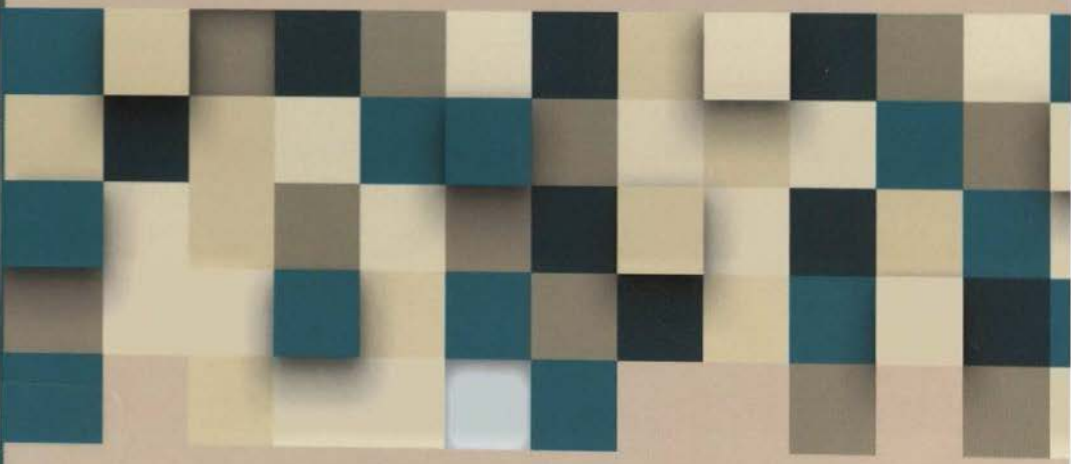
The Academic Foundations of Interpreting Studies

An Introduction to Its Theories



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Preface

THE IDEA for this introductory textbook was inspired by Franz Pöchhacker (2004, 2016) and his text *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, which is a must read for any student of Interpreting Studies (IS). In his book, Pöchhacker articulates a remarkable and comprehensive overview of the field, both academic and applied. In this textbook we focus on six disciplines that have informed approaches to the study of interpreting, with special attention given to sign language interpreting. This textbook is intended for undergraduate or first-year graduate students in Interpreter Education Programs (IEPs), Deaf Studies, and American Sign Language programs (or equivalent programs across the globe). As with any new field of study, there is a great demand for textbooks. While there are a number of good professional handbooks, no academic introductory textbook exists about the theoretical foundations and research studies in IS. We hope that this textbook begins to fill that gap.

Sign language IEPs have been operating, at 2-year colleges, in the United States (US) since the 1970s, and 4-year postsecondary programs in both the United States and Europe have been common since the 1990s. In bachelor degree programs, students often have an introductory textbook that introduces them to the academic study of a particular field, such as psychology, sociology, or linguistics. Conversely, in interpreter education programs, students must rely on professional handbooks that define and describe the practice of their profession. What those handbooks do not provide is an introduction to the theoretical frameworks that consider interpreting as an object of research and study within academia. This book will expose students to a variety of disciplines that impose theoretical frameworks and methodologies for the academic study of interpreting, including how interpreted events occur, how interpreted products are created, and how interpreters themselves determine choices.

Historical contexts, major theorists, and research that informs Sign Language Interpreting Studies (SLIS) will form the basis of our discussions. For example, in sociology Erving Goffman's interactionist analysis provides a framework for understanding how people make meaning from their engagements with other people. This book will explain Goffman's work and further discuss his contribution to sociology, provide empirical examples, and demonstrate the application of his work to SLIS. As there has been an explosion of empirically driven studies in IS and SLIS, particularly in the last decade, research from each discipline will be included to ensure this textbook covers both the breadth and scope of the field.

We recognize that this textbook will seem primarily focused on US studies of interpreting. We have made efforts, whenever possible, to include international studies of sign languages, Deaf communities, and sign language interpreting. One of our primary goals is to ensure students, regardless of location (e.g., geography, identity, education, etc.) are exposed to the wider world of IS in both spoken and signed languages.

Furthermore, we recognize that some of the information in this book will seem dense and complicated at times. This is, in part, because students of interpreting have traditionally focused on learning the language and culture of Deaf people. This book represents a departure from this mentality. We encourage readers to approach this book with the same persistence and enthusiasm they did when learning their second language. If it feels challenging, read it again. Use the material that challenges you as a starting point for discussions with peers, colleagues, and professors. We hope students will enjoy learning about these disciplines and that this book may inspire them to seek further education to become the next generation of IS scholars.

Authors' Backgrounds and Experience

This text is authored by the three of us equally. Cynthia appears first as the book was her idea. Jeremy and Christopher grew up as scholars reading her work. But most importantly, she can beat both in arm wrestling; hence, their names simply appear in alphabetical order. The following introductions are merely ploys to persuade readers of our credibility and authority.

Jeremy L. Brunson, Christopher A. Stone, and Cynthia B. Roy

Cynthia B. Roy, PhD, CSC

I first met deaf people when I worked as a houseparent and teacher at the Texas School for the Deaf where I regularly interacted with deaf people of all ages: teachers, students, administrators, and staff. It was a large school with a modern media center producing television shows that provided signed news and student-produced programs to the entire campus.

Texas was the first state to provide sign language interpreting services to deaf citizens as part of their inherent rights as taxpayers. I became a certified interpreter, and doing this work brought up many questions about interpreting meaning. In 1982, I enrolled in the Master's in Linguistics program at Gallaudet University and then pursued a PhD at Georgetown University where I earned a doctorate in linguistics with a specialty in sociolinguistics in 1989. I have been educating interpreting students since 1984, with a gap of ten years between 1991 and 2001. With Robert E. Johnson, I co-created the curriculum for the first master's degree in sign language interpreting at Gallaudet University. After teaching linguistics and writing for ten years at the University of New Orleans, I became the program director of the American Sign Language/English Interpreting Program at Indiana University–Purdue University Indianapolis (IUPUI) for four years. In 2003, I returned to Gallaudet University and taught there

for 16 years. I am now retired and work as a freelance consultant and interpreter in Houston, Texas.

My dissertation was published as *Interpreting as a Discourse Process* (Roy, 2000) by Oxford University Press, and I am both the series editor of the Interpreter Education series at Gallaudet University Press and the editor of its first three volumes. My most recent publication with Jemina Napier is *A Signed Language Interpreting Studies Reader,* which was published by John Benjamins in 2015.

Jeremy L. Brunson, PhD, CI, CT, SC:L

I fell into interpreting upon taking a sign language class on a whim and was encouraged by deaf teachers and friends to become an interpreter. I was quite resistant to the idea at first. Up until that point, interpreters had been largely invisible in my world.

After some convincing from deaf friends, I began studying to be a sign language interpreter. I became certified by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) in 1997 and decided to continue my education by studying sociology at university. I naturally began to apply my learning to my experiences while interpreting. Beginning to see interpreting as a social phenomenon was the easy part. Writing about it in this way was far more challenging. I had to rely on my peers in sociology to critique my application. This ultimately proved beneficial, as I was forced to write for a different audience, thus, preventing me from taking certain concepts for granted. The professors who read my work were not familiar with interpreting and my explanations had to appear in terms they would understand.

As I continued on to graduate school, my desire to demonstrate the important concepts of sociology become more pronounced. In particular, I wanted to know how capitalism influenced access, interpreting, and the lives of deaf people. I wondered how interpreters and their work with these communities could be understood as power dynamics, and this ultimately led me to study video relay services (VRS). This later served as the topic of my dissertation and subsequent book *Video Relay Service Interpreting: The Intricacies of Sign Language Access* (Brunson, 2011). I have since published and presented work on the professional identity of interpreters, individual education plans and interpreters, invisible work of deaf people, sociology of interpreting, and legal interpreting. I was unaware that I was, in fact, doing IS.

I have trained interpreters throughout the US at various workshops, and have taught sociology and IS at Gallaudet University, which is also where I met my co-authors. In 2017, I was named a Fulbright Specialist and went to Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia to work with the Mongolian Association of Sign Language Interpreters to establish the first interpreter training program in the country.

Christopher A. Stone, PhD, NIC, RSLI, FASLI

Growing up in the United Kingdom (UK), there were only three terrestrial television channels. To avoid the arts and religious programs on Sunday mornings, I watched *See Hear,* which is where I first saw British Sign Language. Without much thought, I learnt how to fingerspell when in the Cub Scouts, and even borrowed a book on British Sign Language from my local library. When I reached university to study chemistry and physics, I wandered into the student-community action office and became a volunteer at the local Deaf school one day a week. In some ways, the rest is history.

While finishing my first degree, I realized I would enjoy working with deaf British Sign Language users and, so applied to Bristol University's Centre for Deaf Studies (CDS). Although I was unaware at the time, this was one of Europe's best centers for sign language and Deaf community research, and where Paddy Ladd studied for his PhD. I enrolled in the interpreting course to become fluent in British Sign Language but was not interested in becoming an interpreter—that is, until I got bitten by the bug. Since graduating in 1997, I have been working as a professional interpreter.

My first job was in Uganda working on a Deaf Development Project with a wise Deaf woman named Gloria Pullen—the same wise Deaf woman who had imparted wisdom to Paddy when he was exploring the notion of Deafhood. I was an avid learner, and my conversations and observations with deaf people in Uganda influenced much of my early thinking. Having to learn a new sign language and revisit the struggles we as interpreters have to understand the pragmatics and subtleties of language use, power imbalance, and interaction also crafted my thinking. Upon returning to the UK, I completed my master's in Deaf Studies at the CDS, with my dissertation

exploring register and genre in British Sign Language and its interpretation (some of which was published in Roy's 2011 book *Discourse in Signed Languages*).

The faculty at CDS always encouraged its students to apply theory and research findings to practice. Hence, it seemed a natural next step to apply for a university scholarship for a PhD when an opportunity arose. I was surrounded by Deaf interpreters, a phenomenon that appeared to have little exploration in great depth, so I made this the focus of my dissertation study. I became the first UK interpreter to complete a PhD at a UK institution, with my thesis "Toward a Deaf Translation Norm" later being published by Gallaudet University Press in 2009.

As with Cynthia and Jeremy, deaf people guided my explorations and shared generously their thoughts, observations, and lived experiences, as with interpreter colleagues, who also engaged and contributed their opinions. In the UK, my interpreter journey began when most interpreters entering the field were university trained either prior to beginning their work or to gain their full professional status. Certain disciplines such as linguistics, discourse interaction, power and privilege, Deaf ways of knowing, and cognitive psychology have each informed my thinking, and this continued upon working as a senior research fellow at the Deafness Cognition and Language (DCAL) Research Centre at University College London (UCL). Coming from a Deaf Studies interdisciplinary approach, IS has always personally been the uniting factor of many different facets to understand such work.

I have trained hearing and Deaf interpreters across the globe (Australia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Norway, Uganda, the UK and US), worked as a researcher and interpreter trainer in the UK, Finland, and US (at Gallaudet University), and have conducted research on British Sign Language register and discourse, American Sign Language legal translanguaging, Deaf interpreters, the history of interpreting, interpreter aptitude, and media interpreting.

My most recent publication with Lorraine Leeson is *Interpreting and the Politics of Recognition*, published by Routledge in 2017. I now work at the University of Wolverhampton teaching at a bachelor's level, and have recently developed a master's course with situated learning in health and legal interpreting settings.

Acknowledgments

Our first acknowledgment is to each other, aka *The Posse*, because everyone knows "life is easier when you've got a posse." Together, we have become colleagues and friends and have weathered academic life. Over the years, we have traveled and discussed the field of interpreting and IS, both as a profession and as an academic field of study. We challenged each other, encouraged each other, shared resources, and took seriously the nature of the academy as a space for open and dissenting discussions. As scholars, we felt it was our responsibility to hold each other to account for our ideas, which proved hugely beneficial to the development of both our scholarship and our friendship.

Many people have helped (directly and indirectly) in the production of this book. We are indebted to our colleagues who reviewed and provided feedback on a draft of this manuscript: Michelle Monahan, the director of the Interpreter Preparation Program (IPP) at Phoenix College; Thaïsa Whistance, senior lecturer at University of Wolverhampton; Joseph McCleary, an interpreter practitioner based in Washington, DC, and the owner of Specialized Interpreting Solutions, and Dr. Franz Pöchhacker, professor at the University of Vienna. Furthermore, we are deeply grateful to Dr. Daniel Roush, professor at Eastern Kentucky University, who provided an insightful and extensive review as well as incorporated the completed draft into one of his courses. We are grateful for the help of Jennifer Rodrigues who completed an internship with Cynthia and hunted down readings, images, cartoons. We also thank Ivey Wallace, director of Gallaudet University Press, for accepting our idea and for providing advice and encouragement, and Deirdre Mullervy, for her patience, generous help, and editing support.

We thank the Deaf communities we have all known for their generosity in guiding us as new citizens in their world, for their support and for loving us throughout the years. Without them and their life experiences, we would not be who we are. We are also beholden to all our interpreting colleagues with whom we work, as each has provided

wisdom, insight, collegiality, and great joy. We are especially grateful to all our students who have made us better teachers and scholars.

Our personal and most deeply felt thanks are to our loved ones who are always there for us. Jeremy thanks Kelly D. Mease (1963–2010): "He made me want to be an educated person." Cynthia thanks her daughters, Elizabeth and Victoria, and their respective partners, Andy and Andrew, and her grandson Jackson for their ongoing love and support while working on this book. Christopher thanks all of the above "and my friends and colleagues—academic and professional—with whom I continue to eat, drink, and be merry."

1 The Discipline of Interpreting Studies

I never teach my pupils, I only attempt to provide the conditions in which they can learn. —Albert Einstein

Academic disciplines determine how language, culture, ideas, events, objects, and interpreting are studied. All of us reap the benefits of those studies. Most professions require at least a bachelor's degree to demonstrate one's knowledge and expertise of a profession. Academic study rewards us with research-based knowledge so that we make thoughtful, wise, and acceptable decisions about the work we do. We invite you to examine the new, emerging discipline of Interpreting Studies (IS) so you can become a recognized and respected professional.

