Chapter One

Diachronic research on community interpreting: Between interpreting, linguistics and social sciences

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This chapter aims to present the interdisciplinary character of (diachronic) research on community interpreting by presenting an ongoing project on the communicative situation of the migrant workers from Galicia (Spain) in Hanover (Germany) in the 1960s and 70s and their need for community interpreting.

In order to be able to thoroughly describe the language mediation among this migrant group, it was imperative to provide a detailed linguistic description of the Galician community in Hanover. The theoretical foundations of the project lie therefore on two different and relatively new disciplines: community interpreting within the field of interpreting studies and migration linguistics within the applied linguistics.

The diachronic nature of the object of study posed some additional methodological challenges. Being one of the main research problems on interpreting the creation of the corpus, oral history, within social sciences, supplied the guidelines and strategies for conducting narrative interviews, which form the empirical basis of the study. As for the analysis methodology, qualitative content analysis provided a flexible though systematic model to qualitatively analyse a corpus based on linguistic material, such as semi-structured interviews.

Keywords: community interpreting, migration linguistics, oral history, qualitative content analysis

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the interdisciplinary character of interpreting studies in general and community interpreting (CI) in particular. This will be illustrated with an ongoing project on the communicative situation of the migrant workers from Galicia (Spain) in Hanover (Germany) in the 1960s and 70s and their need for community interpreting.

The study intends to establish how communication took place in this trilingual situation (Galician-Spanish-German), that is, by whom and under which circumstances mediation was performed, how the linguistic situation evolved over time and how the migrants adapted linguistically and culturally.

This paper, though, does not seek to show the results of the analysis on the CI situation of this community, but to expose how a CI research project can profit from the methodologies and findings from other disciplines.

A brief introduction on the research project will be followed by the identification of the initial hypothesis of the study, which is partly responsible for the increased interdisciplinarity of the project. Before carrying out the analysis on CI it was considered necessary to resort to the migration linguistics, an emerging discipline within the applied linguistics, in order to test the premises about the linguistic situation of the migrant group.

The project will be then situated within the CI paradigm research, identifying the history of CI as one of its essential fields of study.

The diachronic nature of the object of study presents additional methodological challenges, which will be dealt with by applying different methodologies from the field of social sciences. In this regard, the oral history strategies and theoretical underpinnings mainly employed in this project for the corpus creation will be outlined. To a lesser extent, the guiding principles of the qualitative content analysis, used in this project to analyse the corpus, will also be briefly displayed.

Finally, the theoretical basis of the migration linguistics analysis will then be discussed and one of the linguistic premises of the study will be exemplarily tested within this framework.

2. Presentation of the project

In the wake of the German *Wirtschaftswunder*, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) signed several bilateral recruitment agreements with different countries in order to gain the workforce that its flourishing economy needed. On 29th March 1960 the FRG signed a bilateral recruitment agreement with the Spanish Government, marking the official start of the first Spanish migration wave in Germany. It is estimated that between 1955 and 1988 around 800,000 Spaniards emigrated to the FRG, although the vast majority of them, around 86%, returned to Spain during the same period (Sanz Díaz 2009: 168–169). According to the official statistics, the migrants from the region of Galicia were the second largest group within the Spanish group, accounting for a 20.03% of the total Spanish migration in the FRG (Leib and Mertins 1980).

Following the unquestionable "one state, one language" belief, the migrant workers from the region of Galicia in Spain were perceived as Spaniards and

therefore as speakers of Spanish, although the vast majority of them were monolingual Galician speakers, with only limited active competences in Spanish. Moreover, they arrived mostly with no knowledge of the German language and were confronted with a monolingual German society, which was virtually not prepared for them. This collective was therefore inserted in a multilingual context, confronted with three different languages: Spanish, German and Galician. This trilingual context makes this migrant group a particularly interesting object of study, also from the point of view of the community interpreting itself.

The objective of the research project is to describe the communicative situation of the migrant workers that arrived from Galicia (Spain) to Hanover (Germany) in the 1960s and 70s and their need for community interpreting.

