where customers and butchers can communicate through often comical gestures, ordering chicken for example through imitating a chicken. We further propose another type of translanguaging, *interdiscursive* translanguaging, to account for situations where discursive framing is at issue and is causing a communication difficulty. We provide examples of each below.

In general, the data we collected involved translanguaging in the direction of English. In one interpreting event however as we shall see, Klára is drawn into translating a letter into Czech for Mr Txxx., or more specifically working with him to shift his rather incorrect draft towards a more appropriate format. This involves extensive intralingual translanguaging.

English/Czech/Slovak interlingual translanguaging

Here Klára and the researcher JH are discussing how to translate into Czech the English term “sworn statement”. We can see here also an element of intralingual translanguaging in that Klára’s strategy seems to be to break the English legal term down into its simplest elements and then rebuild it into a term that would work in Czech.

JH budeš tam psát i to sworn statement? To úplně nahoře?	JH are you going to write even that sworn statement ? That at the very top?
K rodné číslo... já sem si řikala, jak bys to přeložila? Jakože... že přísaháš, jako přísaha? Jsem si taky řikala, přísaha pana Mxxx Txxx?	K rodne cislo [personal identification number]... I was thinking, how would you translate that? Like... that you take an oath, like an oath? I was thinking, the oath of Mr Mxxx Txxx?

Extract 5.3

Intralingual translanguaging in English

This example, discussed in more detail below, illustrates the shifting between more specialized and everyday register characteristic of intralingual translanguaging. Klára asks Mr Txxx in Czech “Are you heterosexual?” His reply comes back robustly in everyday language “Ja jsem na ženský” (“I like women”), which is echoed by Klára “He said he likes women.”

K which one? Hesitates. Jste heterosexuál?	K which one? Hesitates. Are you heterosexual?
T co to je?	T what is it?
K he said, what is it.	
T Ja jsem na ženský.	T I like women.
K he said he likes women (all laugh)	

Extract 5.4

In this condensed example we see a shifting between the technical register of categories of sexual identification heterosexual (English)/heterosexuál (Czech) in both English and Czech. The more technical question provokes a plain answer.

Interlingual translanguaging in Czech and Slovak

As Klára, assisted at times by JH, works on transforming the statement into Standard Czech, it can be seen that the Czech/Slovak translanguaging, along with Mr Txxx's attempts at the lexis of the legal register in Czech cause them some difficulty. Is a particular word Slovak or is it Mr Txxx's attempt at a Czech legal term? (JH's explanatory notes are in the right-hand column):

T já jsem to ještě jednou napsal, jak ste mi to řikala, jó, všechno	T so I wrote it down again, yea, as you've told me to, everything	
3:06 K co to je tady napsaný, půlnoc?	K what's that written here, půlnoc?	Půlnoc means midnight, it sounds similar to 'plná moc' (power of attorney)
T: pulnomoc, no, sem to nadepsal asi, ja už tu gramatiku...	T pulnomoc, well, I titled it, me and the grammar...	Pulnomoc= the word does not exist, combination of the 2 words above
K (reads the letter) já Mxxx Txxx	K (reads the letter) I, Mxxx Txxx	
T plnomocnňuji	T give power of attorney	Plnomocnňuji - incorrect, should be zplnomocnňuji

K no dobře, tady je napsaný já Mxxx Txxx půlnoc zmocňuji Txxx...	K well all right, here it says I Mxxx Txxx [půlnoc zmocňuji] Txxx...	půlnoc zmocňuji - does not make sense. půlnoc = midnight
T Txxx Txxx	T Txxx Txxx	
K Txxx Txxx k převzetí výpis mého řidičského preukazu. Akorát tady moc nerozumím tady tomudle.	K Txxx Txxx to collect the register of my driving license. I just don't really understand this here.	převzetí výpis - wrong case preukazu - slovak vocabulary
T můžete prepsat to... tu gramatiku. Pulnomoc prostě jako že davam pulnomoc... zplnomocňuji	T you can rewrite that.... the grammar. Power of attorney [incorrect] just that I give power or attorney [incorrect]... I authorize	Pulnomoc is incorrect, half way between plna moc (power of attorney) and půlnoc (midnight)

Extract 5.5

Interdiscursive translanguaging

In addition to the interlingual and intralingual translanguaging discussed so far, which correspond to shifts across language and register respectively, we also identify a kind of translanguaging that we will call *interdiscursive*. Interdiscursive translanguaging occurs when there is an unfamiliar discourse that needs to be negotiated. Here (extract 5.6) it is the discourse of Equal Opportunity Monitoring. We will see how this interdiscursive translanguaging is triggered when Klára mediates the question “Are you heterosexual” to Mr Txxx in order to complete the monitoring section of the Migrant Counsel

registration form. Since Mr Txxx is new to Migrant Counsel, in the course of the interaction, the manager Sxxx comes in to complete the registration form for new clients. Part of this is the Equal Opportunity Monitoring section, which includes sexual orientation as one of the protected categories:

00:18:10 Sxxx, the manager, enters. He asks for the client's surname, first name, (Klára spells it out), address - Axxx View, tel number (T gives it to Klára in Czech) if he has any disability. JH and Axxx talking about Czech and Slovak language in the background.	
00:20:27 S Is it easy to ask this question?	
K which one? Hesitates. Jste heterosexuál?	K which one? Hesitates. Are you heterosexual?
T co to je?	T what is it?
K he said, what is it.	
T Ja jsem na ženský.	T I like women.
K he said he likes women (all laugh)	
S Date of birth?	
K dvacátého desátý šedesát osm?	Twentieth of the tenth sixty-eight?
T jo	T yea
K twentieth of October sixty-eight	
K why is it there if people feel uncomfortable asking it?	
S I feel uncomfortable asking this question, but it's kind of required. Nineteen?	
K sixty-eight.	
S sometimes people have funny reaction.	
K (to Mr Txxx) voni to tam prostě ty otázky, někdo se	K (to Mr Txxx) they just have those questions there, somebody

ptaj, někdy neptaj, je to pro nějaký statistiky, asi.

asks, sometimes they don't, it's for some statistics, perhaps.

Extract 5.6

The sexual orientation question provokes some uncertainty on the part of Sxxx, who asks in English: "Is it easy to ask this question?" Klára asks which one, then hesitates a moment and asks in Czech: "Jste heterosexuál?"

T co to je? (what is it?)