IN THIS chapter we discuss what constitutes an academic discipline and some of the crucial concepts about a scientific disciplinary field and provide an overview of Interpreting Studies (IS). Readers are likely familiar with the idea of disciplines, as many have taken classes in psychology, English, and mathematics, among others. However, it has been our experience that gaining familiarity with and understanding the design of a discipline are two different objectives. Most students are busy learning content rather than focusing on the elements of a discipline—which is okay. That is why we dedicate both time and space to unpack the design of a discipline before considering IS; then present the disciplines that best represent both the field's past and future. Disciplines that produced studies of interpreting are explained, followed by their theoretical and methodological lenses to illustrate how they have addressed the questions and concerns pertinent to IS.

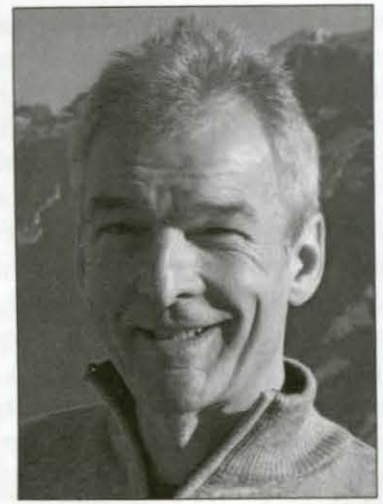
In 2004, Franz Pöchhacker wrote *Introducing Interpreting Studies* (the inspiration for this book). Until the early 1990s, scholars who studied interpreting did so under the umbrella of other disciplines, such as sociology, linguistics, or Deaf Studies. The sister discipline of interpreting, translation, had become known as Translation Studies (TS) and was a large field of study with a long history. While, early research on interpreting was conducted under psychology, it was clear that studies were proliferating using much of the terminology from translation; however, it became apparent that the concerns and questions of interpreting would differ in significant ways from the concerns and questions of translation. For that reason, Pöchhacker (2004) set out "[...] to provide students, research-minded teachers and practitioners of interpreting as well as scholars in related fields with a broad and balanced overview of interpreting studies as an academic field of study" (p. 1). He presented a multilayered map of IS composed of:

1. an overview in terms of concepts, developments, approaches, paradigms and models
2. a look at salient research studies of interpreting from a variety of disciplines
3. a review of major trends and future perspectives of interpreting research.

A second edition was published in 2016 and is a must read for any student engaged in academic studies of interpreting.

In this textbook we provide an in-depth introduction of six major disciplines: history, translation, linguistics, sociology and anthropology, social psychology, and cognitive psychology from which studies in IS have emerged—with specific focus on Sign Language Interpreting Studies (SLIS). Before delving into these chapters, it is important to first discuss what a discipline is along with its key concepts. While people may engage these terms in everyday use, their application within academia is specific and different.

Ideally, what we hope to do as authors of this text and scholars of IS is to move away from the overly simplistic discussions of interpreting to encourage research and theoretical analyses.



Franz Pöchhacker

For example, in the late 1980s, the work of sign language interpreters was conceptualized as metaphors of practice (although, they were erroneously referred to as a models). These metaphors (i.e., helper, conduit, communication facilitator, and bilingual–bicultural) provided a label for one part of interpreting work (Roy, 1993/2002), and focused solely on interactions with consumers. What several of these disciplines will emphasize is that interpreting should also be examined as a *social phenomenon*, an event with people and practitioners all embedded in particular histories and influenced by the societies they all inhabit. These disciplines illustrate that people involved in an interpreted event experience the moment not only physically but also socially, linguistically, and psychologically. Understanding this larger picture undoubtedly informs the work of translators and interpreters.

THE MAKE-UP OF AN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

Before we examine IS, it is important to first define what constitutes an academic discipline. Our argument throughout this book is that IS necessarily brings together different disciplines, which individually contribute to the exploration of interpreting as a practice.

Universities were founded to consolidate scientific knowledge about the world and about human behavior. Professors are expected to teach what is known and to research what is not known, but, of course, no one can study everything. After the Renaissance, teachers naturally began to group areas of study together, and called them disciplines, including history, mathematics, science, and literature. Every discipline strives to develop scientific *theories*, either about how the world works or the different ways in which to understand human beings and their actions. Theories provide general principles for how something works or an explanation of the relationships between two or more concepts (Merton, 1967; Schneider, 2006). As Chafetz (1988) said, "the central task of any science and its theories is to aid in our understanding or explanation of some class of empirical phenomena" (p. 5). These *empirical* phenomena are facts or events that are observed and can be verified through approaches that include experiments, observations, interviews, or recordings. Gathering facts, observing and recording events, interviewing people, counting occurrences, and detecting patterns are all different approaches to collecting and analyzing data for research. Analysis then either confirms a theory about how the world works or allows scientists to develop new theories, which, in turn, help explain how persons, places, or events are connected and related to one another.

Research studies are designed to test a theory. This ensures specific *data* (language examples, interpreting examples, survey responses, or responses to experiments) are collected to either test an hypothesis or explore emerging categories and themes, or describe specific phenomena within the data.

Our own research work (indeed, we will be drawing on other scholars throughout this book; however, we agreed to take this opportunity to self-aggrandize) has put forth different, but not contradictory, theories about interpreting. For example, Cynthia Roy's (2000) position that interpreting is a discourse process, or Jeremy Brunson's (2011) position that access is a matrix of various apparatuses that organize video relay service (VRS) interpreters' labor, or Christopher Stone's (2009) position that Deaf translators adhere to norms that create effective interpretations and translations. These three analytic positions contribute to developing an overall theory of interpreting.

Scientific Methods

Theories are tested through scientific methods, which either demonstrate their strengths or weaknesses, or allow a detection of patterns or systems that add to a theoretical notion. Scientific methods follow specific guidelines (or protocols) to subsequently enable studies to be replicated. The scientific community has divided data collection into two broad categories:

- qualitative methods, which include interviewing, observations, and other ways of collecting data and which aim to explore a particular phenomenon in depth, yield data in the form of notes, transcripts, and narratives;
- quantitative methods, which include using surveys, undertaking statistical analysis, and other ways of collecting data, which aim to study phenomena broadly and provide generalizable explanations, yield data in the form of charts, numbers, and yes/no responses.

All research starts with questions that establish what you will study, and sets limits or boundaries to exclude what you will not study. Good questions seek constructive and insightful answers that move knowledge forward or, as Hale and Napier (2013) suggest, "the research question acts as a plan for your project" (p. 8). It could focus on interactions among people (see Brunson, 2011; Roy, 2000) or observe how people experience their identity (see Stone, 2009).

Key Questions

- What type of research is typically reported on in the news?
- Which type of data are you more likely to believe?

As you progress through this textbook, the differences among the disciplines will become clear; their theories focus on different aspects of the world and people, they ask different kinds of questions, and although their methods sometimes overlap, what they have (or will) contribute to the field of IS will be different. Reading about these disciplines will also provide an idea of the challenge in creating a combined and all-inclusive theory for IS.

To our minds, IS is the encompassing term for studies of interpreting between any language pair, while Sign Language Interpreting Studies (SLIS) is an area of study embedded within IS. Whether a scholar works in literature, geography, or mathematics, if they are studying interpreting, they are also doing IS. We suggest that the field is *transdisciplinary*. That is, IS scholars come at the examination of interpreting from different disciplines. This exploration then benefits from multiple disciplinary perspectives simultaneously, rather than simply examining interpreting through sociology, or linguistics, or cognitive psychology. This approach can potentially bridge more holistic analyses of interpreting, which would become both the form and the theory of IS and its subdiscipline, SLIS, alike.

INTERPRETING STUDIES

IS is a recent development within universities. Its primary mission is to investigate the practice of interpreting in both signed and spoken languages. While interpreter education programs are beginning to use the term, no current programs have gathered faculty from the aforementioned variety of disciplines included here. Without this mix of faculty and disciplinary training, a crossover and blending of disciplines the field arguably deserves cannot be achieved.

As a new discipline, IS strives to bring together different ideas of interpreting: an historical process, a translation process, a linguistic process, a sociological process, a social–psychological process and a cognitive process, among others. A unified theory of IS would describe how interpreting happens as an event created by relationships between people. However, constructing this is and will be difficult, as it must not only account for three primary people (or more) and their interaction, but also for layers of social and psychological forces and norms. With so many concepts at play, it is like putting together a puzzle the size of a shopping mall/center!

Typically, conducting research on the interpreting process seeks to explain how all its parts move and come together. Determining how best to pursue such studies is precisely where other disciplines have assisted. That is, IS has borrowed methodological practices from other disciplines to investigate interpreting. For example, cognitive processes have been examined experimentally (see Gerver, 1976), the linguistic process has been examined through video recordings (see Van Herreweghe, 2002), social forces have been examined through ethnographic observations (see Angelelli, 2004; Berk-Seligson, 1990) and interviews (see Inghilleri, 2003), and norms and identity have been examined (see McKee & Awheto, 2010). Clearly, there are many different paths to understanding the process, and the future of IS necessitates a combination of these paths to present a more holistic picture, which further captures this transdisciplinary nature of IS.

It is likely that the best research and scholarship will continue to emerge from people who study within specific disciplines. That is, a university's IS department cannot examine the full range of interpreting practices unless recognized scholars from various disciplines who have researched interpreting are involved and engaged. This effort would also require some acknowledgment in funding applications and other disciplinary practices from both universities and funding bodies to properly express how such transdisciplinary practices are emerging. Consequently, perhaps scholars can then create a truly transdisciplinary effort to study interpreting.

GENERAL STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

This book is designed to serve as a textbook for undergraduate and postgraduate interpreting courses, such as a senior capstone course (in the US), or an interpreting theory course. It also functions as a theoretical introduction for students, researchers, instructors, and practitioners. We aim to help readers develop an understanding of how the practical everyday concerns in interpreting work are also the concerns of research and scholarship. As students progress in their education, the frameworks presented here can provide a guide to the intensely complex nature of interpreting. This book may provide a stimulating introduction to a range of theoretical approaches in interpreting, which are relevant both for those engaged in academic study of interpretation and for professional practitioners. Nonetheless, closer examinations and further reading of specific issues that greatly interest students are both encouraged.

Like other works, this book is necessarily selective. The theories and approaches covered have been chosen for their strong influence on IS, as determined by us, the authors. Other equally worthy

material had to be excluded due to constraints of space and overall focus. Over recent years, the field has continued to grow with a considerable increase in the number of publications (journals, books, edited volumes, and digital resources) and the borrowing of concepts from areas such as cognitive studies, cultural studies, and critical race studies. Naturally, the organization of this book gives preference to theorists who have, arguably, advanced major new ideas, and gives less than sufficient space to the many scholars who work in the field producing detailed case studies or less highly profiled work.

The development of ideas also progresses from the introductory (presenting the historical evolution in Chapter 2) and traditional disciplines (translation and linguistics) to the more recent disciplines (sociology, social psychology, cognitive psychology), as readers become more accustomed to the terminology and concepts. Generally, this sequence is based on familiarity. We begin with disciplines that have held a long-standing seat at the table of interpreting research and move to those fields that have only recently come to the table. However, it is also conceptual, since some of the earlier theories and concepts (such as equivalence and universals of interpreting) are constantly revisited.

Our aim is to present a balanced survey of six major disciplines as well as the important trends of and contributions to IS in a single book, written in an accessible manner. The key questions within and the discussion questions at the end of each chapter are designed to encourage further thinking, conversation, and exploration of interpreting issues. A final chapter in which the various ways each discipline might research a major topic in sign language interpreting is also included.

Style

We have opted to use the feminine pronouns *she* and *her* throughout this book when referring to interpreters for two overlapping reasons. First, we recognize the simple fact that a majority of interpreters are women, which is somewhat unsurprising given that throughout history women have been charged with the responsibility of caregiving—a paradigm that also supports the notion of interpreting as care work. Our second reason is to pay homage to the countless women who

have worked to develop the field itself. Their work may have included workshops, discussions, mentoring, articles, books, or classes. We proudly stand on their shoulders and hope not to disappoint them with our small contribution.

IS is not alone in the testosterone-washing of history. Most of the authors of the articles cited and a majority of the scholars discussed throughout this book are white, temporarily abled, and presumably heterosexual men. This is not because women, LGBTQ individuals, persons of color, or persons with disabilities have not contributed or attempted to contribute to the thinking about these issues. Their work has greatly influenced the study of interpreting, but they have been systematically hidden throughout history. As they have remained in the closet, institutionalized, or been responsible for care work at home, white, temporarily abled, presumably heterosexual men have been able to take center stage.

Throughout this text, the term *interpreting* is frequently used on its own; we consider it to be all-inclusive for both spoken and signed language interpreting. The process of interpreting is independent of identifying specific languages. Understandably, there are differences involved when a language pair is signed and spoken as opposed to spoken and spoken, or signed and signed. However, these differences are perceived as insignificant when considering the process of interpreting.

Finally, we would be remiss if we did not address the two stylistic features that readers will likely notice. The first is our decision not to use the term *hearing* when referring to people who are not deaf. A more in-depth discussion with examples is provided in Chapters 5 and 6, suffice it to say we suggest that HEARING is a gloss that fails to take into account the cultural and symbolic meaning intended by signers. The second feature is using a lowercase "d" when discussing deaf people, which we believe to be an inclusive term. As recognized, the use of an uppercase "D" in Deaf is customary in the US, but this refers only to those who accept and identify with Deaf culture. Here, people who have become deaf later in life, those who prefer to socialize with non-deaf people and do not know sign language, and those who reject the term *Deaf* are not included. Therefore, *deaf* refers to all people who, in society, are excluded from full access because of their level of hearing. These individuals may or may not use sign language

interpreters. Alternatively, *Deaf* is reserved for the specific cultural markers of Deaf culture and Deaf community. (Leave it to academics to complicate the status quo!)

Key Terms

Certain words have been emphasized in italics, as we believe them to be part of academic language or discourse, and academic history. Scholars use these words as part of their presentations, articles, and everyday discussions. It is our assertion that students, in their endeavor to become scholars, should be conversant with this discourse.