The main reasons for the choice of the city of Hanover as the location of the study was the relatively high number of Spanish migrant workers in the region and its well-established Galician community. According to official data, the Region Lower Saxony-Bremen is in the fourth place amongst the German regions according to the number of Spanish migrant workers after North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg, and Hesse (Sánchez López 1969). In this respect, the city of Hanover, as an important economic and industrial centre of the State of Lower Saxony, is representative of the situation of the Galician migrant workers in Germany. The fact that this city still counts today with a well-established and very active Galician community was an advantage in order to initiate contact with the community.

As can be implied from the above paragraphs, this study is based on three premises, two of them regarding the linguistic situation of the migrants and the third one taking into account the existing literature about the provision of interpreting in the FRG.

The first premise is that the vast majority of the Galician migrant workers arrived in Germany having Galician as their first language and low competences in Spanish. The second one is that this collective of migrants arrived with no knowledge of German and had difficulties to acquire the language afterwards. Finally, the third hypothesis is based on some well-established studies on the models of international response to the need of linguistic services (Ozolins 2000; Ozolins 2010; Sauvêtre 1999) which in the case of the FRG pointed to the tendency of the provision of interpreting services to be based on ad-hoc approaches, with no state support.

The analysis of the CI situation will allow (among other things) to assess the validity of the above-mentioned models of the provision of interpreting services in the FGR for this particular migrant group. However, before performing the actual analysis of the CI situation, the veracity of the premises about the linguistic situation of the Galician migrants in Hanover should be put to the test. In order to do so, the methodology of migration linguistics should be applied.

3. The interdisciplinary character of CI diachronic research

When it comes to situating a project within the paradigm of CI research, the literature review and mapping of its research topics performed by Vargas-Urpi (2012) can be considered a good starting point.

In her article, Vargas-Urpi identifies eleven different research topics, including: text analysis and interpretation, quality assessment, interpreting in different contexts, community interpreting and technology, community interpreting history, ethics, terminology and glossaries, community interpreters' specific competences, community interpreters' working conditions, community interpreters' training, and finally community interpreting professionalisation.

Taking this paradigm into account, it is clear that the research project introduced in this chapter has a multifaceted character, addressing different topics such as the different contexts in which CI took place, the working conditions of the interpreters or the (non-)professionalisation of the interpreting services provided. However, one of the central areas of research that make up the project had a paramount importance adding up to its interdisciplinarity: the CI history component.

Even though the history of interpreting has been gaining scholarly interest in the last years (see Takeda and Baigorri Jalón 2016; Baigorri Jalón 2015), the truth is that the studies on this area rarely focus on the interpreting provision for migrant workers. A worthy example can be found nonetheless in the research of Otero Moreno, who also focuses on the language mediation among the Spanish migrants in the RFG, as sole author (Otero Moreno 2008, 2010) or as co-author (Baigorri Jalón and Otero Moreno 2012). In any case, when studying the history of interpreting of the past century, scholars have rather devoted their attention to interpreting in war settings, military tribunals, high-level politics and international organisations (see Baigorri Jalón 2015: 19–24).

Regardless of the specific object of study, however, all studies on the history of interpreting have something in common: the problem of gaining reliable sources of information. As Pöchhacker (2004: 159) states, the difficulty of researching on the history of interpreting is

> the 'evanescence' of the activity, which does not leave any tangible trace, and its often low social esteem. For the most part, interpreting was a 'common' activity, in several respects, which did not merit special mention.

The collection of material in order to create a corpus poses therefore one of the main challenges in researching into this area of CI – or interpreting in general for that matter. When dealing with past events, it is normally not possible to access the actual interpreter-mediated encounters, precisely because of the mentioned evanescence of the spoken (and therefore interpreted) word.

Likewise, the fact that the activity of interpreting, especially in social settings, has traditionally been regarded as an everyday activity implies its absence or, at best, paucity in most of the written accounts or archives (Payàs 2012: 31; see Alonso Araguás, Fernández Sánchez, and Baigorri Jalón 2012: 973).