K he said, what is it.

T Ja jsem na ženský. (I like women)

K he said he likes women (all laugh)

There seems a degree of discomfort among all parties in asking this question, which originates with Sxxx's comment. This is also indexed perhaps by a degree of turn taking breakdown. Klára asks "Which one?" but almost immediately answers her own question and translates it into Czech. Later Mr Txxx asks "co to je?" ("what is it?") but again answers without waiting for an answer to his question. Everybody involved in the interaction seems to know what is being asked, what nobody seems to be clear about is why Klára and Sxxx continue to discuss this:

K why is it there if people feel uncomfortable asking it?

S I feel uncomfortable asking this question, but it's kind of required.

The vague passive construction doesn't really specify or make clear who is requiring it, illustrating the speaker's uncertainty. The atmosphere of veiled criticism of the sexual orientation question persists, with Sxxx saying:

S sometimes people have funny reaction.

Klára turns to Mr Txxx to explain in Czech, attributing the question to some unspecified third persons:

K voni to tam prostě ty otázky, někdo se ptaj, někdy neptaj, je to pro nějaký statistiky, asi (they just have

those questions there, somebody asks, sometimes they don't, it's for some statistics, perhaps).

Another similar issue comes up with the Equality Monitoring in relation to the question on Religion:

S religion Christian, yea?	
K máte nějaký náboženství, nebo ne?	K do you have any religion, or not?
T tak, normální.	T well, normal.
K laughs tak, normální je? He said 'normal'.	K laughs well, normal is? He said 'normal'.
T Žádný... katolík.	T none... Catholic.
K Katolík. Tak žádný nebo katolík?	K Catholic. So, none or Catholic?
T Katolík, nó...	T Catholic, yea...
K (still laughing) he said normal, which one is normal?	

Extract 5.7

These identity questions seem to have the capacity for provoking discomfort, particularly perhaps the sexual orientation one, though also in a different way in the religion question. Religiously Mr Txxx is “normal”, which appears to mean somewhere between nothing and Catholic, the unmarked religion in the Czech Republic. It seems that sexually he is “normal” as well. What is interesting in this interaction is that nobody seems prepared to own the sexual orientation question. It is something in both English and Czech that “they” are asking for some statistics, thus nothing to do with “us”.

This provokes a misunderstanding which can be understood as a problem of framing, Mr Txxx doesn't seem to be inside the discourse of Equal Opportunities Monitoring, others are but are uncomfortable with the sexual orientation question. If you are inside the Equal Opportunities Monitoring discourse, the question on sexual orientation is relatively easy to make sense of, even if someone feels reluctant to ask it. To Mr Txxx who is not inside the discourse it is totally random and incomprehensible. This triggers the mediating work that is outlined above. So interdiscursive translanguaging can be

understood as mediating or interpreting a discourse, here Equal Opportunities Monitoring, to someone who is outside it.

Text trajectories

Mr Txxx's original text, the one he brought in for Klára had been on a journey. It started as a spoken variety of Czech with Slovak influences which betrays his educational level, especially when combined with his under educated attempts at legal terminology in Czech. There is some robust interaction between Klára and Mr Txxx as the text is re-shaped. Klára's version is then subjected to scrutiny by Sxxx who voices the UK legal requirements, resisted initially by Klára. It becomes clear that his version, conforming with legal requirements is going to be treated as the original version when Sxxx asks Klára to translate it back into Czech. English is no longer a translation from the Czech, but is treated as a new and originary version, even though the wording stays close to Klára's version. Klára unwillingly translates the "original" English version back into Czech. As a final step Sxxx asks her to translate the translation back into English so that he can check it. This technique of back translation as it is called is a technique for regulating and controlling the translation process.

There seems to be in evidence an ordered hierarchy of language varieties. From least to most valued these appear to be: i) oral Czech influenced by Slovak, ii) under-educated written Czech, which incorporates aspects of i), iii) educated written Czech. In the interaction we examined, educated written Czech becomes subordinated both to the forms of legal English and the legal procedures for witnessing statements. So within the context English trumps all Czech varieties. The important insight that emerges about translanguaging is that not all language varieties are equal and that there are hierarchies of value operating in this interaction. In the Czech/Czech interaction of Klára, JH and Mr Txxx it is Klára's version that wins out. In the UK context it is Sxxx's English version of the statement that becomes the original text, despite being in a sense a version of Klára's text which has been painstakingly put together earlier.

Summary

We have seen how the interpreting event is made up of extended turns of translanguaging, sometimes contained within the triadic structure of classic interpreting practice as described in Li (2011). However we also note extended turns of explanation and social chat going on in parallel to the work in hand of clarifying and making a claim for benefit. Translanguaging can be *interlingual*, involving at least English, Czech, Slovak and Slovak inflected varieties of Czech. We have also seen evidence of pervasive shifting between registers, which we call *intralingual* translanguaging. *Intersemiotic* translanguaging is less in evidence in our data, although pervasive shifts from spoken to written language can be seen as intersemiotic. We have also proposed a category of *interdiscursive* translanguaging, to account for communicative work that goes on when a particular discursive frame is not shared.

We have also seen how this interpretation and advocacy interaction is also *transcontextual* in at least two ways: firstly in the trail of documentation which clients bring with them, a sedimentation of their life history of being documented, secondly through the practice of phoning a helpline to clarify some aspect of the claim. We now turn to translanguaging at home.

6. Translanguaging at home

This section is based on the analysis of 26 transcripts of interaction recorded within the domestic settings of Klára, between 6 November and 15 December 2014. The recordings ranged in time from a few minutes to half an hour. Eight of the longer transcripts were transcribed in their entirety, with relevant sections translated. The recordings were made by Klára using a voice recorder provided for her by the project. Many of the interactions take place in Klára's kitchen, at various times of day, though some are in other parts of the house and also in the car. This section also draws upon social media data, principally logs of 39 SMS interactions between Klára and her daughters Txxx and Rxxx, and of extended conversations on Skype. In these cases we see how the domestic domain extends beyond the physical bounds of the home: SMS conversations take place between family members who are geographically dispersed across Leeds, while the Skype conversation is transnational, between Klára in the UK and her mother in the Czech Republic. We also make reference to Klára's web surfing activities that she carries on while interacting with family members online and face-to-face. These activities were captured using the software BB Flashback.