CHAPTERS

Each chapter follows a similar format containing:

- objectives that students should be able to discuss by the end of the chapter
- the main text, discussing historical circumstances, central issues, and research studies of the discipline
- a brief summary
- key questions and discussion questions to stimulate further thought
- suggestions for further reading

We encourage students and interested readers to find and read primary texts to follow up ideas that are raised in each chapter and to investigate the research being carried out in their own countries and languages. As such, this book should ideally be used in conjunction with readings mentioned in the preface and be supported by an institution's library resources. An attempt has also been made to refer to many works that are readily available, with references provided at the close of this book. Particular emphasis has been placed on encouraging reflection, investigation, building an awareness of this new discipline, and on applying theories to both practice and research.

Each of the chapters begins with the title "Through the Lens of" (e.g., "Through the Lens of History"), with the disciplines discussed

being the "lenses" that scholars use to examine and study interpreting. This provides an overview of each discipline, its major theoretical ideas, and scholars from those disciplines who have contributed to IS. Also discussed are the issues and concerns of interpreting that have been studied within the framework of each specific discipline. This book has been structured to function as a textbook in interpreting courses, both practical and theoretical. However, each chapter can also stand alone to ensure readers with specific focuses can find the discussions that align most to their interests.

This book contains eight chapters, each of which could be covered in two or three weeks, depending on the length of a course, or used together over the course of an academic semester. We can also imagine a scenario in which students are required to read parts of the book during one part of their training and the other parts during later parts of their training. For example, it might be useful for students and teachers to use the translation chapter during a translation course, the history chapter during an introduction to interpreting course, and the social psychology chapter during an ethics of interpreting course. The discussion points can then be used during a research of senior thesis course, as they provide substantial initial material for students to develop their own research.

SUMMARY

Society has benefited greatly from different disciplines. Such work has uncovered that the Earth is not the center of the universe thanks to scholars in astronomy, has eradicated certain diseases thanks to scholars in epidemiology, and, on occasion, has predicted certain weather patterns due to those in meteorology. Psychology has taught us that human's language-processing center is in the left hemisphere of the brain, and anthropology has revealed chimpanzees' kinships with one another.

This chapter has generally reviewed the critical elements of disciplines and outlined their various components of theory and focus. The idea that interpreting is not only a practice but a scholarly discipline has also been introduced. Imagine the benefits of examining interpreting through multiple disciplines; indeed, the transdisciplinary nature of IS allows for that holistic examination.

This book has been organized into chapters that include objectives, a main text, a brief summary, discussion questions, and further readings. Key terms are emphasised in italics. Along the way we have introduced you to our writing style and our politics, including our decision to avoid the masculine pronoun "he" when talking about interpreters, and to refrain from the use of "hearing" as a way to describe people who are not deaf.

FURTHER READINGS

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Through the Lens of History 2

We are not makers of history. We are made by history.
—Martin Luther King, Jr.

Often, we think the issues we face in interpreting are occurring for the first time, when in fact many of these issues have happened throughout history. When "new" phenomena such as Deaf interpreters (or identity politics) arise, it is worth checking whether these are actually "new" or just new to us. By taking a longer view we can help identify what is new, or what is a reframing of an issue that has been discussed or explored in the past. This helps us to contextualize what is happening in the present.

BY THE end of this chapter you should be able to:

1. understand the usefulness of considering interpreting historically
2. identify the recurring major themes within interpreting history
3. critically recount key historical interpreting events
4. discuss the notion of the power inherent in choosing who interprets.

History as a discipline brings together primary and secondary sources (interviews, diaries, newspapers, and documents) to explain and track events that have happened within their historical context. In doing so, historians can provide plausible explanations for events. The discipline falls within the humanities, which encompasses a range of fields including philosophy, religion, geography, art, literature, and musicology, among others. This is different from the other disciplines discussed in this book, which instead fall into the social sciences.

Some scholars examine history to understand the multiple convergences of factors that trigger certain events. Looking at historical events is not merely learning about past events; rather, it is learning who we are in the present by examining events of the past. Some scholars who examine historical events aim to unpack grand narratives, which sometimes offer only a single perspective, in order to understand events within broader and wider discourses (see Foucault, 1972, 1979, 1991). Noted philosopher Michel Foucault suggested a different perspective:

> [Foucault] was far more interested in, and receptive to, work which, instead of trying to understand the "one and only" truth of things, tried to "historicise" the different kinds of truth, knowledge, rationality and reason that had developed in cultures. (Danaher, Schirato, & Webb, 2000, p. 6)

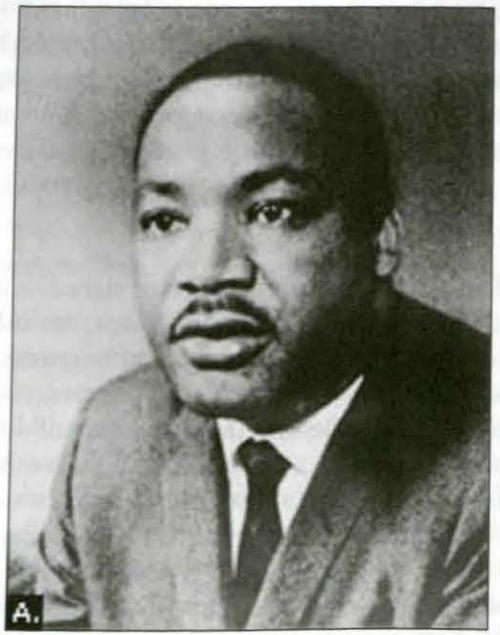
History should be more than a list of dates when events have happened; cross-referencing, or triangulation, must also occur with comparisons to co-occurring and preceding events made to better understand the how and why of events. It is equally important to be mindful of what information may be difficult to find and how this might shed light on different aspects of "received wisdom," such as the work of Deaf interpreters, or individuals, groups and communities that are low status and/or discriminated against, whether they are women, people of different ethnicities, minorities or low-status language users.

Victors not only write history but they also leave their mark upon their interpretation of it. "The history we read, though based on facts, is, strictly speaking, not factual at all, but a series of accepted judgments" (Barraclough, 1955, p. 14). A historian not only documents the history but is also part of the interpretation of that history. Therefore, historians (indeed all scholars) bring with them a particular worldview that will inevitably shape their understanding of the facts they yield. The historian Collingwood suggested that history is both the past and a historian's thoughts about the past. Carr (1961) would later frame this schema as "a continuous process of interaction between the historian and [their] facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past" (p. 35).

If we consider the US civil rights movement here, Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech embodies the culmination of many

factors, some of which were obviously race-related, but others were about social change more generally. Indeed, many social changes were occurring in the early 1960s. Technologically speaking, television had only become an influencing medium in the previous decade. When Dr. King delivered his speech, the Vietnam Conflict (as it would be referred to) had started 10 years earlier and did not appear to be coming to an end in the immediate future. Student protests against the *conflict* ensuing on university campuses around the US were emerging, and second-wave feminism also began to take hold at this point in the century. It was a time of change that allowed Dr. King's words to resonate with different groups because the context was just as important as his speech.

The work of Dr. King and subsequent events that followed also emphasize how successful movements are created, which, at the same time, provide examples of moments in history that are sterilized. For example, have you ever heard of Bayard Rustin? Mr. Rustin



Martin Luther King. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The March on Washington, 1963. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

has been credited for organizing the March on Washington in 1963. Although the movement was about race and Rustin was black, he was also a gay man. For this fact, some suggest that his role, at least in history books, has been downplayed (Singer & Kates, 2003). This demonstrates that history, with its various interpreters, is an important tool for documenting, uncovering, and (occasionally) masking events.

THE HISTORY OF INTERPRETING

The history of interpreting, either spoken or signed, is often assumed to have started more recently than it did. Often, this is because histories are reported as if interactions occurred only among monolinguals (e.g., see Palmer, 2003, for an account of interpreting in 16th-century Ireland) without regard to the multilingual nature of different peoples meeting. When empires encountered each other or wished to trade, or people were forcibly moved due to natural disaster or enslavement, multilinguals have often been present, thus, enabling different language groups to talk to each other.

This chapter will examine the historic evidence of interpreters working at different periods around the world. Some of the earliest references of spoken and sign language interpreting will be explored

to examine the contexts within which interpreting occurred. This will provide a better understanding of the communities, and language practices that have occurred for different peoples historically and how these resemble and differ from current practices.

Historical Mentions of Translation and Interpreting

Interpreting as a practice has occurred throughout human history, often undertaken by low-status bilinguals or multilinguals with no training. Historical documents also show multilinguals of high status, people in the borderlands, children with different home languages, and those learning languages working as interpreters either informally or as part of other professional roles. However, the label "interpreter" is often unhelpful when considering multilingual work throughout history. Often, it is crucial to consider the roles of civil servants and diplomats, or navigator guides (see Karttunen, 1996) and brokers to better gauge interpreting work throughout history. We also need to think about the roles of multilinguals in armies and the military, and the roles they have undertaken as language brokers (i.e., people who perform interpreting without specific training) during times of conquest or peacekeeping. Hence, these early references of spoken language and then sign language interpreting require some exploration to see whether the circumstances are similar or different for different languages in different geopolitical areas across time.

Early References to Translation and Interpreting

One of the earliest mentions (Hermann, 1956/2002) of a cadre of people undertaking interpreting work was in ancient Egypt during the third millennium BC. As is often the case for early references, this occurred within the context of an empire, with "nation" states requiring some interaction with, and control of, those who were subordinated—in this case, the region bordering Nubia.

The work of interpreters also occurred regularly throughout the classical Hellenic and Roman periods, with "references to interpreters ... found in the Greek and Latin literature of all periods" (Gehman, 1914, p. 16). However, despite their mention, these references happen fleetingly and without much detail. For example, when Julius

One of the earliest depictions of an interpreter. This is a small corner of a large frieze from the tomb of Haremhub (or Horemhab) at Saggara, in ancient Memphis, outside of Cairo, Egypt, dated 1330 BCE. Today this frieze is in Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, the National Museum of Antiquities, in Leiden, Holland.

Caesar wrote about the wars in Gaul (now France and featured in the Asterix cartoons) in his text called the Gallic War (*Bellum Gallicum* in Latin), he:

> refers to sending away his "day-to-day interpreters" (*cotidianis interpretibus*, 1.19) so that he can have a confidential conversation with a Gallic leader, but they are pretty much invisible in the rest of the narrative. (McElduff, 2009, p. 135)

Much of the time, interpreters are not otherwise mentioned unless something drastic or noteworthy occurred, which, although interesting, can skew understandings of the daily work they and language brokers typically performed. One can imagine the average needs and encounters of interpreters in multilingual empires to have been equally unremarkable, particularly since their documented actions transpired in certain high-status contexts, such as military discussions, trade negotiations and interactions with officials.

These fleeting mentions also occurred throughout the first and second centuries BC in China (Lung, 2009). There, interpreters and translators worked as mandarins (i.e., civil servants) within the state civil service. Although interpreting and translation was part of their work, the mandarins had other duties. They do not appear to have been trained, so while their work included translation and interpreting, it is appropriate to instead view them as language brokers. Further, mandarins were of the seventh to ninth order, which was quite a low level of appointment within the imperial court, as opposed to the relatively high-status staff interpreters in the United Nations (UN) or European Union (EU) today. Nonetheless, this provided them a specific status within the court and an expectation that their translation and interpreting services were provided within the context of trade, thus, enabling traders to pay homage to the emperor and for the assimilation of peoples into the imperial fold.

Generally, interpreters were also sought to mediate encounters with people on the frontier or borderlands, and these groups were often characterized as exotic or barbarians, as they did not know the language of the ruling power. As "cross-cultural knowledge was considered a quality of the interpreter, apart from his [sic] bilingual skills" (Lung, 2009, p. 125), the notion of cultural mediation was already deemed part of their required skill set.

Many of the themes that emerge from the context of workers (i.e., soldiers and mandarins, among others) whose responsibilities included interpreting remain relevant today. Though the context and particularities of interpretation might vary across different times and geographies, the broad overarching themes constitute:

1. language status and language choice
2. language fluency and language immersion
3. language brokering and cross-cultural knowledge
4. loyalty and the power to choose an interpreter, translator, or broker.

When reading historical articles, such as those referenced in this chapter, these themes continually emerge, sometimes with different labels and at other times raising specific issues, but nevertheless as ones that offer learning from history. It is also worth noting the ubiquity of

interpreting may designate its practitioners and the act itself as socially invisible; this will be discussed more in Chapter 5.

Language status and language choice is a way to situate the power dynamics inherent in any exchange in which interpreters are working. That is, in exploring power we can explore who is "providing" interpreters and which languages are interpreted. Sign languages, regardless of country, are minority languages; the dominant language(s), with higher status(es), is (are) the spoken language(s). This is reinforced when interpreters are used because they are often assumed to be providing services for the deaf person rather than for both parties. This is exacerbated when there is a minority sign language in a country (such as Australian Irish Sign Language in Australia, see Wallis 2016) and can mean deaf interpreters (or language brokers) are provided (if interpreters are provided at all) for even lower status deaf people (sometimes known as ghostwriters, see Adam, Carty, & Stone, 2011).

Such language dynamics could also be influenced by the use of a *lingua franca*—sometimes referred to as a common language or bridge language between those who do not share a language. Generally, English or Spanish is now used across the Americas, as was Plains Indian Sign Language (PISL) among Plains Indians in previous centuries (Davis, 2010).

In terms of language fluency and language immersion, interpreters have historically been trained or emerged in a variety of ways. One approach includes beginning from a young age, either practicing in home institutions or by sending children abroad to "go native" (Cáceres-Würsig, 2012). These themes also point to a need for cross-cultural knowledge. It is generally expected that someone undertaking interpreting will be conversant both in the language, cultural norms and practices of the communities they serve. Often, criticisms can be noted if this is not the case (Wang & Tang, 2017), which can then call into question the interpreter's loyalty and, therefore, emphasize one's power to choose an interpreter, translator or language broker. We should consider who chooses the interpreter and whether they are enabling one group to remain distinct or become subsumed by a larger group or power structure—this remains particularly relevant today within political asylum interviews (Inghilleri, 2003).

Thus, some of the earliest references of sign language and sign language interpreting require attention, particularly to understand how

these themes transpired for deaf people at different times and in different contexts. As will become clear, the presence of deaf people and the use of sign language are mentioned at various points throughout history. Just as historians do, we suggest that we can deduce the presence (even when not mentioned) of someone acting as an interpreter from these historical records.