In order to solve this riddle it is necessary to resort to some alternative methodological approaches, such as the ones present in the social sciences and more specifically the historiography (Alonso Araguás, Fernández Sánchez, and Baigorri Jalón 2012: 973; Baigorri Jalón 2012: 90). In this regard, Baigorri Jalón (2012: 103; 2006: 103) pleads for the use of not only the most traditional historiographical methods, but also some new approaches such as the use of personal narratives or oral history.

4. Social sciences: Corpus creation, processing and analysis

As has been outlined in the above paragraphs, the diachronic nature of the object of study had enormous methodological repercussions. One of the main challenges of community interpreting research, especially in diachronic studies but not solely, is the difficulty to collect material such as interpreter-mediated encounters and thus create a corpus. This also proved to be true for the present research project.

Within the project, the first step was to conduct a thorough literature review looking for previous studies that discussed the linguistic situation of the Galician or, in general, the Spanish migrant workers in the FRG. Apart from the noteworthy exceptions of Otero Moreno's research (see above), the literature review revealed that even if this migrant group had been studied and addressed from a myriad of angles (such as from the statistic, social sciences, psychology or even the historiography itself), the linguistic issue had only been dealt with tangentially.

Taking into account the concerns expressed by the different scholars reviewed in the above paragraphs (Pöchhacker 2004: 159; see Alonso Araguás, Fernández Sánchez, and Baigorri Jalón 2012: 973; Payàs 2012: 31; Baigorri Jalón 2012: 90), it was decided to follow Baigorri Jalón's methodological proposals and to approach the object of study by making use of the historiographical framework.

The archival research carried out in several archives in the city of Hanover (Germany) and Galicia (Spain) only delivered scarce pieces of information on the linguistic situation of the Galician or, in general, Spanish migrant workers in Germany or their interpreters. It became obvious that the data collection would have to be eminently empirical.

Despite of the diachronic character of the object of study, the fact of it lying in the near past opened up the possibility of interviewing some of the involved participants. The latter however, also posed some methodological challenges.

In this respect, the oral history methodology was deemed especially appropriate to approach this endeavour since, as the oral historian Valeria Yow (2005: 12) says: "Oral history reveals daily life at home and at work – the very stuff that rarely gets into any kind of public record," exactly like the interpreter-mediated encounters.

4.1 Corpus creation: Oral history

Oral history is a historiographical method which deals with the gathering of memories of historical significance through recorded interviews (Ritchie 2003: 19). With its origins in the 1960s and 70s, oral history can be counted among the new historiographical approaches, challenging the traditional methods of recounting the past (Chamberlain 2006: 387). The philosophy behind this method is to give voice to the voiceless, following an approach of writing history "from the bottom-up" (Ritchie 2003: 23).

In her article "A place for Oral History within Translation Studies", McDonough Dolmaya (2015) advocates for the adoption of oral history methods in historical translation studies research. The author, however, restricts the use of the oral history to studies focusing on the role or figure of the translator, especially the non-literary ones, traditionally more neglected in the scholar literature (McDonough Dolmaya 2015: 196). The scope, however, can be expanded by applying or adapting the oral history methodology to any diachronic research on translation or interpreting studies. In fact, there are some precedents on interpreting research carried out on the basis of oral history (Torikai 2010; Torikai 2009; Takesako 2014; Takesako and Nakamura 2013) or using oral history archives (see Fernández Sánchez 2013; Kurz 2014). Taking into account that the migrant groups in a need of linguistic services can be considered an especially neglected group within society, oral history seemed to be best suited for digging into this reality.

Thus, even if not all features of oral history will be applied to this project,[1] this framework proved to be of advantage not only for the corpus creation but also, to a lesser extent, for the corpus analysis.