Broad patterns of language use

The talk in Klára's home is mainly about day-to-day family concerns: Klára and her husband Jxxx are heavily involved in bringing up the family. Talk *about* language and *in* different languages plays a big part in this: there is close attention to ensuring that the children speak Czech and have a knowledge of Czech culture. Other issues are relevant to family talk, for example, healthy eating, looking for keys, doing homework. The data exhibit some broad patterns of language use: Klára typically speaks Czech with the children, for instance, but in situations of urgency when Klára needs to get a quick answer (such as when Rxxx loses the keys), or when speaking on complex topics, she may use English. The children tend to use Czech when they are alone with Klára: they speak with each other almost exclusively in English. It appears that Klára's role on the TLang project, and the presence of the recorder, prompts some of the language-related talk that is so prevalent in the interaction. However in Klára's family, multilingual language use is not only the topic of much of the talk: the family dynamics operate through multilingual talk and translanguaging.

Klára invests quite a lot of time in explicitly pedagogical work with her children to promote the use of Czech and attention to Czech culture. Her two daughters simultaneously comply with and resist this aspect of the parental project, resistance being done typically through explicit non-use of Czech, or the use of a stylised teasing Czech. The little boy Axxx. is far more ready to use with Czech without complaint, and to comply with Klára: he has bought into Czech learning and use as an activity which brings him close to his mother, and does not resist. Talk in the family is characterised by playfulness and teasing: The girls’ resistance to Czech, for example, is often expressed through teasing of their brother, and there are many other instances of humour, irony, mockery.

There is occasional use of, and talk about, Panjabi with Jxxx. However, Jxxx does not engage in the same kind of pedagogic work in Panjabi that Klára does in Czech: he migrated to the UK at a far younger age, and his identification with Indian culture is correspondingly weaker as a result. The children are not competent users of Panjabi, and have never visited India. This renders the dynamics of Panjabi/English in the family talk quite different from those of Czech/English.

Online, the family (or at least Klára, Txxx and Rxxx) use SMS a good deal. Klára appears to assume that the children have their mobile phones switched on most of the time they are away from the house, and are in a position to respond to messages. Klára typically though not exclusively uses Czech to initiate SMS interaction, and Txxx typically responds in Czech, though when she initiates an exchange she uses English. Rxxx uses more Czech than we might expect from the face-to-face language use, where she can be resistant to her mother’s attempts to get her to use the language. She also moves between languages within the space of a turn, and crosses between standard English and a teenage variety (“tomoz”).

<p>K because I think A is going to Albert’s house tomorrow. A deš zejtra k tomu Albertovi [albθrtovi]?</p>	<p>K because I think A is going to Albert’s house tomorrow. A are you going to Albert’s tomorrow?</p>
<p>A Co?</p>	<p>A what?</p>

K deš k tomu Albertovi [albɛrtovi]?	K are you going to Albert's?
T (teasingly) Albertovi [albɛrtovi]	T (teasingly) Albert's
A co?	A what?
T Do you, are you going to Albert's tomoz?	
T? (teasingly) co?	T? (teasingly) what?
A Albert's tomoz	

Instances where lexical expressions from languages other than English are used in ongoing talk are very common. Some interlingual translanguaging patterns include:

- Klára's use of bureaucratic expressions related to the education system in English: assembly, parents' evening.
- Expressions related to health: vaccination, polio, booster.
- All family members use short expressions in Czech: jo/yes, ne/no, prosím/please, děkuji/thank you.
- Food: Indian and Czech dishes are referred to with their Panjabi and Czech names: daal, placička.
- Family members are referred to in the relevant language, Czech or Panjabi: babička/grandma, děda/grandpa, papaji/dad.
- Terms related to Czech culture are retained in Czech. Mikuláš/St Nicholas, čert/demon, Ježíšek/baby Jesus.
- Individual words in English intersperse Klára's Czech: bacon, trainers, lettuce.
- Openings, closings and greetings are often in Czech: ahoj/hi, bye bye maminko/bye bye mummy, Ahoj mami/bye mum.

The family: An ongoing project

Bringing up the family is an ongoing project. Klára's use of gentle chastisement and stick-and-carrot in her talk is characteristic of her child-rearing, as she prevails upon her children to perform certain tasks or to behave in certain ways. She pushes Txxx to

do her homework and to do some vacuuming she gently berates Rxxx for being ‘scatty’ and to take ‘normal’ trainers with her; and she tells Axxx to keep himself clean, with a promise of a reward of strawberries when he has done so. Apart from the occasional word in this day-to-day up-bringing talk, Klára speaks in Czech, and her children typically reply to her in English.

A good deal of the general conversation that is part of family life is on the topic of language and on multilingualism itself. At one point Rxxx talks about how to say ‘daddy’ in a number of languages, and Jxxx mentions that ‘Czech months are hard to learn’. In another episode, one full of humour, Klára prompts Rxxx/Txxx to say how good her carbonara was in a number of European languages (extract 6.1: turns are numbered for reference):

1	05:09 K ale teďka vážně, řekněte mi, jak vám chutnala tadyta omáčka, protože to sem poprvý dělala, to se jmenuje Carbonara. Jak vám to chutnalo.	K but now seriously, tell me how you liked this sauce, because I did it for the first time, it's called Carbonara. How did you like it.
2	R/T I can't taste anything	
3	R/T Das ist sehr gut, ja. This is German, ja. German household (with mock German accent)	
4	R/T that's not German, you're just making it up	
5	K Tak teď to řekni francouzsky! C'est bon!	K and now say that in French! C'est bon!
6	R/T (makes a sound)	
7	K to vás učili ve škole, jo? To si pudu stěžovat.	K is that what they taught you at school? I'll go there t complain.
8	R/T [...] baguette	

9	K les spaghetitis est bon	
10	R/T bon!	
11	K a španělsky	K and in Spanish
12	T me gusta	
13	K gusta?	
14	T me gusta	
15	K a špagety sou dobrý. Jak se to řekne.	K the spaghetti is good. How do you say it.
16	T me gusta un spaghetti	
17	R marshmallows, s'il vous plait	

Extract 6.1

Klára in turn 5 responds to Rxxx/Txxx's claim in German that 'Das ist sehr gut, ja', prompting her to repeat this in French and then in Spanish. Klára is getting her daughters to practice speaking these languages. Consciously or not, by encouraging their children's engagement with language and languages (Czech, Panjabi and otherwise), Jxxx and Klára are giving them access to the powerful pedagogic benefits of multilingualism (Cummins 1989).