EARLY REFERENCES TO SIGN LANGUAGE TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING

This section will begin to explore some of the earliest references to language brokers, translators and interpreters working either formally or informally with Deaf individuals, families and communities. This helps us to understand that some of the themes we discuss today, in classrooms, during conferences, or in academic journals, not only apply broadly to interpreting and specifically sign language interpreting, but also that different historical contexts can help us understand some of the contemporary professional and theoretical issues in IS today.

The Ottoman Court (14th to 17th Centuries)

Miles is a disability studies scholar interested in historical references to difference. In exploring the presence of visibly different people in royal courts, such as jesters and dwarfs, he came across mentions of "deaf mutes," and this was something he explored in greater depth. For us, this study ultimately led to uncovering the earliest reference to date of both sign language interpreting and "sign translators" in 1625 within the Ottoman Empire (2000).

If we try to better understand the circumstances that led to this being reported by a Dutch ambassador then we can better understand the context of deaf lives within the sultan's (or emperor's) court, as well as the presence of sign language interpreters or "translators," as the Dutch ambassador reported. This was a high status "royal" court with a sultan who had advisors and court personnel to aid in the efficient running of the court; such duties also included providing amusement and performing menial tasks as servants.

It is possible these deaf servants were seen as ideal because they could not overhear private conversations in the court. Furthermore,

Chief Black Eunuch, Court Dwarf, and Chief White Eunuch on Ottoman Court, 18th century. Painting by Giovanni Jean Brindesi.

we can infer that given that these people had to get their orders from someone, and that as a select few in the court could use sign language, there must have been someone acting as the interpreter at least in some situations.

Different historic accounts ascribe different jobs to these "mutes," some even accepting roles as "stranglers" (executioners) while others suggest they acted only as court jesters and pages. "Mute" executioners

would use a bowstring to silently kill someone at the sultan's will and in situations when he did not wish to draw public attention to the event. This demonstrated that deaf people were integrated into society and had a higher status that we might expect.

The numbers increased from 15 to 20 mutes during the 15th century to potentially 200 mutes by the 17th century. Although it is difficult to believe that a natural sign language would *not* emerge given that such a large number of deaf mutes were gathered together, we can only speculate that the "signs" or "motions" they used was a fully-fledged sign language. There appears to be accounts of older signers visiting children which supports this claim of the signing being a fully-fledged sign language. We know that in recent years sign languages have emerged in Nicaragua and Israel (El-Sayed in the Negev desert) so this would also support the idea that the use of home signs for one generation could evolve into a language by subsequent generations (Senghas, 2005).

We also have the reports of English craftsman Thomas Dallam attending the Ottoman court in 1599 to deliver a musical organ on behalf of Queen Elizabeth I who wrote

> the thirde hundrethe weare Dum men, that could nether heare nore speake, and theye weare likwyse in gouns of riche Clothe of gould and Cordivan buskins; ... Som of them had haukes in theire fistes ... I did moste of all wonder at those dumb men, for they lett me understande by theire perfitt sins (signs) all thinges that they had sene the presente dow by its motions. (Miles, 2000, p. 121)

> *(The third hundred were dumb men, could neither hear nor speak, and they were dressed in gowns of rich cloth of gold and oxblood colored boots; ... Some of them had hawks on their fists ... I did most of all wonder at those dumb men, for they let me understand by their perfect signs what they had seen of the present showing its movement.)*

This account supports the suggestion that the signing used was at least capable of communicating using some kind of depiction (see Chapter 4, Linguistics), and that the so-called "Dum men" were confident in communicating with those who did not use their signs. We also have an early mention of a sign translator, "The Dutch

ambassador Cornelis Haga, who reached Constantinople around 1612, went so far as to invite the court mutes to a banquet and, with a sign translator's help, was impressed by their eloquence on many topics" (Deusingen, 1660; Sibscota, 1670, pp. 42–43). While supporting the idea that the signs were a sign language, it does not clarify whether translators were present or that a cadre of court officials undertook this work, and neither explains what capacity this was undertaken (unlike the mandarins in the Chinese empire). We know Sultan Osman "'took so much pleasure in the mutes' language that he learnt it, and had most of his pages and eunuchs learn it" (Deshayes de Courmenin, 1624, p. 143).

The use of a silent language also appears to have been high status or at least perceived as fashionable because of the need to be silent in the presence of the sultan. As Sir Paul Ricaut (1686) wrote:

> this language of the *Mutes* is so much in fashion in the *Ottoman* Court, that none almost but can deliver his sense in it, and is of much use to those who attend the Presence of the Grand Signior, before whom it is not reverent or seemly so much as to whisper. (pp. 62–64; italics added)

What this tells us is that "Ottoman Court Sign" was an esteemed language that was used by more than the "mutes" at various times during the 16th and 17th centuries. Although there may have been some instances of sign language use outside of the Ottoman court, there is only one reference to someone acting as an interpreter (although called a translator). This could be because it was rarely done, or that it was so common that is was not worth mention. However, there is no record of some cadre of officials (such as we found in the Chinese imperial court), which suggests that interpreting might have been undertaken on an ad-hoc basis.

Key Questions

- Can you think of any historical or contemporary situations in which sign language is classed as a high status or mainstream language?
- How do we know this is high status?
- What type of interpreting occurs in these situations?

Weymouth, Massachusetts in the 17th Century

The first religious institutional use of signing comes from the parish records of a church in England, Leicestershire, on February 15, 1576:

> Thomas Tillsye and Ursula Russel were marryed: and because the sayde Thomas was and is naturally deafe and also dumbe, so that the order of the forme of mariage used usually among others which can heare and speake could not for his parte be observed ... the sayde Thomas, for the expression of his minde instead of words, of his own accorde used these signs. (Cox, 1910)

(Thomas Tillsye and Ursula Russel were married: and because Thomas was and is naturally deaf and dumb, he could not undertake the normal marriage service used for those who can hear and speak ... Thomas made his vows in signs instead of words.)

Registers occasionally bear witness to unusual marriages wherein one of the contracting parties is defective or deformed. A marriage at St. Martin's, Leicester, in 1576, wherein the man was deaf and dumb gave rise to a long entry:—

"Feb. 15. Thomas Tilsye and Ursula Russel were maryed; and because the sayde Thomas was and is naturally deafe, and also dumbe, so that the order of the form of marriage used usually amongst others, which can heare and speake, could not for his parte be observed. After the approbation had from Thomas, the Bishoppe of Lincolne, John Chippendale, doctor in law, and commissarye, as also of Mr. Richd. Davye, then Mayor of the town of Leicester, with others of his brethren, with the rest of the parishe, the said Thomas, for the expressing of his mind instead of words, of his own accord used these signs: first, he embraced her with his arms, and took her by the hand, putt a ring upon her finger, and layde his hande upon his hearte, and then upon her hearte, and held up his handes toward heaven. And to show his continuance to dwell with her to his lyves ende, he did it by closing of his eyes with his handes, and digginge out of the earth with his foote, and pullinge as though he would ring a bell, with diverse other signes."

St. Martin's Parish Record of the marriage of Thomas Tilsye and Ursula Russel

For more descriptions of sign language using deaf people within the UK, see Woll and Stone (2013).

In the 17th century, there are also records of the first teamwork performed between a deaf man translating and two hearing women interpreting in North America (although at that time an English colony), again within a religious context. Carty, MacReady, and Sawyers (2009) discovered an essay by Increase Mather (1639–1723), the father of Cotton Mather, asserting that deaf people were able to engage in spiritual matters using signs and should be admitted in the full communion of the church. Also discussed is the example of Sarah Pratt née Hunt (1640–1729) of Weymouth, Massachusetts, who was deaf from age three (Mather, 1684) and later married Matthew Pratt (1629–1712) who, upon becoming deaf at age twelve from an illness, subsequently learned signs.

Although deaf after acquiring some speech, Sarah did not use speech in adult life, and Mather (1684) noted:

> she hath a notable accuracy and quickness of understanding by the Eye, she discourseth altogether by signs, they that are able to discourse with her in that way, will communicate any matter much more speedily (and as full) as can be by Speech, and she to them. Her Children sign from the Breast, and learn to speak by their eyes and fingers sooner than by their tongues. (pp. 292–293)

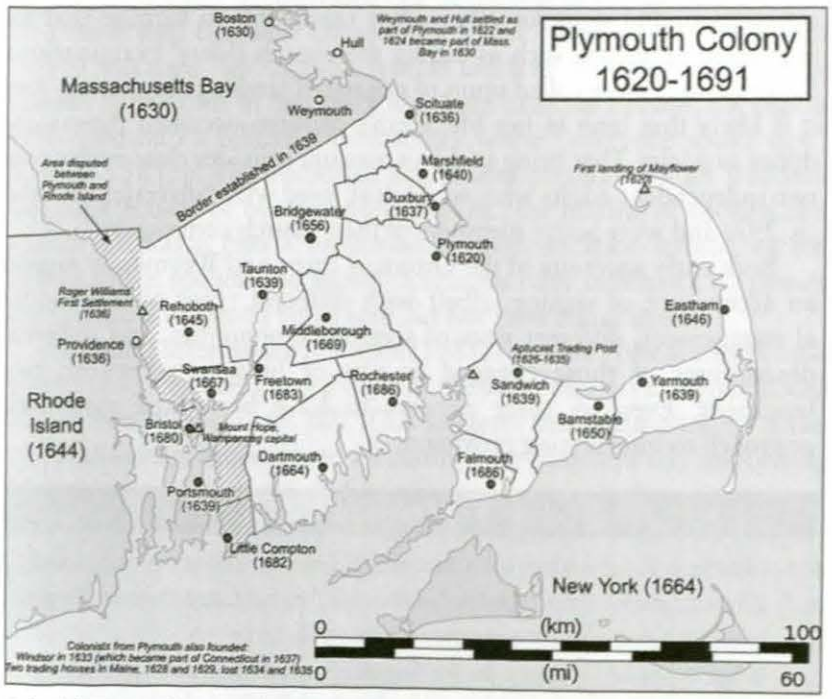
Clearly, this was a signing family that conversed with each other—between husband, wife, children, and at least two of Sarah's sisters—by signs. No mention is made of how this sign communication came about and there is no connection to other uses of signing in either the English colonies or England itself. However, there is clearly a suggestion that this is a complex way of communicating on a par with speech as Mather's (1684) notes mention that Sarah "will communicate any matter much more speedily (and as full) as can be by Speech" (pp. 292–293). Carty, MacReady, and Sawyers (2009) traced connections between Sarah Hunt's guardian Thomas Thacher and the Weald families who brought hereditary deafness to Martha's Vineyard. This is circumstantial evidence that there could have been some influence of a precursor of the sign communication or language used in the early Martha's Vineyard signing community.

Becoming a full member of the Puritan church at that time required passing an examination by the church elders. This was necessary to

explore whether the congregants had a profound inner "conversion" experience with God, coupled with an understanding of scripture. For this to happen for Sarah, the following account was made:

> An account of her Experiences was taken from her in writing by her Husband; upon which she was Examined by the Elders of the Church, they improving [benefiting from] her Husband and two of her Sisters, intelligent persons, and notably skill'd in her artificial Language; by whose help they attained good satisfaction, that she understandeth all the Principles of Religion. (Mather, 1684, p. 293)

Here we can understand the help offered by Sarah's husband to be a written translation of her experiences (Matthew Pratt becoming the first named Deaf Interpreter [DI] or at least the first named "ghost writer" [Adam, Carty, and Stone, 2011] to date), with her sisters (unnamed) having provided interpreting between spoken English and sign. This rather limited account echoes the limited account we have of the "sign translators" in the Ottoman court—it is worth noting that



Colonial Weymouth, Massachusetts

Mather (1684) also mentioned the presence of mutes in the Ottoman court, but there are noticeable differences between these two contexts.

If we consider the Pratts, Sarah and Matthew used signing as their communication (or language) of preference—with Sarah not able to speak and Matthew who could but chose not to—their choice was seemingly respected by both Mather and by the church elders. But unlike in the Ottoman court, there is neither a documented signing community nor evidence that signing (although accepted) was a high-status language in Weymouth, Massachusetts. Further, Sarah's sisters appear to have some fluency in signing as they are her younger siblings and so presumably exposed to signing from birth; they also had to facilitate communication to the satisfaction of the church elders. It bears mentioning that the Pratts's children were, too, raised signing and, according to Mather's (1684) account, did "learn to speak by their eyes and fingers sooner than by their tongues" (p. 293).

Mather's account suggests that Matthew, and Sarah to some extent, could read and write. This literacy was perhaps reserved for some communication, and signs for others. It is reasonable to surmise that for important moments, such as during the church elders' examinations, Sarah's sisters were called upon to engage in language brokering. And it is likely that later in her life Sarah's children occupied these same duties as adults. That being said, this account provides clear evidence of two independent adults who, while deaf, lived with "divers[e] Friends" (p. 293) and were active members of their church community.

Both early accounts of the Ottoman court and Weymouth suggest an acceptance of signing, albeit with different types of institutional engagement, different sizes of signing communities, and different descriptions of those engaged in acts of brokering between two languages. Even so, there appears to have been little systematic approach to interpreting provision.

Key Questions

- Matthew Pratt undertook some translation work for his wife Sarah. What types of language brokering do Deaf interpreters undertake for their families and communities today?
- What types of language brokering might non-deaf members of deaf families and communities undertake today?