As for the corpus creation, oral history supplied some guidelines and practical strategies when it came to plan the field work. One of the considerations that had important repercussions was the status of the interviewer regarding

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[1] This project does not comply with some of the general principles followed by many oral history scholars, such as making the interviews publicly available (see Ritchie 2003: 24; Shopes 2002: 590; Yow 2005: 72; Samuel 2003: 392) or sending the interviewees the transcripts back for correction (Yow 2005: 143). Although this project might therefore not be strictly considered an oral history project – neither intends to be it – it definitely demonstrates the benefits to be achieved by the use of oral history methodological and theoretical underpinnings.

the community in question. When carrying out an oral history project focusing on a community, it is essential to consider the status of the interpreter within the community itself – whether she/he is (considered to be) part of the community or not. There is a great degree of unanimity among the oral history scholars regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the interviewer being a part of the community object of study (Larson 2006: 121–123; Ritchie 2003: 55–56; Thompson 2000: 140–141; Yow 2005: 201–202). Interviewing as an insider usually implies gaining access to the community, building rapport during the interview and obtaining privileged information more easily. Conversely, the interviewee might not be willing to discuss with another community member some obviously shared information or topics considered to be delicate by the community. In that respect, the outsider interviewer might be able to ask naïve questions about controversial topics, without risking so much the established rapport.

In this regard, I was able to understand my role as the main interviewer of the project simultaneously as an insider (being Galician myself and currently living in Germany) and as an outsider (not part of the Galician migrant community originated by this first migration wave). These initial considerations were crucial for the planning of the field work and, as will be shown later on, to consciously deal with some potentially sensitive topics, such as the first language of the migrants (see Section 5).

Not being strictly part of the Galician migrant community in Hanover, an important point in order to access the migrant group was the hint of starting by contacting individuals working as community gatekeepers (Ritchie 2003: 88). In the context of oral history and other qualitative methodologies, the term gatekeeper refers to an influential, well-regarded and respected individual within the community. Only through its gatekeepers was it possible to gain access to the community and the trust of the first informants. After interviewing the first individuals, a snowball sampling approach followed, where one interviewee refers to the next. This method of obtaining informants is favoured by some experts in the field of oral history (see Thompson 2000: 235; Yow 2005: 81).

As for the interview methodology, the interviews were semi-structured, guided by a questionnaire or an interview guide – term preferred by some oral historians (for the terminological discussion, see Yow 2005: 71–74) – with open questions that allowed the interviewees to speak freely.

An unstructured or less structured interview, usually preferred in oral history research (Jennings 2005: 105), would not be appropriate since the interesting topics for the study may not arise spontaneously. It should be noted that the adoption of an interview guide is also not uncommon in oral history research, its studies ranging from unstructured to semi-structured interview methods (Thompson 2000: 222). The use of an interview guide should be regarded as

a memory aid, to avoid losing perspective during the interview and to help when the dialogue seems to have come to a dead end (Dumbrava 2004: 20–21). Furthermore, the adoption of semi-structured allows one to obtain comparability between the interviews. The results of this research, though, should be regarded as tendencies, since the relatively low number of interviewees does not allow to achieve statistical significance.

Finally, and within the corpus analysis, the project also profited from some of the theoretical underpinnings of oral history. Memory being the core of this discipline (Abrams 2010: 78; Ritchie 2003: 19), oral history also provided a theoretical framework to deal with the problems that may appear when collecting diachronic data. Some topics on memory addressed by oral history are the tensions between collective and personal memory, the process of construction and reconstruction of those memories or the relation between memory and aging (Abrams 2010: 78 ff.; Green 2004; Hoffman and Hoffman 2006; Ritchie 2003: 33 ff.; Yow 2005: 35 ff.). Considering the advanced age of the majority of the interviewees, understanding the contradictions present in their narrations allowed to better interpret the information. These contradictions also spoke for the necessity to contrast the information provided by the migrants and drove me to carry out expert interviews. Due to space constraints, however, it will not be possible to further discuss those matters. A slightly larger discussion on this matter, providing a practical example from the corpus, can be found in Estévez Grossi (2015: 61–62).

4.2 Corpus processing and analysis: Qualitative content analysis

Once the field work was completed, the preliminary corpus was based on 25 interviews with over 30 participants. After discarding three interviews, the final corpus was composed by 22 interviews, 11 of them with the narrative of community members, Galician first generation migrants, and 11 with experts, Spanish or German individuals who were somehow professionally involved in the migration process.