A further example of how talk about language erupts into the general ongoing talk of the family is when Axxx (aged 6) starts talking about the Grammar Hotline:

1	03:27 A: hello, grammar hotline speaking! Hello, emergency grammar hotline speaking, how can I help you? Axxx speaking!	
2	J grammar hotline?	
3	K, R/T (laughing) what's that?	
4	A don't you know?	
5	K ne. Co to je?	K no. What is

		it?
6	A do you know when you sometimes say, erm	
7	J Is this from [...] on the road?	
8	K to ste se učili ve škole?	K did you learn that at school?
9	R/T hello, grammar hotline speaking, how can I help you?	
10	K a kdy to děláte, proč to děláte?	K and when do you do it, how do you do it?
11	A no, we don't do it, erm, [...] does it says, erm... I'm gonna	
12	K I'm gonna?	
13	J I'm gonna	
14	A yea, it's like... I'm gonna!	
15	R/T do you know what innit means Axxx? And ain't it?	
16	A that what's grammar hotline is about!	
17	R/T that's how Yorkshire people speak, [in thick Yorkshire accent] I'm going to toilet!	

Extract 6.2

This extract follows a more general conversation earlier between Jxxx, Rxxx or Txxx, and Klára about how certain languages 'sound' in particular ways (French sounds posh, etc.). Axxx is listening in, and his turn (1) is in response to this. Picking up on the idea of the grammar hotline (as a hotline for correct usage, maybe), the other family members engage in talk about Axxx's use of informal language (11-14), correctness (15), and the Yorkshire accent (17).

The sequence centring around Axxx's remark about the grammar hotline is indicative of the prevalence of language topics in the family's domestic interaction generally. In this case the presence of the recorder itself and indeed the overall focus on language of our project might have had a role in prompting it: this sequence took place during a very early audio recording of family interaction. The recorder is also an actor in a later conversation, where the daughters deploy its presence in an argument they are having with their mother:

1	T/R So, how much will you pay, me? I want a voice evidence.	
2	K nic ti nebudu platit, ty	K I will pay you nothing, you
3	R [...] speaking Czech [...] It's an invasion of privacy, mum!	
4	T you're just shouting at us, you don't do it [...], do you	
5	K there's no video anyway	
6	T yea, we need social services. I'm not going to speak five, four, three, two, one. Unless you pay me. Of course.	
7	K dobře. Nebudete dostávat kapesný, jó? To chcete?	K all right, you won't be getting any pocket money. Is that what you want?
8	R/T she hasn't got the guts	
9	K já vám dám. Vám ukážu	K I will show you.
10	A is it recording?	
11	R/T yea, Axxx, don't speak, don't speak, ok?	
	...	
12	02:00 K takže tady se dneska stal protest, děti se rozhodly, že nebudou mluvit, dokud jim nezaplatím peníze. Takže schválně sou potichu.	K so, there's been a protest today, the children have decided that they would not speak until I pay them. So they are quiet.

	Žejo? To teda né! Tak já to vypnu. Píp! Už jsem to vypla.	Right? No way! So I'll turn it off. Beep! I've turned it off.
13	A turn it on!	
14	R/T Axxx, it's on. Shush.	

Extract 6.3

The girls want their pocket money, but Klára will not pay it. Rxxx invokes the recorder to help her fight her cause. She first maintains that the presence of the recorder is an invasion of her privacy (turn 3), and – knowing that Klára needs to record family talk for the TLang work – threatens to keep silent in protest at not being given her pocket money (6). Rxxx or Txxx – it's unclear who – also co-opts Axxx into their protest (11): 'yea Axxx don't speak, don't speak ok?' In this case, Rxxx's threat is not to refuse to speak Czech in the home but to refuse to speak at all, and so denying Klára the opportunity to collect data.

On their mobile phones, when Klára initiates an SMS discussion with Txxx and Rxxx, it has one of four functions: (1) to coordinate their movements and check their location; (2) to ask them if they want something; (3) to tell them it is time to eat; and (4) to make requests. The topic of Klára's requests and commands is usually food-related. When Txxx or Rxxx initiate an exchange it is to tell their mother where they are and to ask for lifts.

Here are examples of each of these functions:

Coordinating movements and checking location



K Rxxx where are you? What time are you getting home?

R I will be back in 5 x

Offers

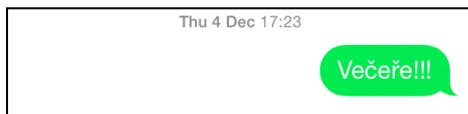


K do you want noodle soup?

R No thanks I've got ma pot noodle

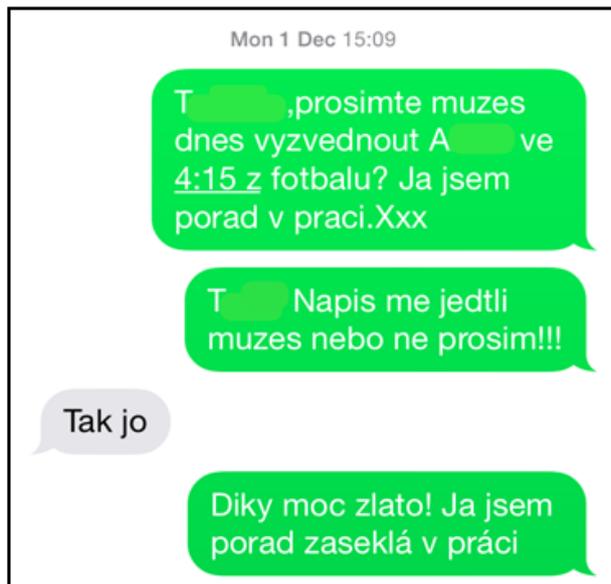
(NB this also includes an example of intralingual translanguaging or language *crossing* from Rxxx, drawing on youth culture with 'ma pot noodle'.)

Mobile phone as dinner bell



K dinner!!!

Requests



K Txxx, please, can you pick up Axxx today at 4:15 from football? I'm still at work. Xxx

K Txxx write me if you can or not please!!!