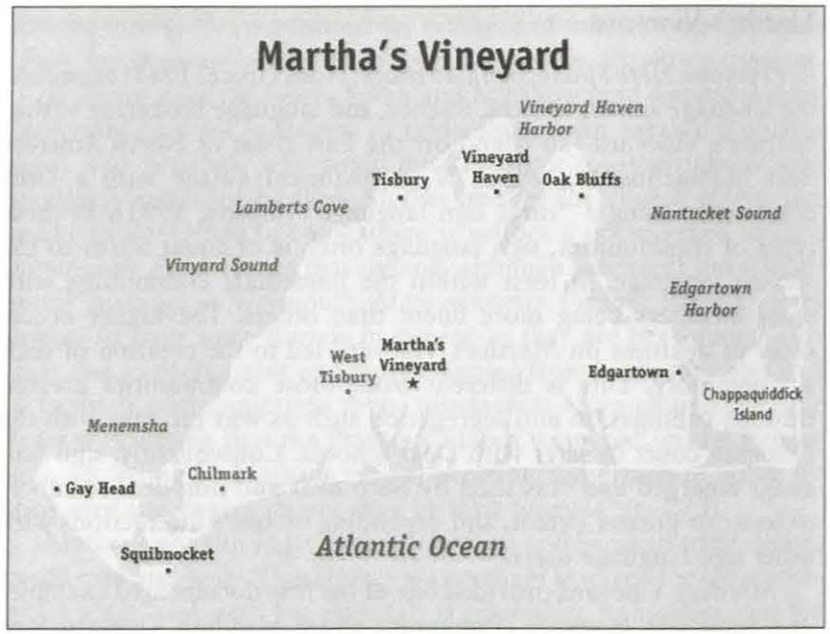
Martha's Vineyard

In *Everyone Here Spoke Sign Language*, Nora Groce (1985) examined the language status, choices, fluency, and language brokering within Martha's Vineyard (an island off the East coast of North America near Massachusetts), which is an historical village with a Deaf community using a "rural sign language" (Jepson, 1991). In these types of communities, sign language often is of equal status to the spoken language, at least within the immediate community, with some members being more fluent than others. The higher occurrence of deafness on Martha's Vineyard led to the creation of such a community. This is different from those communities created through subjugation and segregation such as was the case with the Ottoman court or later with Deaf schools. Consequently, sign language emerged and was used by both deaf and non-deaf members to lesser or greater extent, and depending on one's interactions with other sign language users.

Martha's Vineyard provided one of the first documented examples of a rural sign language community where Martha's Vineyard Sign (MVS) was used "up" island. Here, as much as 25 percent of the population at one time in one place was born deaf. As a result, the region developed into a bilingual community where "everyone spoke sign" (Groce, 1985, p. vii). Although access was provided by an informal language broker or by code-blending (i.e., the mixing of spoken and signed languages into a multimodal communication hybrid, as the syntax of the spoken and signed languages were different), it appears the spoken and signed languages did not have equal status.

One male interviewee in Groce (1985) reported "oftentimes people would tell stories and make signs at the same time so everyone could follow him together" (p. 60). This suggests that attempting to make one's comments accessible to all community members was important. The man goes on to say, "of course, sometimes, if there were more deaf [sic] than hearing there, everyone would speak sign language—just to be polite, you know" (Groce, 1985, p. 60). This account gives us some understanding of the sociolinguistics of language use in that community; when more deaf people are present then sign language is used, otherwise signing while speaking occurs.

Groce (1985) also noted that the wives of many deaf islanders served as interpreters for church services. This suggests that being deaf



Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts

was not seen as a social stigma insofar as interpreting was openly allowed in churches and not socially shunned as far as we can tell. This is similar to the situation of Sarah and Matthew Pratt, whose family members interpreted for church events, and provides some evidence that certain interpreters were preferred over and above others—something that persists in current village sign language communities (see Kusters, 2012a, 2012b, 2014).

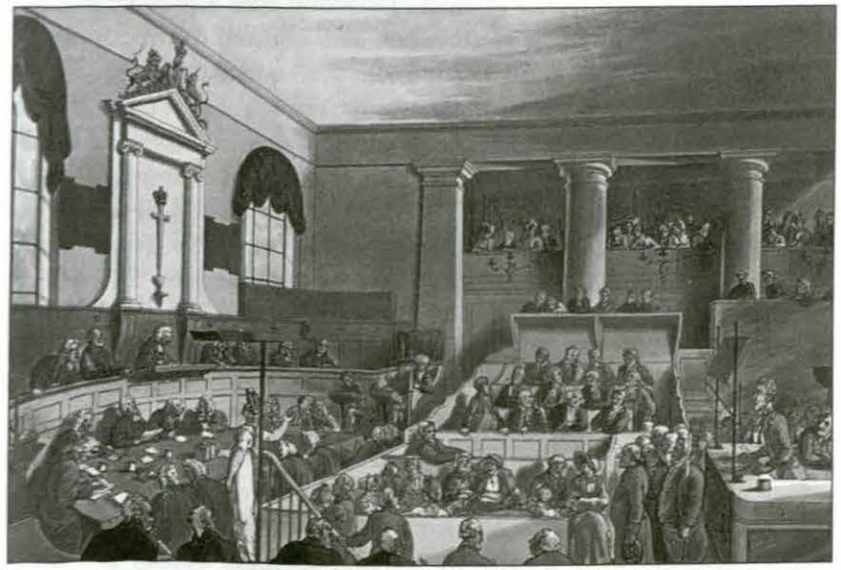
Key Questions

- Church is a place where sign (language) interpreting has occurred since the 17th century. What role does church interpreting play today in this profession?
- What preferences might a deaf individual express with respect to a preferred interpreter?
- What significance can we glean from interpreting occurring in religious settings?

Legal Interpreting in 18th-Century London

In the 18th century we find the first records of requests for an interpreter in the courts of London (Stone & Woll, 2008; Woll & Stone, 2013). The proceedings of the Old Bailey (the central criminal court of England and Wales in London) for April 7, 1725, recount the trial of George Armstrong, who was indicted for stealing a silver watch valued at 5 shillings and 1 pence. First, the court needed to establish if Armstrong was deaf "by Act of God" (www.oldbaileyonline.org, August, 16, 2016, case t17250407-70) or whether he just refused to speak and so "stood mute by his own Will." This issue was important because there was no right to remain silent at that time.

By calling witnesses to corroborate and establish that George Armstrong was indeed mute, and not being willful, the court was now in the position to find suitable interpreters. The power to choose rested with the court. Therefore the court asked if Armstrong had any "friends or relations" who could ensure that testimony was given and questions were understood. It is worth noting that at this time there is no legal right to have access to the court proceedings if one was incapable of understanding the spoken English of the court—this right



The Central Criminal Court London (The Old Bailey) in the 18th century—a trial scene.

was established in the British Empire following *R v Lee Kun* in 1916, which was, eventually, also extended to deaf people.

Consequently, in this case the "friend or relation" called for by the court (i.e., the presiding judge) had to "in any manner convey or receive Idea's [sic] of the Matter in Question" to the deaf defendant. This would mean that the defendant needed to understand the charge and answer questions on it. Sir Matthew Hale (1736) had previously judged that:

> if it can appear, that he hath the use of understanding, which many of that condition discover by signs to a very great measure then he may be tried, and suffer judgment and execution, though great caution is to be used therein. (p. 34)

It would appear that caution was heeded in this case. One of the people Armstrong worked with, John Hewitt, stated that "they understood one another well enough in Rope-making, but could not pretend to be certain of his Meaning in such a Case as this," (t17250407-70), hence raising the issue of the need of subject specific fluency. And after several "persons of credit" had vouched for his character, he was acquitted by the jury. In summary in this first reported request for someone to provide access to a *signing* deaf person in the Old Bailey proceedings we can identify several issues that are of importance then and worth reflection now. The court expected someone to speak. The Hale ruling also allowed deaf people to be tried if the deaf person could demonstrate understanding. And that understanding could be "by signs," even though at that time there are no records of an established Deaf community or established schools for the deaf—in fact, the first school for deaf children was established in 1760 by Braidwood using a mixed method of speech and signs (Green, 1783), which moved to London in 1783. Thus, in some ways, "signs" were given de-facto status depending on the ruling of the presiding judge.

Furthermore, there is some notion of peoples being *qualified* to interpret for a deaf defendant—that is, just as John Hewitt could only talk about rope making with Armstrong (presumably by depicting gestures and signs), he was not qualified to interpret for the court. Instead, the process Hewitt went through to determine whether he could effectively interpret for George Armstrong is known as *voir dire* (Mathers, 2007). Here we see that language fluency is a theme,

but also recognize how the power to choose rests upon the judge and the chosen individual's honesty on their ability to effectively interpret.

The first "successful" provision of interpreting with an interpreter sworn occurred in July 3, 1771, regarding the trial of James Saytuss. In this case:

> a jury were accordingly recorded by the sheriff, who after an examination of several witnesses, who had known him from a child, brought in their verdict that he was dumb by the visitation of God. A person with whom he had formerly lived as a servant, was sworn interpreter, who explained to him the nature of his indictment by signs; and the Court assigned him council. (www.oldbaileyonline.org, August 16, 2016, case t17710703-17)

Here we see the same process being followed as with Armstrong's case. The court accepted Saytuss as "*dumb*" only after the testimony of several witnesses. However, the court did appoint an interpreter, and that interpreters is sworn in, at least giving some status to the interpreter in the eyes of the court. Saytuss most likely would not have had any power to choose that interpreter or exercise any other freedom of choice; in fact, he was the manservant of that same (unnamed) interpreter, which also suggests that an asymmetric power relationship existed. We do not know the reasons why James's employment was terminated so this may or may not have been an acrimonious relationship. In the records, James did not testify, and (as with his fellow accused/co-defendants) was found guilty and sentenced to death.

Although, the court allowed Saytuss a trial (in line with Hale's decision) and assigned him an interpreter he was not examined. In the case, it appeared both of his fellow defendants stated their defense, despite James's defense not being recorded. This suggests that a deaf person could be tried if they understood signs, had a sworn interpreter, and counsel appointed. However, this did not mean they could fully participate in the proceedings and also may not be able to state a defense.

The first named interpreter was Fanny Lazarus, who was sworn in on December 8, 1773, in the trial of Thomas Jones. Other than her appointment, the trial also followed the same process as the others. In this case (www.oldbaileyonline.org, August 16, 2016, case

t17731208-23) however, Jones's sentence was transportation, which in 1773 would have been to "America"—this ceased in 1776 and transportation did not resume until 1787, when convicts were then transported to Australia after some pesky French helped a former colony. This is the one instance in which a deaf convict was sentenced to transportation before 1787 in these records.

We have several deaf witnesses who have interpreters. The first occurred on January 11, 1786 in the trial of William Bartlett (www.onlineoldbailey.org, August 16, 2016, case tl7860111-30). In this, the witness John Rasten was sworn in as a witness, with his sister Martha Rasten then sworn in as an interpreter. The supplemental records (o17860111-1) give an interesting account of a barrister (Mr. Garrow) in the interest of his client (Bartlett) objecting to a deaf witness. Ultimately, the judge, Justice Heath, decided that

> I am of Opinion that under all the circumstances of his case the Witness is a Competent Witness ought to be sworn after he is sworn it will remain with the Jury to consider what degree of respect he ought to have. (as cited in Woll & Stone, 2013, p. 564)

And most enlighteningly he also stated "it has been said this is as if the Man spoke on unknown language. I do not know that there is any objection to that if the language can be Interpreted to the Satisfaction of the Jury" (as cited in Woll & Stone, 2013, p. 564). Justice Heath was able to refute Garrow's (wrongful) assertion that Hale's judgment meant that deaf people could not testify. The judge also mentioned in his rebuttal that deaf people were well known to use signs. This common theme reoccurred throughout many of the cases and so it appeared that it was well accepted that signs could communicate in a sophisticated enough manner to express legal notions. Justice Heath also makes it clear that the evidence could be heard, but it was up to the jury to weigh the testimony, as with any other witness.

We also see how the judge swore in the interpreter:

> *Court [Heath]:* Can you interpret the oath to him, you have sworn well and truly to interpret to John Rasten, a witness here produced on behalf of the King against William Bartlett, now a prisoner at the bar, the questions and demands made by the Court, and also well and truly interpret the answers made to them?
> *Sarah:* There may be some things I do not understand.
> *Heath:* You cannot interpret farther than you know.
> (www.oldbileyonline.org, August 16, 2018, case tl7860111-30)

Ostensibly John Rasten's sister (as sworn interpreter) was required to interpret well and true both into sign and spoken English. Once again, we see the person asked to act as interpreter offering a qualification on their ability to undertake the task (i.e., *voir dire*). And in this instance the judge reassured Sarah, presumably enabling her to seek clarification should she have required as such. This judge also understood (as we do) that interpreters can only interpret what they understand.

The first example of deaf–blind interpreting for a victim of crime during their examination occurred almost one century later. The victim was Susannah Webling, deaf for 20 years before also becoming blind. The sworn interpreter, Louisa Aldridge, was a nurse at the Newington Infirmary, which was likely part of the Newington Workhouse in Southwark, London. On July 30, 1883, in the trail of John Pickett, Aldridge was

> sworn as an interpreter through the medium, of the deaf-and-dumb alphabet, each letter being indicated by pressure of the witness's fingers, she repeating each letter aloud, and so spelling every word of the questions addressed to her. (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, August 16, 2016 case t18830730-758).

What both of these cases demonstrate is that deaf people's testimonies as witnesses were permitted in court as early as the late 18th century. All the cases throughout this century also demonstrate that, although there is no record of an established Deaf community and the first deaf school is established in London in 1783, the court permitted deaf people to be tried and to act as witnesses using sign. We have no idea whether these were communicative gestures, or rural or village sign languages, or something that was more widely in use but undocumented.

Later, there were examples of teachers being asked to interpret for deaf people in court. The first occurred on January 13, 1808, for William Rawlins for whom an assistant teacher from the asylum of deaf and dumb, says that "the prisoner was one of my pupils under my instruction. I can make him understand." (www.oldbaileyonline.org, August 16, 2016, case tl0080113-67). And so, we gradually see that at least some of the deaf people from 1808 onward have been

schooled, used an earlier version of what is now known as British Sign Language, and had interpreters with some degree of fluency in that language. Yet, it was not until 1929 that the first list of individuals who were tested and determined as able to interpret was established in the UK (Corfmat, 1990) via the Deaf Welfare Examination Board.

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, we see that some deaf people were also provided interpreters sworn in by a judge. These deaf people who were both defendants and witnesses, may have used rural or urban sign languages (i.e., languages typically fostered in institutions such as in deaf schools), and were increasingly more likely to be fluent in sign language. The interpreters were chosen by the courts and required to interpret to the satisfaction of a jury; expectedly, no power of choice was afforded to the deaf person.

Key Questions

- Interpreting in the court has been documented since the 18th century. How is court interpreting organized today?
- To whom are court interpreters historically responsible and is that appointment any different today?