The transcription of the interviews was based on the transcription system GAT 2 (*Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2* or, in English 'conversation-analytical transcription system') (Selting et al. 2009; for the English translation, see Selting et al. 2011). This project is based on the "minimal transcript," the simplest one of the three levels covered by GAT 2 (see Selting et al. 2009: 359 ff. or in the English translation see Selting et al. 2011: 7 ff.).

Given the narrative character of the interviews and the relatively small number of interviewees, which does not allow to achieve statistical significance, the methodological framework of the qualitative content analysis (in German *quali-*

tative Inhaltsanalyse, also known in English as qualitative text analysis) proved to be the best suited to analyse the data (see Kuckartz 2014a).[2]

This method, used mainly in the social sciences, allows to qualitatively analyse material based on any type of communication, such as life biographies or interviews. This methodological framework, though, has already been used in different linguistic studies (see Knapp 2005).

Qualitative content analysis is based on some principles such as: 1) the centrality of the creation of categories, 2) the adoption of a systematic approach, including clear rules to follow in each step of the analysis, 3) the classification and categorisation of the whole corpus (and not only fragments of interviews), 4) the use of techniques for the creation of categories, 5) the hermeneutic reflection upon the corpus and 6) the recognition of quality standards[3] and aiming for intercoder agreement (Kuckartz 2014a: 39).

Through the implementation of this analysis methodology it was possible to code the entire corpus and thus structure the information provided by the informants during the interviews. Since the research question plays a central role during the analysis process, it was necessary to perform two analysis rounds on the whole corpus: one for the migration linguistics and one for the community interpreting component. Due to space constraints it will not be possible to explore the analysis procedures at a greater extent. In the next section, however, the analysis on migration linguistics will be sketched and exemplified.

5. Linguistic description of the community: Migration linguistics

Similarly to CI within interpreting studies, migration linguistics (in German *Migrationslinguistik*) is a relatively young discipline within the field of applied linguistics. This new area of study has been established in the German speaking countries (Gugenberger 2004: 79; Zimmermann and Morgenthaler García 2007: 7) and in particular within the Romance linguistic studies. Migration linguistics pursues the study of the linguistic dynamics and processes originated in a migration context (Gugenberger n.d.: 63), analysing the transformation of the migrants' identity and the results of the linguistic contact (Gugenberger n.d.: 64–65; Stehl 2011: 39–40), such as the sociolinguistic or acculturative strategies employed by the migrant. In this respect, the framework provided by the migration linguistics constitutes a useful tool to linguistically describe a migrant community such as the Galician community in Hanover.

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[2] It has also been published an English translation of Kuckartz's *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse*: *Methoden, Praxis, Computerunterstützung* (see Kuckartz 2014b).

[3] A discussion about which quality standards should guide the qualitative content analysis can be found in Mayring (2008: 109–115) and Kuckartz (2014a: 165–169).

Thus, the analysis of CI was preceded by an analysis of migration linguistics. This should allow to verify the above-mentioned premises regarding the linguistic situation of the migrants, that is, whether the majority of the Galician migrants had Galician as their initial language and low active competencies in Spanish at the moment of the migration and whether they arrived with no knowledge of German and had difficulties to acquire the language afterwards. At this point it is important to clarify that this project does not intend to objectively evaluate the language proficiency of the informants in the different languages involved in this multilingual context. That endeavour would imply carrying out specific language tests and would go well beyond the limits of the study. The aim is rather to analyse the conceptions that the informants developed about the individual and collective language competences and proficiency.

The analysis on migration linguistics was based on the models proposed by Krefeld (2004) and Gugenberger (2007; in press) for the analysis of migration linguistics. Despite their differences, both models seek to describe the communicative practice of a migrant or community of migrants. Another point in common is the consideration of the linguistic competences and the social-linguistic networks of the migrants as an essential part in both models. Gugenberger, however, also believes the migrants' conceptions about the societies to be relevant for the analysis on migration linguistics.

Due to lack of space, this contribution will not be able to show the whole analysis on migration linguistics performed on this migrant group, which allowed to classify the migrants individually and collectively according to their acculturation strategies and their communicative practices. However, the procedure to test the first premise within the migration linguistics analysis will be exemplarily shown in the next paragraphs.