T all right

K thanks a lot honey! I'm still stuck at work

Transnational, transcultural practices online

Klára and her mother use Skype Chat to talk about friends and family in the Czech Republic and in the UK, daily events and home life in both countries, Christmas and Christmas presents, food and cooking, and travel (Klára's parents to the UK and Txxx's forthcoming visit to the Czech Republic). The interactions take place exclusively in Czech. In these interactions Klára appears to be very close to the goings-on 'back home': in her discussions of family, friends and her mother's neighbours (example 1), and also when talking about aspects of Czech daily life such as cooking and food (example 2), she seems to be comfortably immersed in day-to-day Czech culture.



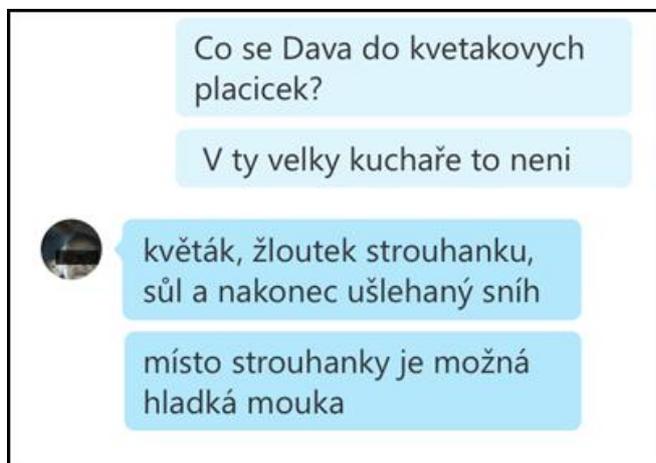
Mother: This week Mr Sxxx has died, the one who was training you, he had a stroke

M: He was 71

K: Hi

K: Well so he was not that [typo]

K: Old [typo]



K: What do you put in květákové placičky [cauliflower cakes]

K: I can't find it in the big cookbook

M: Cauliflower, egg yolk, bread crumbs, salt and finally whipped egg white

M: Instead of bread crumbs you can use flour

She is equally at home discussing daily goings-on in Leeds, in this case telling her mother about a visit of friends, a walk and the weather. She appears to be confidently trans-national.



K: A short while ago Axxx and Exxx left and now we're going to the wood to feed the ducks

M: Here it's cold, foggy, smog and awful

K: We're having Rxxx all day

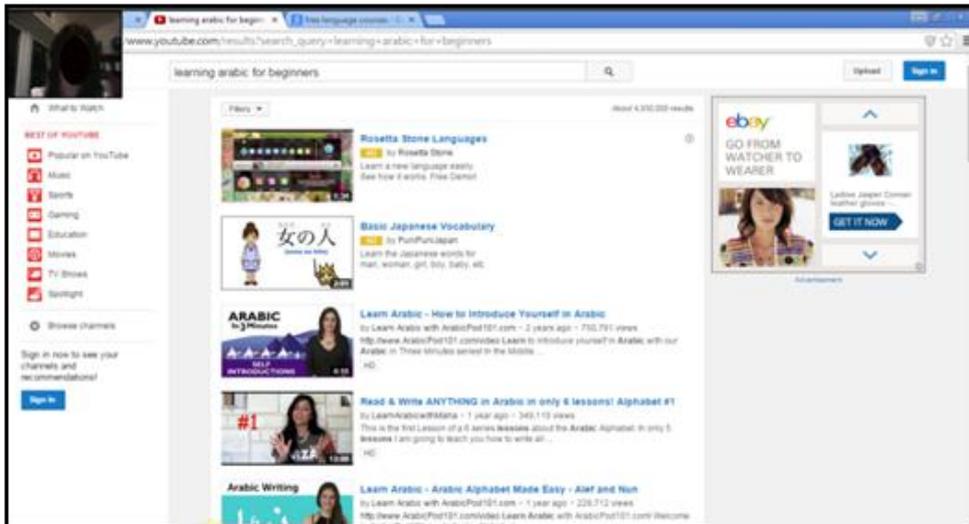
M: Aah, I'd go with you straight away

K: Here it's quite cold but sunny

Klára's interactions with her mother on Skype occur when she is cycling between other websites. During these online sessions she also brings other family members in to the conversations, in spoken interaction if they are in the house with her, or using Skype chat, including with a relative in Exeter. When she is online, Klára visits many sites in

quick succession and is very active on them. This part of the report describes a 17-minute period of online and offline activity on 1 December 2014:

Klára is sitting at the computer, eating. She has these sites open at the beginning of the session: YouTube/learning Arabic for beginners and Google/free language courses.



She then clicks on the skype icon, and a window of skype text chat with her mother opens up. The previous conversation is visible, regarding flight tickets for her mother's visit to Leeds. Klára types in Czech 'ok, fine, I'll send it to Pxxx'. She writes a couple more messages. She then shuts down skype and goes back onto YouTube.

She opens up a new tab: Amazon.com, and looks at books for children. She navigates to 'my account'.

She opens a new tab: yahoo.co.uk. She has a look at the news headlines in the sidebar but does not click on any news stories. She does though click on 'Victoria's Secret Show 2014: Angels' Weight Loss and Diet Plans'. The story is about the diet and exercise habits of the Victoria's Secret models. She then scrolls back up the screen and returns to yahoo.co.uk.

She opens another new tab and goes to idnes.cz. This is a Czech news website. She scrolls down to have a quick look at the news. She clicks on the article 'thousands of children owe money for dustbins. When they grow up, they end in

execution'. She scrolls down to read the article, about children, often living in care, who are held responsible for their parents' debt after they reach 18. Off the screen, English music is playing, and Jxxx's voice can be heard. She goes back to the list of news in idnes.cz, clicking on 'most tram lines have been stopped, on Tuesday Prague and the surroundings are expecting a collapse', an article about the impact of the extremely cold weather on public transport. She scrolls up, clicks on the article 'Iranian golden youth knows how to enjoy life. Bikinis and radical sports can be seen online' on the same site. Offline she says 'Yea, I don't blame you. I'll come with you, Jxxx.' She offers to give Jxxx a massage, as he is very tired, and closes all the tabs.

This brief summary of one session online contains instances of much of Klára's typical online behaviour: her making use of new technology for language learning purposes, her interactions with her mother on Skype, her enjoyment of news and gossip in both Czech and English. These again index her transnational identity: she appears to be confident in engaging with news and cultural events in both her homeland and in the UK. The other practices observed were: planning a trip to Lancaster (using google, tripadvisor, various hotel and local tourism sites); Christmas shopping (using the John Lewis and the Marks and Spencer sites) and buying and selling online using eBay. Most of her online practices are leisure- or family-related, but there is one instance where work makes an appearance: she spends time completing a survey about public service interpreting. Her main concerns, it transpires, are safety at work, working conditions generally, and the low status of her profession.