INTERPRETING BECOMES A PRACTICE PROFESSION IN THE US, UK, AND AUSTRALIA

For many years and in most countries, sign language interpreters were family members, which frequently included the children of deaf parents—some of these children were deaf while many more were not deaf (see Carty et al., 2009). In many Deaf communities, non-deaf children with deaf parents functioned in this language-brokering role in a range of settings (Napier, 2014). These children, later adults, are often called Codas[1] (children of deaf adults) in the US, a label that has spread globally.

Historically, in the US, adult Codas typically worked full-time jobs in the Deaf sector, such as teachers or rehabilitation counselors for

1. This can refer to both the organization and the individuals who make up the organization. When referring to the organization we use CODA and when referring to its individual members we use Codas.

deaf people, religious workers, or social or welfare workers (Fant, 1990). These people often did volunteer interpreting as part of their job, or, as they could spare the time, on nights and weekends. No one considered interpreting as full-time employment, or performed interpreting as a professional service (Fant, 1990).

In the UK, the first "Mission for the Deaf" was established in Edinburgh in 1818 and these were then established throughout the UK. Often, the work was continued by the second generation, the offspring of the original missioners. In 1929, the missioners established the first training course in welfare work with deaf people as a three-year in-service program for those employed in Deaf centers. This was accompanied by the establishment of the Deaf Welfare Examination Board (DWEB), which included both deaf and non-deaf children of deaf parents (see Corfmat, 1990, for a greater contextualization of this). The DWEB exam—which was also used in Australia (Ozolins & Bridge, 1999)—was among the first exams to qualify people to work as religious welfare workers for Deaf communities, and included a test for sign language interpreting as mentioned above.

The exam required applicants to demonstrate fluency in signing as well as some cultural awareness, even though this might have resulted in colonialism (Ladd, 2003). By this we mean that those who chose to be missioners, or inherited the job, may or may not have been allies to the Deaf communities they "served." Although the in-service nature of this training meant that there could be acculturation, it is unclear whether this knowledge was used or abused. There were some criticisms about the level of autonomy deaf people were allowed to engage in when these missioners "interpreted" *to* rather than *for* their flock. With the greater emancipation of deaf people came a move away from missioners getting jobs for deaf people to interpreters interpreting job interviews for deaf people, allowing deaf people to gain employment on their own merit. This may be one of the first examples of the evolving role of interpreters, illustrating a move from the helper metaphor to the conduit metaphor (Roy, 1993/2002).

Professional Organizations

In the early 1960s, the status and language of deaf people began to change. As Napier (2011) noted, sign language interpreting "was

slower to emerge as a professional occupation because of its beginnings in welfare work and the lack of recognition of sign languages as authentic languages comparable to spoken/written language" (p. 354). One of the first major catalysts for change was the publication of William Stokoe's paper on American Sign Language in 1960. Stokoe, an English professor and a linguist at Gallaudet University, argued for the status of American Sign Language as a *language* and not simply a gestural system. Following his initial publication, Stokoe, Casterline, and Croneberg (1965) published *A Dictionary of American Sign Language on Linguistic Principles.*

Thus, began a transition from thinking that deaf people needed communication assistance to manage their everyday lives to the idea that sign language interpreters worked between two languages and two cultures. This move signaled a gradual improvement of status for both deaf people and interpreters. The shift in perspective from ad-hoc helpers to professional language-communication specialists was significant—a change that would affect interpreters, deaf people and deaf communities worldwide.

Additionally, the 1960s began an era of expansive national laws and large national government grants in the US, starting with the Kennedy (1960–1963) and Johnson (1963–1969) administrations. Theirs were a response to civil rights legislation, which included rights for "handicapped" people. As these laws came into effect and grants were distributed through vocational rehabilitation services, funding became available to assist deaf people in post-secondary education and to search for employment. In turn, this fueled an urgent and immediate need for interpreters who could function effectively in such settings.

In 1964 Vocational Rehabilitation Services sponsored a "Workshop on Interpreting for Deaf People" at Ball State Teacher's College in Muncie, Indiana (Quigley, 1965). This would lead to the establishment of the National Registry of Professional Translators and Interpreters, which would later become Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf. The original purpose of the organization was to combat the shortage of interpreters through the promotion of "recruiting and training of more interpreters for the deaf, both manual and oral" (Fant, 1990, p. 3). The organization would go onto develop a certification test, maintain a registry, and become a member organization with over

14,000 members (as of 2017). In 2016 the RID transferred the testing development and administration to the Center for the Assessment of Sign Language Interpreting (CASLI), which we will discuss in greater depth when we discuss credentials. As a member organization, the national RID collects dues, lobbies on behalf of interpreters, and oversees the ethical practices system (EPS).

The establishment of the RID set the trajectory for the field of sign language interpreting in the United States. The members of the RID aimed to create a profession of sign language interpreters. Guidance such as that provided by the codes of ethics began to distinguish between interpreters and advocates. The tenets in the codes of ethics address confidentiality, neutrality, and compensation. Interpreters who were previously doing this work out of a "sense of altruism and duty" (Fant, 1990, p. 12) were obliged to see themselves as a service provider with a needed skill. This undoubtedly created tension between deaf people and interpreters.

The separation of roles from welfare work and interpreting also began to occur in the 1960s and 1970s in the UK. One catalyst was the wider welfare reforms in light of the 1960 Younghusband report, in which the then Earl of Feversham recommended that social workers should be engaged in advocacy and be generically qualified (UK Parliament, 1960). Another push came from the British Deaf Association (BDA), which received funding from the then Department for Health and Social Services (DHSS) for a Communication Skills Project; this included funding to establish a list of registered qualified sign language interpreters (RQSLI). From these efforts, a national register (now called the National Register for Communication Professionals working with Deaf and Deafblind People [NRCPD]) and sign language interpreting qualifications were developed.

It is worth noting that the UK is a country of four nations—England, Northern Ireland, Wales, and Scotland—which has, among other things, separate education and legal systems. Support from the Scottish Association for the Deaf (SAD, but now known as the Scottish Council on Deafness [SCoD]) enabled the Scottish Association of Interpreters for the Deaf (SAID) to be established in 1981. However, SAID was initially a SAD subcommittee that eventually became the Scottish Association of Sign Language Interpreters

(SASLI) in 1988. These institutions functioned as both registers and professional associations. They differ from those in the other three UK nations, which in 1982 had the Council for the Advancement for Communication with Deaf People (CACDP, now the NRCPD) register, and in 1987 also had the Association of Sign Language Interpreters (ASLI).

In Australia, where there were also trained welfare officers, separating the welfare work from interpreting took a different path. The Australian Association of Welfare Workers with the Deaf was established in 1964, and by the mid to late 1970s became engaged with the National Accreditation Authority for Australian Translators and Interpreters (NAATI). As a country of immigrants, a need for community interpreters became apparent and sign language interpreters were quickly brought into the NAATI accreditation rather than a separate sign language interpreter qualification. By 1982, there were NAATI tests for paraprofessionals (analogous to registered trainee interpreters (RTI) in the UK during that era) and professional interpreters (analogous to RQSLI). These tests were administered with Deaf involvement.

Education

By the 1970s and 1980s, sign language interpreting entered a second phase of becoming a profession. In the US, support from the Rehabilitation Services Administration (RSA) funded the National Interpreter Training Consortium (NITC), which helped establish interpreter education in six post-secondary institutions. These interpreting programs (which were federally supported for over 20 years) were typically two-year training programs and also served as resource centers for their RSA regions. Gradually, there came a call for interpreters to have a bachelor's degree before taking the national Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) certification exam arose (Brunson, 2006), which, in turn, created a demand for such programs nationwide.

In the UK, as in the US, the registry influenced the development of postgraduate courses, which were later expanded to both bachelor's and master's levels. At that time, passing the appropriate sign language exam and being in an interpreter education program allowed

candidates to register as trainees and then be fully credentialed upon passing/graduating from accredited courses.

To become an interpreter, in Australia, at the paraprofessional level, training courses are available at Technical and Further Education (TAFE) community colleges in most states. Currently students take a one-year part-time course, and on successful completion, attain a TAFE Diploma and NAATI Paraprofessional level accreditation. There is a National Curriculum for Diploma and Advanced Diploma in interpreting, which is adapted by individual TAFEs for the purposes of training interpreters of any language. In order to gain professional interpreter level accreditation, students enroll in a Postgraduate Diploma at Macquarie University in Sydney. This program requires paraprofessional accreditation and two years postaccreditation experience (and ideally a BA) as a minimum prerequisite. All approved training programs must meet rigorous standards for content and final exams must emulate the structure of the NAATI test.

As we can see from the earlier discussion, there are various ways in which would-be interpreters are able to acquire the necessary training to interpret. As sign language interpreting has moved further along the professionalization continuum, the training of interpreters has become more institutionalized, in which the regulatory bodies are also involved. This has created a larger need for qualified teachers, to be sure. It has also created a need for a theoretically and empirically driven curriculum.

Credentials

Currently there are two models for credentialing interpreters through a professional organization. One model is the awarding of a certification upon completion of an academic program and successful review of a portfolio as it is done in the UK. Another model is the awarding of a certification after a successful knowledge and skills-based evaluation like it is done in the US, which now requires a bachelor's degree as of 2012. Australia has a combination of these two models.

Interpreting is a *practice profession* (Dean & Pollard, 2005) that requires both technical skills (i.e., language fluency) and interpersonal skills to navigate different human interactions. Regardless of the credentialing system throughout North America and the United Kingdom,

interpreters must demonstrate the ability to apply ethical principles to an interpreting situation.

In the mid-1990s, the UK's CACDP applied the National Occupational Standards for Interpreting (NOSI) as a measure for both spoken and sign language interpreters, ending the use of an interpreting exam for entry onto the register. This "shifting positionality" (Cokely, 2005) has the potential to limit the role and function of members of the Deaf community in determining who becomes interpreters. Fortunately, as recently as 2017 NOSI were reviewed (at the BDA's instigation) and Deaf stakeholders were involved in that review.

Bachelor's and master's courses were designed in accordance with the NOSI to ensure that successful graduation from these programs conferred eligibility to join the NRCPD as a registered sign language interpreter (RSLI). For some, passing these courses with lower marks enabled graduates to become regulated trainee sign language interpreters (TSLI). Other recent developments include registering interpreters working between two sign languages (who also are Deaf interpreters), and enlisting translators working from written English (including live captioning, subtitling, and communication access real-time translation [CART]) into British Sign Language as registered sign language translators (RSLT). However, registration is still optional, despite that most interpreters register with the NRCPD and far fewer translators do both because access to qualifications is limited and there is less apparent need currently although with web translation, etc., this is predicted to be a growth area.

Since 1977 the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) has been the regulatory body in Australia, which included sign language interpreters as of 1982 (Bontempo & Levitzke-Gray, 2009). NAATI has authority over all languages both signed and spoken. To receive this credential a candidate can either pass a skills-based exam or complete an interpreter educational program at the postgraduate level that has been approved by NAATI. The final exam of these educational programs, although varying slightly based on accreditation, must be similar to the NAATI test. Although accreditation is offered at both a paraprofessional level and a professional level, the minimum standard for general practice is the professional level.

In the US, the Center for the Assessment of Sign Language Interpretation (CASLI) is charged with developing and administering an evaluation for sign language interpreters. Education and certification is not sufficient to practice in many states. A second type of credential has been implemented in multiple states, which requires interpreters to hold a license to practice (Brunson, 2011). This has been a joint effort from members of Deaf communities and interpreting practitioners who felt a need for additional mechanisms to hold interpreters accountable.

For many states, a national certification is a prerequisite for licensure. This allows a state to monitor the number of interpreters as well as regulate the kinds of work they are able to perform. For interpreters who perform interpreting for which they are not licensed (e.g., legal) there are various sanctions. These sanctions can include a warning, suspension, or fine.

In states where a licensure is in place, deaf people may feel more empowered. There are local mechanisms put in place for deaf consumers to file complaints against interpreters. It also provides a much-needed bridge between the education and practice. That is, aspiring interpreters who may lack the necessary skills to achieve national certification can, with a provisional license, work alongside another fully licensed interpreter to gain the practice and experience they need to enter the profession.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have explored some of the first references to interpreting on record. Many current concerns that we have today are concerns that have always been raised when engaging someone to interpret. However, unlike today, those who engaged in interpreting did so as part of their responsibilities (e.g., the Chinese mandarins), or to serve family or friends in church and court. In most cases, signing was not deemed to be a language but was seen as communicative and capable of expressing complex ideas.

We have also described the development of the interpreting profession in several countries (and nations). Clearly there are many ways in which sign language interpreting can develop as a profession, particularly in relation to its regulatory bodies and professional associations

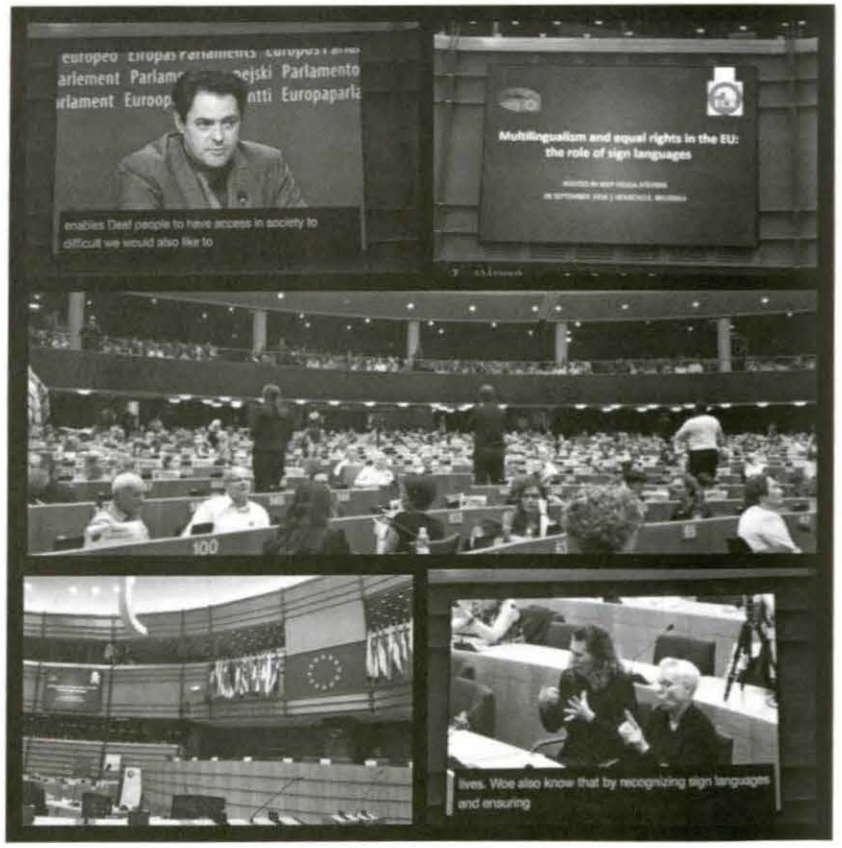


Figure 2.1. Sign language interpreters in the European Union, September 28, 2016.

involving deaf people, non-deaf members of the Deaf community, and with additional government support. It seems, at least in the Global North, that interpreting has followed a particular path: first, organizations were established; then, nationwide credentialing systems were adopted; finally, licensure became a requirement.