As stated before, the first hypothesis argues that the vast majority of the Galician migrants had Galician as their first language and a low active competence in Spanish, at least as they first arrived to the FRG. If this was to be proven, it would mean that this migrant group would have indeed been inserted not into a bilingual but in a trilingual constellation.

Compared to the premise about the competences in German among this migrant group,[4] proving the hypothesis on the initial language posed some additional difficulties. The first drawback was the lack of literature on this matter. As opposed to the linguistic situation regarding the German language, discussed in the relevant literature on the subject,[5] there is virtually no mention about

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[4] A section of the migration linguistics analysis on the German competences of the Galician migrant group can be found in Estévez Grossi (2016: 46–48).

[5] Although scarce, there are some references about the lack of knowledge of German of the Spanish migrants in general at the point of arriving to the FRG (see Martín Pérez 2012: 56; Sanz Lafuente 2009: 424; Vilar Sánchez 2015: 10), the difficulties encountered when learning the German language afterwards (see Fernández Asperilla 2000: 71; Gualda Caballero 2001b: 98; Sanz

the initial language of the Galician migrants in the FRG. In the only reference found around this topic an interpreter anecdotally mentions to have experienced linguistic difficulties when interacting with Galician migrants in Spanish (see Otero Moreno 2010: 122).

The second problem involved the sociolinguistic situation of the Galician language and the status of the main interviewer simultaneously as an outsider and insider to the community (see Section 4.1). Since the Galician language has a low social status in relation to Spanish, it was not possible for me as the main interviewer and Galician myself to directly ask about the initial language of the migrants. A direct question about their first language could have been regarded as face-threatening and therefore potentially damaged the rapport created during the interview with the informant. Taking this into account, it was necessary to develop an alternative strategy to gain an insight into this linguistic reality.

The information around the linguistic situation of the community was therefore inferred from the four following factors:
• spontaneous statements during the interview;
• language of choice during the interview;
• biographical data (age, age at migration, origin, level of education);
• statistic data.

The first factor refers to the interviewee's explicit mention of Galician as his or her first language or difficulties with the Spanish language.

The second factor was the consideration of the language in which the interview took place. If the language used by the informants during the interview was at least partly Galician, it was considered safe to state that the initial language of the participant was Galician. This can be established by considering the age of the informants. Taking into account that under the Franco's regime in Spain the Galician language was banned from the educative and any other public sector, the fact that a person of the age of the participants was able to communicate in Galician can only point to a native acquisition of Galician, probably as a first language.

The consideration of these two factors enabled to infer the initial language of 11 out of the 15 Galician informants. Thus, it can be claimed that 10 interviewees had Galician as their initial language while only one single migrant affirms to have Spanish as her first language. In the remaining four cases the initial language could not be unequivocally inferred.

The cross-check of the available statistical data with the biographical data of the informants also proved to be a useful source of information. Thus, the inferred data on the first language among the informants is also consistent with

Lafuente 2006: 48; Sanz Lafuente 2009: 434), or the level of language achieved, often compared to the Spanish migrants in other countries (Bermejo Bragado 1998: 111; Gualda Caballero 2001a: 108; Gualda Caballero 2001b: 194; Martínez Veiga et al. 2000: 344).

the official statistics on the initial language in Galicia. According to the data collected in 2003 by the *Instituto Galego de Estatística* (Galician Statistics Institute), 63.23% of the population between the ages of 50 and 64 and 76.34% of the aged 65 or over had learnt to speak Galician. On the contrary, 22.29% of the aged between 50 and 64 and 13.93% of the aged 65 or over had learnt to speak in Spanish.

For the assessment of their active proficiency in Spanish, the information obtained about their initial language was also cross-checked with their biographical information and the statistical data available. In this respect, the key factors were the rural or urban origin in Galicia, the level of formal education and the age at the point of the migration.

Due to the sociolinguistic dynamics prevailing in Galicia, the rural or urban origin of the informant can be regarded a significant indicator of his or her Spanish proficiency. This is because the Galician language has traditionally been more present in the rural areas and smaller towns, having Spanish a stronger presence in the cities. Taking into account that the initial language of the majority of the participants was identified as Galician, coming from a more rural area would have meant a lesser contact with the Spanish language.