The pedagogic project: teaching language-and-culture

Given Klára's close continued identification with the Czech language and Czech culture, it is not surprising that they are prominent topics in family talk. Klára spends much time and effort explicitly teaching language and culture to her children. The two girls respond to this aspect of family talk in interesting ways. We can consider this in terms of *frame*, the metacommunicative 'schemata of organization' (Goffman 1974: 21) within which the participants' utterances need to be understood. In the example below, Klára's move in turn 4 takes the interaction into a pedagogic frame, within which she engages in didactic talk. In this example Rxxx and Txxx both comply with and resist their

positioning as learners, as people who needs to be taught. They are eating the same cauliflower cakes (placička) that Klára asked her mother the recipe for on Skype:

1	T mummy please can you get me another.... placička?	
2	K chceš, jo? Chutnaj ti?	K you want, yea? You like them?
3	T uh-uh	
4	K tak řekni: květáková placička	K so say: cauliflower cake
5	R in the background teasingly: květáková placička	R in the background teasingly: cauliflower cake
6	T mami můžu mít, get a, květáková placička?	T mum can I have, get a, cauliflower cake?
7	K ne, placička!	K no, placička!
8	R in the background teasingly: placička	
9	T same thing for me	

Extract 6.4

The word *placička* does not have a direct English translation, so in turn 1, when Txxx asks for one, she has to use the Czech word. In response (turns 2 and 4) Klára withholds it until she says the full name (*květáková placička*) in Czech. Rxxx, who is not the direct addressee, says the words but using ‘odd intonation’ (according to JH), seemingly mocking her mother’s attempts to teach Txxx Czech. In turn 6 Txxx asks for the cake again, using Czech for most of the turn. In turn 7, still within the pedagogic frame, Klára corrects Txxx’s pronunciation, again to be teased by her other daughter in a further act of resistance.

Klára is not only teaching her children the Czech language but also aspects of Czech culture, in this case, about typical Czech food that they will not encounter outside the home in the UK. This example also points to a tendency for food to be referred to in the original language – perhaps because there is in most cases not an appropriate direct translation. Txxx’s unmarked language of choice is English, and in turn 1 above her only

non-English word is the name of the cauliflower cake that does not have a name in English.

So language and culture for Klára have an ingrained co-relationship, and she teaches her children about both in an explicitly didactic – though frequently playful – way. Here, at the beginning of December, she is talking to Axxx about the up-coming celebration of Mikuláš – St Nicholas’ day (6 December) – an important festival in the Czech calendar. They use the term čert, ‘a mythical figure, something like a devil, but with no direct equivalent in English’ (JH):

1	A do you know that čerts don't even exist	
2	K jó, a jak ty to víš, asi?	K yes, and how do you know?
3	A because! This isn't a fantasy or something	
4	K jo, a já už jsem je viděla hodněkrát, čerty.	K yea, I have seen the many times, 'čerts'
5	A they're just dressed up.	
6	K jó, to si jenom myslíš. Tadyto bude opravdickej čert. To se budeš bát!	K that's what you just think. This will be a real čert. You will be so scared!
7	A Lxxx's like that. He, he said that he went into a volcano and he said that he's spiderman. [...]	
8	K to teprve uvidíš, ty se budeš bát, budeš říkat [stylized voice] mami pomoc, pomoc, já budu pořád hodnej! Já už nebudu nikdy zlobit, už tě nebudu kopat! Už budu mluvit jenom česky každě den, mami!	K you will see, you will be scared, you will be saying [stylized voice] mummy help, help, I will be good all the time! I will never be naughty, I will never kick you! I will be only speaking in Czech, every day, mum!
9	A ale já neumím česky, a já, I don't know how to speak Czech!	A But I don't speak Czech, and I, I don't know how to speak Czech!

10	K n3, tak t3 odnese 3ert	K well, so 3ert will take you away
11	A I don't want to go to Mikuláš	

Extract 6.5

A maintains that the 3ert is not real, and that he has often seen them in any case. Klára threatens him with a real 3ert, which will scare him. In a stylised performance Klára tells Axxx that his response will be to cry for help from his mummy, to promise to be good, to never be naughty, to never kick her, and to speak only in Czech every day. Axxx's frightened response is to say (in Czech) that he doesn't speak Czech and (in English) that he does not know how to speak Czech. He appears to be willing to align with his mother's wish that he should speak Czech and at the same time to be worried that he cannot do so. Finally, teasing him again, Klára tells him that the 3ert will take him away.

If Txxx and Rxxx resist their mother's attempts to teach them Czech, they also actively adopt a stance of non-alignment with their brother. This is evident in the gently mocking behaviour seen in the next extract. Here Txxx teases both her mother and her brother by deploying a range of aspects of her multilingual and cross-register repertoire:

1	K because I think Axxx is going to Albert'shouse tomorrow. Axxx deš zejtra k tomu Albertovi [alb3rtovi]?	K because I think Axxx is going to Albert'shouse tomorrow. Axxx are you going to Albert'stomorrow?
2	A Co?	A what?
3	K deš k tomu Albertovi [alb3rtovi]?	K are you going to Albert's?
4	T (teasingly) Albertovi [alb3rtovi]	T (teasingly) Albert's
5	A co?	A what?
6	T Do you, are you going to Albert's tomoz?	

7	T? (teasingly) co?	T? (teasingly) what?
8	A Albert's tomoz	
9	T Axxx can you just answer the question!	
10	A I don't know what he means!	
11	J are you going to Albert's house tomorrow, after school?	
12	A I don't know.	