What we also recognize throughout the history of interpreting is that we have gone from performing invisible labor, as was done in the Ottoman Empire, to taking center stage (see Figure 2.1). Currently, interpreting is less a function of informing subjects for an empire or according to a ruler's edict, and more a provision of access to people worldwide.

Discussion Questions

1. How has the perception of deaf people and the historical changes of these perceptions influenced our work at different moments in time?
2. How does the long view of interpreting help us to better understand and contextualize our work today?
3. What issues might require attention to ensure history does not repeat itself?
4. How does the professionalization of interpreting at different periods in history and in different places shape the trajectory of sign language interpreting?

Further Readings

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Through the Lens of Translation 3

Translation is not a matter of words only: it is a matter of making intelligible a whole culture. —Anthony Burgess

> One of the issues that interpreters often need to accept is that when using a term for colleagues who perform our work, the public most frequently utters the word "translator." While this might get under our skin, or cause us to throw something at the TV, it is true to say that only in recent years (maybe in the last century or so) have interpreters begun to emerge from the shadow of our sister profession translation to be recognized in some sense as an allied or concomitant profession. Truth be told in academic and disciplinary terms they are our older sister . . . with all the associated love, angst and panoply of emotion an older sister might invoke.

By the end of this chapter you should be able to:

1. define, discuss, and debate the concept of equivalence;
2. discuss the key terms in translation and identify major theorists who coined these terms;
3. identify major scholars in translation and describe their contributions; and
4. name and discuss a significant study of translation in sign language interpreting.

Translation is everywhere; it allows for a global economy and is instrumental in stopping the outbreak of disease and preventing wars by providing access to reports, for example from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), on the NASDAQ index, vaccination usage manuals, diplomatic missives, and more. Television programs and

films, subtitling or captioning, books, plane menus, and a litany of other mediums, all make use of and benefit from translation. Many of the theorists you will read in this chapter and throughout this book have been translated from their original language to make them accessible for audiences who cannot read the original language, including those of us who are English speakers. With global trade, migration and economic matters, translation occurs in every country and in a vast variety of materials.

Translation is one of the top ten fastest growing occupations in the United States (US Department of Labor Blog, 2015). It is also one of the fastest growing occupations within sign language interpreting, in which texts and other types of information and expression are reviewed and then represented in translation. Written translation and translators remain largely invisible to the general public, which is less true for sign language translators. But sign language translators and interpreters (T/Is), especially Deaf translators and interpreters are creating translations for television news (sometimes called sight interpretation, Rathmann, 2011), museum tour "sign" guides, airport safety information, train timetables, and the list goes on.

The central focus of translation is linguistic activity. Translators are mindful of how specific words, phrases, sentences, and texts translate into other languages and cultures, and the series of operations undertaken from a starting point (a *source* language or text) and the end point (the *target* language or text). Analysis can occur at a lexical

Network rail advertisement, UK, 2017. Courtesy of Signly.

level (i.e., with an individual word) or at a higher and more complex level of language such as phrase or sentence level. Yet, how are appropriate and equivalent meanings determined? Within similar language families, this can be a fairly easy task. However, when languages and cultures have different linguistic structures, different perspectives on the world, and potentially limited contact, this process becomes more complex and difficult to describe or achieve.

TRANSLATION AND TRANSLATION STUDIES

Translation is both a task performed by bilingual professionals and a subject studied and researched in the academy. Historically, translation as a task, or activity, has been to render a written message in one language to a similarly written message in a different language within a reasonable time span. For example, a translator may require a few hours to translate a news story or several months (or years) to craft a translation of a book. Traditionally, translation has been known as an activity pertaining to written texts; however, in the 21st century, our notions of translation have expanded to include the idea of translating from unwritten languages to written languages and vice versa, developing as the technology advances for recording such output. One example of translation with sign languages occurs on television, whereby a Deaf translator provides a translation after reading a news script, crafting a translation and then presenting that translation to camera with the aid of an autocue (UK) or teleprompter (US). Irrespective of the recording medium in which it happens, when engaged in the activity of translating, translators are primarily concerned with conveying a message accurately and appropriately for a target audience that is not present when the translation is crafted.

TS is the scientific study typically conducted within an academic environment of the many aspects of translation, including the activity of translating. James Holmes, a Dutch-born US scholar, delivered a paper in 1972 in which he coined the term "Translation Studies." In it, he suggested the concerns of TS are the complex issues around translating as a *process* (i.e., what are the multiplicity of decisions translators must make?) and a *product* (i.e., is the translation an accurate representation of the original message?). This brought all aspects

of translation, including the skills and science, into a single discipline. Similarly, interpreting is both a skill and a science, focused on the transfer of meaning between people who do not speak a common language. Typically, it focuses on the live and immediate rendering of a message in one spoken or signed language into another spoken or signed language (Pöchhacker, 2004), while also concerned with accuracy. Although both translation and interpreting have been practiced since humans began interacting through language, studies of translation also have a long history as scholars from ancient times have been writing about translation processes and products for centuries.

Thus, the discipline of TS forms the bedrock from which IS emerges, as Pöchhacker (2004) noted: "Basic insights and ideas about Translation may now be feeding more directly into interpreting studies and enriching its theoretical foundations" (p. 48). Moreover, many of the central issues and concerns in TS are also the issues and concerns of IS, as evidenced by its borrowing of terminology.

Key Questions

- Can you think of another example of translation between a signed language and a spoken language?
- What do you think is a central issue in translation?
- Other than accuracy, what questions might you ask about an interpretation?

THE HISTORY OF EQUIVALENCE

Equivalence is used to define the relationship between a source text and its target-language rendition. The primary goal of translation is to transfer the meaning of a message in one language to a different language so that they mean the same thing, or are *equivalent*. Discussions of equivalence have long focused on two contrasting strategies: "word-for-word" or *literal* translations, and "sense-for-sense" or *free* translations. The debate over these strategies has lasted more than a thousand years, despite most scholars agreeing that translation should follow the free strategy, as languages not only differ in terms of their linguistic structures, but also in how meaning and cultural connotations are conveyed. Achieving equivalence is not an easy task,

even less so when languages and cultures are vastly different and the source language and culture is unknown to the target audience.

For centuries, scholars have argued that literal translations can be done and might be done for particular reasons, such as allowing a scholar or student to note differences in sentence structure, word classes, and other linguistic structures. However, not only is there rarely a one-to-one equivalence between any two languages, but translating individual words obscures the contextual force and meaning of not only that word, but also an entire sentence—and potentially a whole text. Equivalence at the word level ignores the order and form of a clause, a sentence, a paragraph, any of which could change or distort the meaning. Replacing the individual words of a source text with English looks like this:

Spanish:	¿Como se llama?
Literal translation:	(how yourself you-call?)
Aguaruna (a language in Peru):	¿Amesh yaitpa?
Literal translation:	(you-doubt who-are-you?)
English:	What is your name?

In Spanish, the word-for-word translation results in a question that a reader of English might eventually understand. However, the word-for-word translation from Aguaruna would likely result in a misunderstanding of what is being asked. As the Mexican poet Octavio Paz famously noted (first in Spanish and then translated), "I'm not saying a literal translation is impossible, only that it's not a translation" (as cited in Bellos, 2011, p. 103).

In contrast, sense-to-sense or free translations allow translators to focus on the purposes or goals of the entire text, and to consider how languages and cultures structure and use language. Languages are not just written forms; people use language to do things, such as asking for information, giving compliments or telling stories (Austin, 1962). Language also reveals cultural preferences for conceptualizing abstract thought. For example, Deaf translators will shift to metaphors in American Sign Language that are different from English metaphors in the source text (Roush, 2018; see also Chapter 4, Linguistics). Composing a free translation may result in a rendition that seems radically different from the source text, but is wholly appropriate for a target-language text and a

target-language audience whose linguistic and cultural sensibilities are different. Nevertheless, this section will provide brief overviews of these two strategies (literal and free translation), which dominated scholarly thinking and writing for over a thousand years.

Ancient Rome

The nature of translation became a concern as it became a widely practiced art in ancient Rome. The Roman philosopher, politician, lawyer, and orator Cicero (106–43 BCE) introduced Romans to Greek philosophy through translations of Greek speeches into Latin. In his letters and essays, he wrote about his experience in translating Greek writings, stating:

> I did not translate them as an interpreter, but as an orator, keeping the same ideas and forms, or as one might say, the "figures" of thought, but in language which conforms to our usage. And in so doing, I did not hold it necessary to render word for word, but I presented the general style and force of the language. (Cicero 46 BC/1960 CE, p. 364, cited in Munday, 2013, p. 30)

Cicero, who obviously favored a free-translation strategy, used the word "interpreter" as someone who would translate a speech in a word-for-word fashion (i.e., a Latin word for each individual Greek word). Typically, scholars would read these writings in both Latin and Greek side by side. In this we could imagine that a word-for-word translation might be of use to some scholars wanting to either learn Greek or understand how the Greek language organized thoughts and ideas.

When Cicero used the word "orator" he meant someone who would write a speech in Latin that would inspire Roman audiences in the same way that Greek audiences had been inspired. We can also imagine that this would serve a different readership or audience. This view of how translation should be created would be echoed and repeated for centuries.

Key Question

- What do you think Cicero meant when he wrote, "but I presented the general style and force of the language"?

Bible Translation

Bible translation has been a major preoccupation of Christian churches for two thousand years and, in many ways, has driven TS. The Old Testament was written in Hebrew and the New Testament was written in Koine Greek, an older form of the Greek language. As of 2006, the entire Bible has been translated into 426 languages, the New Testament into 1,100 languages, and parts of the Bible have been translated into 2,403 languages (United Bible Society World Report, cited in Baker & Saldanha, 2009). The earliest known translation was from Hebrew to Greek and is called the Septuagint, a familiar text in Judaism translated by 70 Jewish scholars, and later translated into Latin.

Key Questions

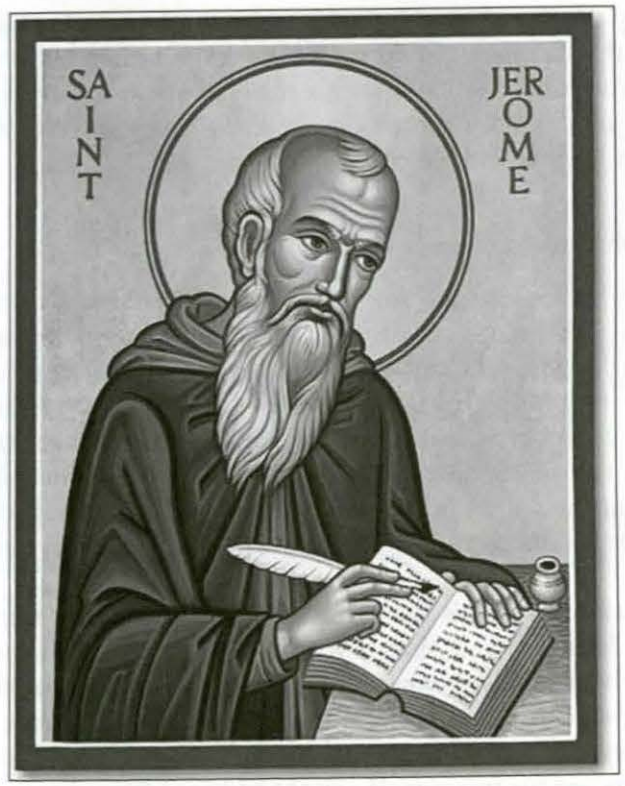
There are ongoing efforts to translate the Bible into American Sign Language and other signed languages around the world. For example, Deaf Missions is a US organization that has been doing Bible translation work since 1981.

- Have you seen a translation of Bible scriptures into American Sign Language?
- What evidence do you see that it is either a literal or free translation?

St. Jerome (347–420 CE), the most famous of all Western translators and the patron saint of translation, cited Cicero to justify his own translation of the Christian Bible into Latin. During this time, many were engaged in translating the Bible; the Catholic Church decided that there should be one official version of the Bible for use in all churches. Thus, St. Jerome set out to reconcile and create one translation from two versions: one written in Hebrew and the other in Greek. In response to public criticism of the translation he composed, St. Jerome explained,

> now I not only admit but freely announce that in translating from the Greek—except of course in the case of the Holy Scripture, where even the syntax contains a mystery—I render not word-for-word, but sense-for-sense. (St. Jerome in Munday, 2013, p. 31)

While St. Jerome translated some passages from the Bible in a word-for-word fashion—to do otherwise could be seen as heresy—he



St. Jerome, patron saint of translators and interpreters.

also translated other passages such as parables and sermons into a Latin form that was natural and easily read by anyone who could read the language. St. Jerome rejected the word-for-word approach because following the form of the source language usually produces an absurd text, which often missed, obscured, or de-emphasized important parts of the original meaning.

For over a thousand years after St. Jerome's work, issues of word-for-word (or literal) translation and sense-for-sense (or free) translation were raised when translating the Bible and other religious or philosophical texts—a project done by hand and typically done by monks or priests. Although a literal translation would produce awkward or disjointed sentences, its supporters insisted that the word of God or prophets (if freely translated) would create a meaning not

intended by a text and would, therefore, be sacrilegious. In this way, we can see the beginnings of other factors—expectations outside that of the translator alone—that influence the type of translation strategy that will be used. These expectations are known as *norms* and will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.