According to the biographical data collected, only one informant was raised in a city, precisely the only one who explicitly declared Spanish to be her first language. On the contrary, the rest of the informants came from rural areas or smaller towns, which would point to a more Galician-speaking environment and to the contact with the Spanish language mainly through the education system. The information available, though, indicates that this contact was relatively limited. During the interviews, the Galician informants claimed to have achieved a low level of formal education, which is consistent with the scarce statistic data on this matter (see Aguirre 1980: 8–9).

The young age of most of the informants at the point of the migration should also be taken into account. The latter makes unlikely that the migrants had previously experienced internal migration or made stays away from their immediate surroundings – with the eventual exception of the military service in the case of the male participants. This would also point to a limited contact with the Spanish language before the international migration experience.

The question of the limited proficiency in Spanish is also mentioned in the corpus both by community members and experts in relation to the Galician language. In their narratives, the informants usually mention the rural origin and the low level of formal education of the Galician migrants as the reasons for not being able to properly communicate in Spanish, as can be observed in Except 1 and Excerpt 2.

The passage in Excerpt 1 has been extracted from an interview with a community member who explains his linguistic situation at the point of his arrival in the FRG.

Interviewer:	entonces en tu caso tampoco (-) había ningún tipo de preparación?// [so in your case (-) there was also no preparation al all?//]
Suso:	//en absoluto yo// [//not at all I//]
Interviewer:	yo que sé pues (--) pues de alemán/ de lengua alemana o algo así (-) por parte de? [I don't know well (–) well for the German/ German language or something like that (-) from?]
Suso:	//mira (--) lo que sabía yo era malamente (-) el castellano [//look (--) I could hardly speak (-) Spanish]
Interviewer:	mhm
Suso:	por decirlo de alguna manera porque eh allí hablábamos gallego [so to speak because we used to speak Galician in there]
Interviewer:	claro [of course]
Suso:	y (-) lo que aprendimos en el colegio (--) nada más// [and (-) what we learnt at the school (--) nothing else]
	[…]
Suso:	//yo salía los catorce años de/ del/ del colegio y ya a trabajar [I left when I was fourteen the/ the/ the school and off I went to work]
Felipe:	sí sí claro// [yes yes of course]
Suso:	//me entiendes? y luego (-) eso aprendíamos el castellano (-) en el colegio (-) pero (--) en el pueblo se hablaba el gallego [do you understand? and then (-) well we learnt Spanish (-) at the school (-) but (--) in the village we spoke Galician]

Excerpt 1. Community member reflecting upon his own Spanish competences

Thus, this community member explains the sociolinguistic dynamics present in his village of origin, typical for the situation in rural Galicia at the time. In this rural environment, Galician was the only language used in the community and Spanish was only introduced through the education system. The low level of education achieved, however, does not enable the achievement of proficiency in Spanish. As a result, this migrant arrives to the FRG "hardly" being able to speak Spanish.

The extract in Excerpt 2, on the other hand, comes from an interview with an expert, a former social worker from Central America, who used to work with the community.

Interviewer:	y el (---) nivel (-) lingüístico en general (-) de alemán? [and the (---) general (-) language level (-) in German?]
Francisco:	malo! nada! nulo! (--) nulo nulo nulo (--) es/ era muy d/ muy difícil no el le/ las/ la mayoría de los españoles que vinieron aquí (-) venían de Galicia no? [bad! nothing! zero! (--) zero zero zero (--) it's/ was very d/ very difficult right the th/ the/ the majority of the Spaniards that came here (-) came from Galicia right?]
Interviewer:	mhm