Extract 6.6

Klára speaks to Txxx in English but asks Axxx the question in Czech (1). This shift from Czech to English indexes a corresponding move to the pedagogic frame: Klára is actively teaching Axxx Czech, exposing him to input in the language. However, here she uses the English pronunciation of 'Albert', though with a Czech ending –'ovi' to enable it to fit the structure of Czech. In turn 3 she repeats what she has said, but this time uses the Czech pronunciation of Albert. Txxx, in the next turn, perhaps primed by the juxtaposition of the two pronunciations of 'Albertovi' in her mother's consecutive turns (1 and 3), says 'Albertovi' with the Czech pronunciation, using a teasing tone. In turn 6 she asks Axxx in English if he is going to Albert's, using the contemporary slang form 'tomoz' in her question. She teases Axxx by repeating his 'co?' [what]; Axxx repeats part of Txxx's turn (6) in turn 8, leading to Txxx's frustrated exclamation (9). In Axxx's response 'I don't know what he means', it is difficult to see what the referent of 'he' is, though Klára reports that Axxx has used 'he' for 'she' before. Jxxx, in English, and using a fully-formed sentence, explicitly asks the question. In the course of the exchange they have asked Axxx the same question in Czech, in a teenage variety of English, and in a more standard variety of English.

We have already seen how Klára's daughters both comply with and resist their mother's attempts to teach them Czech, and how the far younger Axxx's tendency is to align with his mother, to please her by attempting to speak Czech. An interesting and complex example that contains instances of all these behaviours is an episode where the children are asking for smoothies (JH commentary in right-hand column):

1	K bez toho, bez tý smetany. Hele, pak	K without, without the cream. Look, and I can	
---	---------------------------------------	---	--

	vám můžu udělat smoothie, jestli chcete. Ale musíte mi vo to hezky říct česky, každej.	also make you smoothie, if you want. But you'll have to ask me for it in Czech, each of you.	
2	R/T prosím můžu mít jahůdkovej smoothie?	R/T please can I have strawberry smoothie?	teasingly
3	A mami prosim můžu mít	A and mum please can I have	
4	R/T nebo smoozie	R/T or smoozie	she mocks Czech pronunciation
5	K a ty?	K and you?	
6	A mami, prosim, můžu já mít pomor, ne	A mummy, please can I have oran-, no	
7	R/T jahodkovej. Jahůdkovej. Jahoda.	R/T strawberry (adj., incorrect). Strawberry (adj., correct). Strawberry (noun).	Jahůdkovej. English pron. Jahoda. English pron.
8	K Jakej? Řekni to, a pak vám řeknu nějakou zprávu dobrou, hrozně super zprávu.	K what? Say it, and then I'll tell you some good news, some awfully great news.	
9	R/T [...] jahoda	R/T [...] jahoda	pronounces it the English way
10	A Straw	A straw	

11	K jak, straw? Tak ty nic nedostaneš! Řekni to ještě jednou!	K what, straw? So you won't get anything! Say it again!	
12	R/T strom! Strom! [...]	R/T strom! Strom! [...]	Strom means tree, sounds like straw
13	K strom chceš jo? Tak co?	K a tree you want, yea? So?	
14	A: jahůdkovej, erm...	A strawberry, erm...	
15	R/T smoo-z-ie!		
16	A a banánovej...	A and banana...	
17	R/T smoo-z-ie!		
18	A a - ne! a jablkovej	A and - no! And an apple	
19	R/T smoo-z-ie!		
20	A A blueberry...		
21	K borůvkovej, ty	K blueberry, you	
22	A borůvkovej smoozie!	A and blueberry smoozie	He picks up smoozie
23	K Jo. a ty, Rxxx. Nebo nic nedostaneš.	K yea. And you, Rxxx. Otherwise you won't get anything.	
24	R Jahoda smoothie, please, ta	R strawberry smoothie, please, ta	
25	T (stylized voice) maminko prosím muzes mi nechat	T mum please can you leave me tomatoes because I don't like	stylized voice

	rajčátka protože mi nechutnaj	them	
26	K ty seš praštěná	K you are dotty	
27	R/T prosím můžu mít jahůdkový... smoothie smoothie, love, please. Ta, love	R/T please can I have strawberry... smoothie smoothie, love, please. Ta, love	exaggerated English pronunciation
28	R/T you know my XXX teacher, she actually says 'ta love'.		
29	K ta, jo?	K ta, yea?	
30	R/T Taa! She says love as well!		
31	K já to nesnáším, to 'ta'.	K I hate that ,ta'	

Extract 6.7

The episode starts, as many others do, with Klára coercing the children to speak Czech: she offers them a smoothie, but withholds it until they ask for it in Czech. In turn 2 Rxxx/Txxx demonstrates the tendency to both comply and resist, by asking for the smoothie in Czech but in a teasing tone. She uses the English pronunciation of smoothie, but in the next turn (4) puts on a Czech pronunciation for the word (smoozie), seemingly mocking Czech. Axxx however (turns 3 and 6) asks for the smoothie in Czech and not in teasing tones, aligning with his mother, wanting to please her, and presumably wanting the smoothie. Rxxx/Txxx attempts to ask for a strawberry smoothie (7): first, by using the adjective with the incorrect Czech pronunciation, then the adjective with the correct Czech pronunciation, and finally (playfully) the noun (Jahoda) with an English pronunciation, which she repeats in turn 9. In response to Axxx's utterance 'straw' (10) Klára threatens to not give the children anything at all until they 'say it again'. In 12 and 13 Rxxx/Txxx and Klára in turn try to confuse Axxx by asking him if he wants a tree ('strom' – sounds like 'straw'). He attempts to say 'strawberry smoothie' in Czech but gets no further than 'strawberry' before Rxxx/Txxx teases him again by supplying the word 'smoozie (smoothie with Czech pronunciation) (15). This is repeated twice more as Axxx asks for a banana and then an apple smoothie.

On asking for a blueberry smoothie (22) A. picks up on the Czech pronunciation of the word: 'borůvkovej smoozie'. This seems to be enough for his mother, who then turns to Rxxx and tells her that she won't get anything until she asks. Her turn (24) includes Czech (jahoda), English (smoothie please) and Yorkshire English (ta) in the space of four words. And similarly (27) she moves from a formal Czech request to exaggerated standard English (smoothie) to Yorkshire English (love, please. Ta love).

This very playful sequence helps to maintain the roles that are already established. Klára is the didactic mother with the power to give or withhold treats according to her children's language performance, and has a clear wish to ensure that they practice Czech. Rxxx and Txxx who comply, to an extent, by responding in Czech but take every opportunity to subvert their mother's attempts to teach them by drawing on a stylised Czech and also (in this sequence) Yorkshire English (which – it transpires – irritates their mother: 'I hate that ta'). Axxx aligns with his mother, evident in his compliance with her request by asking for the smoothie in accurate and non-mocking Czech, including the fast learning of the Czech pronunciation of smoothie (smoozie).