Francisco:	y entonces (-) MUchos (-) venían con un idioma bien cerrado (-) gallego no? (--) hay algunos gallegos que se mm comPRENden pero otros que vienen quién sabe de dónde de qué aldea (--) y (-) tenían un idioma muy cerrado (---) ah (-) y hab/ y (--) eh y hab/ y teníamos problemas de comprenderlos no? (--) de com/ los mis/ los mismos ((ríe)) ((incomp.)) <<riendo> españoles> tenían problemas de (-) de comprenderlos no?
	[and then (-) a LOT (-) came with a language hard to understand (-) Galician right? (--) and there are some Galicians who can be mm undersTOOD but others come from a village who knows where (--) and (-) they had a very thick accent (---) ehm (-) and ther/ and (--) ehm and ther/ we had problems to understand them right? (--) to und/ even th/ even the ((laughs)) ((unintell.)) <<laughing> Spaniards> had problems to (-) understand them right?]
Interviewer:	mhm

Excerpt 2. Expert reflecting upon the Spanish competences of the community

It should be noted that in both examples (Excerpt 1 and Excerpt 2) the topic of the Galician language within the community and the deficiencies in Spanish arise spontaneously, when actually asked about the German-language competences of the migrants. In Excerpt 2, the expert argues that it was indeed hard to understand some of the Galician migrants when speaking in Spanish. He further suggests that the reasons for the latter were that many among them used to speak Galician and had a thick accent in Spanish. The informant also declares that the difficulties he experienced in understanding this migrant group were not due to his own Central American origin, since other colleagues coming from Spain also had similar problems. This view was also shared in other expert interviews.

All these factors seem to indicate that at least part of the Galician migrants would have arrived to the FRG with limited (active) Spanish competences. The information gathered also points to the fact that at least in some cases, the first continued contact with the Spanish language would have occurred during the migration experience itself.

In this regard, I believe that the premise of the project about the dichotomy between Galician and Spanish among the Galician migrants has been corroborated. It can be therefore stated that this migrant group was indeed inserted into a trilingual environment (Galician-Spanish-German), which should be considered when analysing the CI situation.

6. Conclusions

This chapter shows how a project on (diachronic) community interpreting can profit from applying interdisciplinary approaches, both methodologically and theoretically.

The gathering of information seems to be an intrinsic problem of research on interpreting. When the object of study is additionally of diachronic nature, or it cannot be directly observed, the only feasible option usually is to access information through indirect recounts of the involved participants, but this approach also poses methodological and procedural challenges. In this respect, the methodologies present in the social sciences have proved to be a useful resource in order to create and analyse a corpus based on linguistic material.

For the corpus creation, this project has made use of some of the strategies and theoretical foundations of oral history.

This historiographical methodology proved to be useful when it came to plan the field work, reflecting on the role of the interviewer as an insider or outsider to the community and decide on the type of interview most appropriate for the study. The theoretical reflections on memory, a topic fundamental although usually neglected in diachronic research, helped to understand the contradictions found in the narratives and pointed to the necessity to find other sources of information that would corroborate the data. In this particular project, the latter led to the conduction of expert interviews.

For the corpus analysis, the qualitative content analysis provided a systematic model to qualitatively analyse linguistic data, while still allowing a certain degree of flexibility during the process.

The theoretical foundations of the project, originally based on CI, were complemented by the migration linguistics. This emerging discipline within the applied linguistics provided a great framework in order to thoroughly describe linguistically the community object of study.

This enabled me to prove some of the premises of the project, which had great repercussions for the CI situation among the community.

One of the said premises suggested that the Galician migrants would have been inserted not into a bilingual but in a trilingual environment, since many of these migrants arrived to the FRG having Galician as their initial language and only limited active competences in Spanish. Due to the fact that the interviewer was partly considered an insider to this community, it was not possible to directly ask the informants about their initial language, since the sociolinguistic status of Galician makes this a delicate matter.

An alternative way to elicit this piece of information had to be found. Through the consideration of the content of the corpus, the language spoken during the interviews, the biographical data of the informants and the statistical data available, it was possible to infer the initial language of 11 out of 15 Galician informants. From this group, 10 had Galician and one Spanish as their initial language. The information gathered also indicated that some Galician migrants had indeed low competences of Spanish or even that for some of them their first prolonged contact with the Spanish language

occurred during the migration experience itself. The results of this analysis were also consistent with the statistical data on this matter.

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