On SMS, Rxxx also appears to be comfortable and compliant within the pedagogic frame. In this case, although Klára makes the first comment about language use, it is Rxxx who seems to be eliciting from her mother some support for her Czech:



K: Hi honey, would you like to come home for bacon sandwich?

R: you can leave me some because vxxx is making us pancakes

K: Ok, honey, you make me very happy when you write me in Czech

R: Ooooh that's good, tell me when I write something incorrectly

K: You are so clever!

K: There was just one mistake -the spelling is když and not gdyz

Somewhat surprisingly, given Rxxx's resistance to being taught by her mother in face-to-face interaction, she responds very positively to her mother's encouragement in SMS. The pedagogic frame is evident here: Klára takes at face value Rxxx's request that she should correct her mistakes.

The Panjabi/English dynamic

Panjabi is used much less frequently in the household than Czech. The children still seem keen to speak the language and to find out about it, however. Here Txxx asks Axxx if he wants a drink in Panjabi, and after Jxxx corrects her, she is interested to know what the correct expression is:

T wait does pint mean glass, then, in Punjabi
J no, glass is slang for er - er - er - [...] it's actually a glass, yea. And, erm, pina glass is like slang for having a pint, and you say also, also 'glassy lela'. Glassy. Glassy is a small glass. So short, a short glass would be a glassy.

Extract 6.8

Jxxx takes the time to explain, encouraging his daughter to engage with the language, in a serious way, without humour or mockery. For the final extract of this section we recall that the family members like to use the languages of the home in a playful way. Here is an instance of translingual language play with the form of a lexical item, following on from the sequence above:

1	K it's like chamcha, isn't it. And a shorter chamcha is small
2	T it's not čamčička (laughs)
3	J čamčička
4	K čamčička
5	J there's chamcha and chamchi
6	K and čamčička (laughs)
7	J čamčička, yea

Extract 6.9

Klára notes that teaspoon is a shorter chamcha (chamcha being 'spoon' in Panjabi). In Czech the word is lžička. Txxx (2) forms a new word from the Panjabi word 'chamcha' (spoon) and the Czech diminutive suffix -ička to create 'čamčička': a teaspoon. Jxxx and Klára enjoy the word, playing with it and laughing along with Txxx.

Summary

In conclusion this section has shown how translanguaging contributes to the family dynamic. This translanguaging is most clearly evident interlingually between Czech and English, but also obvious in the movements between English and Panjabi, in the use of non-standard English forms. We have also seen how the various functions of language, and the interactional positions adopted by the participants in ongoing family talk, are associated with the interplay of the languages and varieties that the family members deploy as they go about family life. Klára's interactions with her mother and her web surfing practices give us an insight into the importance of Czech culture – big and small – as part of a transcultural identity. A particularly notable feature of family discourse, both face-to-face and online, is the engagement with the pedagogic frame by Klára. as she instructs her children in the Czech language and culture, and – equably notably – how the children both comply with and resist their positioning as learners of Czech language and culture. Klára possibly has the learning of Czech as her main concern, yet with so much talk about language, and in different languages, the family, doubtless benefit in many ways from being brought up in a multilingual household.

7. Across the work life boundary

The structure of this chapter so far might suggest that there is a great divide between Klára at work and Klára at home. Actually this is far from the case. One or two of the interpreters are personal friends of Klára's: with them, work and social domains merge in SMS interaction as she takes calls from them at home and they exchange texts. With Mxxx, a fellow interpreter, Klára exchanges affectionate texts about home improvements and a common passion for mushrooming as well as fine-tuning work arrangements:



K: Oh so you're already in the new one! Cool! You need to show it off to me sometime :) the two of you work like robots, don't you? I am now XXX [typo] the door, but in the evening we are planning to go to Ikea to buy a new bed, so we'll have dinner there as well. At least I don't need to cook for a change, hooray

M: :) come anytime!

M: [coffee, cake] I'll provide everything :)



K: we've been mushrooming again today

K: they're growing!!!

M: Damn! That's not possible! Last week we criss-crossed the whole wood and we found only one bolete and a few red cracking boletes! :(Next time I'm going with you!!! :)
Let me know!

K ha ha, the mushrooms must have been hiding from you :-)
Also we left many of the small ones behind, go for them the next weekend, we'll be away camping!

These interactions take place mainly in Czech but with the occasional interjection in English and insertion of emoticons ('emojis'). These are not only analogous to the paralanguage of face-to-face communication (the smiley face) but also represent tangible items (here, coffee and cake).

With Exxx she exchanges work related texts but also arranges to meet up for coffee and a chat, discusses plans to bring their families to the St Nicholas celebration:



Exxx: Hi, are you by any chance somewhere sjuh?

K: No I've just finished but I'm going to Nxxx for a coffee

K: By the way are you planning to go to St Nicholas 7.12.?

8. Conclusion

We have shown here how the nature of Klára's work as a self-employed community interpreter is occasioned by the socioeconomic conditions of neoliberalism, which have led to an erosion of working conditions and a proliferation of short term modes of employment. Community interpreters generally, as Chen (2013) has shown, are a prime example of this precarity of working conditions. The demand for community interpreters in Czech comes from the relatively new migration of Czech Roma. We have argued that the interpreter is one of the iconic occupations in an early stage migration.

S's work as an interpreter is conducted in borrowed rooms in community facilities and third sector organizations. Perched on borrowed chairs, talking across borrowed tables, the marginality of the role is highlighted. Yet it is in another way central to the adaption of the clients who use Klára's services, the Czech Roma, themselves caught in the cycle of precarity that places them on the margin between low paid work and benefits. We see in the data the huge time investment involved in claiming benefits.

The interpreting events we observed when Klára is at work are conducted in a range of languages, English, Czech and Slovak, with routine and predictable kinds of translanguaging structured round the triadic interaction that Li (2011) identified for interpreter mediated communication. We identified following Jakobson a range of types of translanguaging, interlingual, intralingual, intersemiotic and also extended the typology to include interdiscursive translanguaging. At home we see the role of translanguaging in the family project: Klára actively encourages her children to maintain their Czech, for a variety of reasons. Panjabi, their father's language, is less in evidence, but still a presence.

Klára's business is one that foregrounds language and one in which language is continually problematized. In a very real sense language is her business. We also see how she makes language her business with her family at home.

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