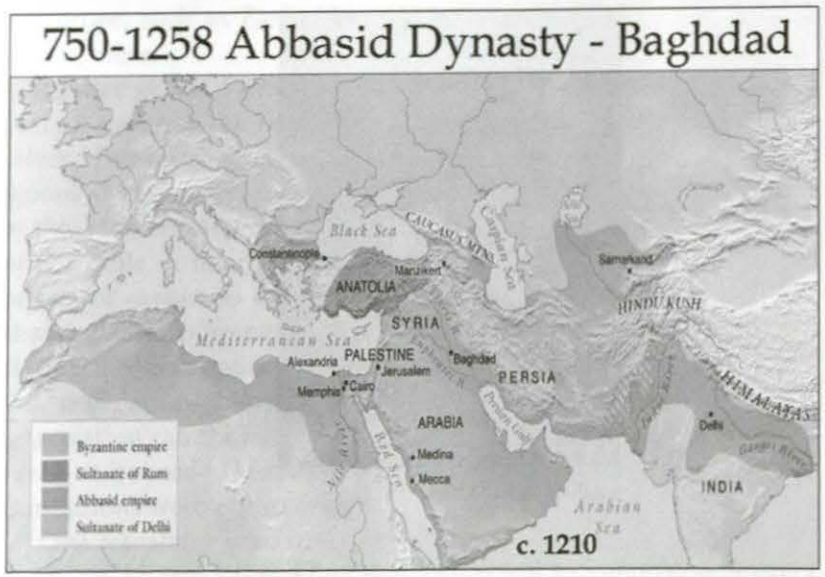
Early Arabic and Chinese Translation

China and the Arabic speaking nations also have long histories of translation and discussions about the issues of literal versus free translation strategies. Hung and Pollard (1998) have written about the history of Chinese translation of Buddhist Sanskrit texts and found translators discussing issues of both literal and free translation. Early translations were often word-for-word because it was believed that the words of the prophets should be rendered exactly as they were produced, which echoes the discussions of St. Jerome's time.

It may also have been the case that many translators were not sufficiently bilingual and, thus it was easier to match characters to single words or word groups. As translators became more fluent, they shifted toward free translations to convey both a literary quality and tone. Chinese translators often made distinctions about text types and argued for free translation for literary texts, as opposed to plainer and simpler texts. As many Sanskrit texts have been lost to time, a comparison of the original texts to translations is no longer possible.

In addition to translating Buddhist texts, China also has a long history of translating scientific, mathematical, business, and literary texts from the West. In the late 16th and 17th centuries, missionaries, and particularly Jesuit priests and monks, began translating Chinese writings into European languages, which provided a great deal of knowledge about this vast kingdom(s) and (later) its country.

In the Arabic speaking nations, primarily in the city of Baghdad, there was intense translation activity during the period of 750–1250 CE (132–648 AH). As the written form of Arabic became standardized across Arabic nations and the Qur'àn became set, translations into other languages flourished. During this period, the first organized



Baghdad (750–1250 CE)

and large-scale translation of books into other languages began, particularly as the Qur'àn called upon its believers to learn as much about the world as they could. Texts in Greek, Latin, Persian, and Indian languages as well as other Middle Eastern languages were collected and translated. This occurred across many languages and topics, and began with the use of word-for-word translations, particularly from Greek to Arabic (Baker & Hannah, 2009). Eventually, the accumulated knowledge formed the beginnings of the disciplinary categories that would form the basis of modern universities.

The fourteenth-century translator Salah al-Din al-Safadi wrote about generations of Arab translators, and complained that they looked at a word in Greek, found an equivalent form in Arabic and wrote it down, and so on until the entire text had been translated. Of course, this method led to producing translated texts that did not make sense or were difficult to understand.

Al-Safadi pointed out that it was wrong to assume that there is a one-to-one equivalence with words, and that the sentence structure in Greek did not match the sentence structure in Arabic. Eventually, translators adopted a sense-for-sense strategy that, over time, led to

Salah al-Din al-Safadi

a greater acceptance of free translation and this became the norm for translation throughout this part of the world.

Key Question

- Can you think of a book you have read that might have been translated from Chinese or Arabic?

The Reformation

The study of language and languages in Europe began as studies by philosophers. Throughout the Middle Ages, the study of language was known as philology, which principally explored ancient languages and texts, such as Latin and Greek, and included literary criticism. Many of these scholars were also translators who focused on understanding the meanings of texts.

By the 14th and 15th centuries, language and translation became part of the power struggles both within and outside of the Roman Catholic Church. Allowing priests and monks to interpret the Greek or Latin Bible was a key factor that kept the Church as a center of power in Europe. Eventually, people wanted to read these texts for themselves and wanted the Bible translated into the spoken languages

of Europe, such as Early New High German, English, and French, among others.

Leader of the Protestant Reformation Martin Luther believed that all men had the right to read and interpret the Bible for themselves. These struggles, along with other disagreements about religious doctrine, became the Protestant Reformation that erupted in the 16th century. Allowing ordinary people to hear the message of the Bible in their own languages meant they no longer needed priests or monks to explain these messages, or intercede, and this challenged the power of the Church, which often fought back by declaring that translation into other languages was heresy. Moreover, the "translation of any book which diverged from the Church's interpretation ran the risk of being deemed heretical and of being censured or banned" (Munday, 2013, p. 37). Many who created these translations were put to death.

One translator who made the Bible available in (Early Modern) English was theologian and translator William Tyndale (1494–1536), who spoke ten languages including Hebrew and produced a Bible that later became the precursor to the 1611 King James Version. Tyndale was later tried for heresy and executed in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, this general climate of the Reformation and the new printing-press technologies meant that biblical translations could be

Martin Luther

produced in large quantities and more quickly than by scribes. In fact, Luther translated the Bible into New High German and followed the arguments of St. Jerome to compose a sense-for-sense translation language so that ordinary people might read the Bible for themselves.

As Italian, French, English, and other "modern" languages developed, scholars began comparing their sounds, words, and sentences to better understand how languages were similar and how they were different. This comparative approach intersects with translators and interpreters because, as Jakobson (1959/2004) pointed out, "languages differ essentially in what they *must* convey and not in what they *may* convey" (p. 136). Knowing how an individual language is structured and what it *must* convey is essential for translating an utterance into any language.

One example of this in English is gendered pronouns such as she, he, her, and him, which American Sign Language does not have. When translating from American Sign Language to English, it can sometimes be a challenge to pick a gender (which English *must* convey) when the American Sign Language speaker has not identified a gender—and this is particularly tricky when American Sign Language shows action or dialogue (see Chapter 4, Linguistics). Likewise, when American Sign Language shows actions through movements and depicting objects (which is often obligatory in American Sign Language), it can be a challenge interpreting into English which does not have these same devices. Knowing how languages are similar or different allows translators to create sentences that cannot be word-for-word, as that will not make sense to the readers of the translation.

Key Question

Today, we read Bibles that may have been translated from Hebrew, to Greek, to Latin, to an older form of English, to Modern English. It is interesting to think about what forms each language must convey and were then carried into the next translation.

- What nuances might an American Sign Language Bible translation contain that an English version might not, and vice versa?

The Beginnings of Theory

As the 17th century began, scholars became interested in principles, or rules, for how to create a good translation. They developed a variety of terms, such as *accuracy*, *faithfulness*, and *fidelity*, many of which are still used today, as well as terms describing the *style* or *spirit* of a text. Much of the writing at this time attempted to define and describe these ideas with greater specificity, while also becoming more systematic about proposing principles for creating translations. What captured their interest was the argument of whether a translation should reflect the worldview of its author or the worldview of a reader, or perhaps incorporate a bit of both. This remains an interesting discussion in TS today and is an important consideration of the work of translators and interpreters alike.

In 1790, early theorist Alexander Tytler published his "Essay on the Principles of Translation" in English, in which he argued that a good translation should read as easily as any text originally written in the target language. His general principles included the following:

1. The translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work.
2. The style and manner of writing should be of the same character with that of the original.
3. The translation should have all the ease of the original composition.

(cited in Nida, 1964, p. 19)

The order of these principles also determined the most important elements of a translation. Thus, the ideas and content of a text are most important, while other features can be ignored if they conflict with the first principle.

Tytler's principles became well known in the English-speaking world and were regarded as how translation should be done. His essay became widely known in translation scholarship for its significance in discussing the general rules for translating any text, and has influenced translation teaching and practice all over the world. Prior to his essay, scholars had mostly discussed the translation difficulties

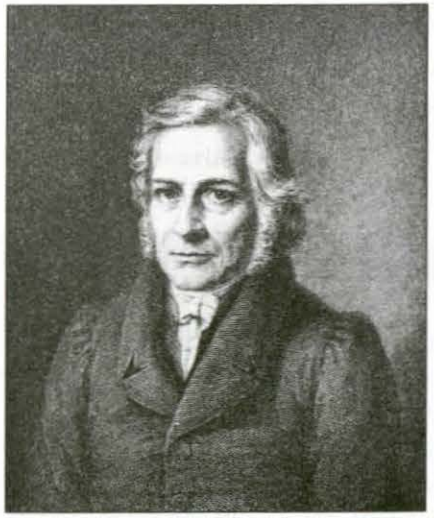
of a particular text, such as the Bible. Moreover, Tytler's essay marked the beginning of translation theory in the Western world.

Friedrich Schleiermacher

Meanwhile in Germany, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) argued that truth was not as important as a translator's understandings and inner feelings. He discussed the ways in which the source text author and the target text reader could be brought closer together. Avoiding entirely the discussion of word-for-word (literal), or sense-for-sense (free) translation, Schleiermacher (1813/2004) espoused that

> either the translator leaves the writer in peace as much as possible and moves the reader toward him, or he leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him. (p. 49)

Moving readers toward a writer meant creating a translation that, while using a target language, would follow the patterns and sense of the source language. By creating this kind of translation, the reader can appreciate and gain more of a sense of the source culture and concepts, even though the text may seem somewhat foreign or strange. In this way, the translator helps a reader appreciate the author's



Friedrich Schleiermacher

worldview, as well as the source language and culture. This strategy requires that target text readers are willing to read a text that might be difficult to read and may be quite different from the texts of their own language and culture.

It is particularly clear that Schleiermacher spoke about the translation of scholarly, literary, and artistic texts; texts that are dependent upon a reader's ability to infer meaning that is not explicitly stated. Schleiermacher's perspective on translation has influenced scholarship ever since. His ideas about *foreignizing* texts were taken up by scholars, especially Lawrence Venuti, and are beginning to appear in discussions of sign language translation. More importantly, Schleiermacher's work made discussions about literal or sense moot.

Eugene Nida

By the early 20th century, scholars were criticizing translation theory for having relatively few new ideas and for lacking clear or useful definitions of terms such as accuracy, faithful, and sense. Increasingly, they recommended that TS adopt a scientific analysis of these historical terms and concepts, as well as build a taxonomy of common problems found in all translations. Eugene Nida answered this call.

Eugene Nida. Courtesy of the American Bible Society.

Nida was both a linguist and a Bible translator who, beginning in the 1940s, worked with unwritten languages, which is a large portion of world languages even today. To produce Bible translations, Nida and his teams had to first develop a written form of the spoken language, and often teach people how to read. Once a writing system had been created and was deemed appropriate for religious purposes, the translation of books of the Bible could begin.

Nida became well known and respected for both his linguistic skill in developing writing systems and for his translation techniques. As the founder of the American Bible Society, he taught both linguistic and translation techniques to hundreds of linguists and translators for more than 50 years. In the 1960s, he produced two major works on translation: *Toward a Science of Translating* (Nida, 1964) and *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (coauthored with Taber in 1969), both of which are still widely read today.

Nida was a pioneer who moved Bible translation onto a more scientific path by incorporating discoveries in linguistics. Using Noam Chomsky's concept of "kernel sentences"—the most basic elements of a sentence—Nida sought to isolate units of meaning. Turning away from older terms, such as *free* and *literal*, Nida proposed *dynamic* or *formal equivalence* with the following definitions:

1. Formal equivalence (as much as possible) conforms to the lexical, grammatical, or structural form of a source text.
2. Dynamic equivalence encourages translations that cause a target audience to respond in the same way as an original text's audience once did. The goal was to ensure readers of either text would understand their meanings in a similar fashion.

Formal equivalence, then, is oriented toward the lexical or phrasal forms of the source language. Most students will be familiar with this as *gloss* translations. American Sign Language and other sign languages are often accompanied by gloss translations in the written form of a spoken language so that both linguists and students of a sign language can see the specific elements and structures of a language. The following example provides these conventions in which glosses are capitalized to show that English forms are being used to represent signs of American Sign Language: YESTERDAY ME BUY C-A-R TWO.

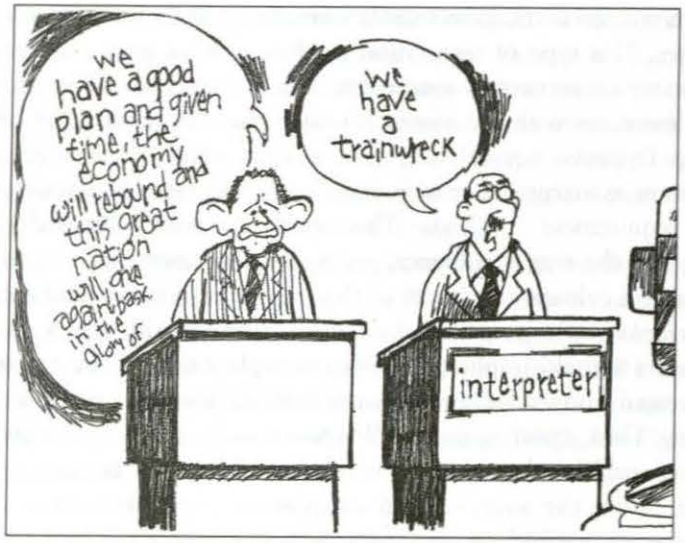
With written texts, gloss translations are typically used for scholarly footnotes. This type of translation is often used in academic environments in which access to a source language and its customs are the point of the lesson (as with the aforementioned Spanish example, ¿Como se llama?). Dynamic equivalence, on the other hand, aims to present a translation as natural a text in the target language. *Naturalness* was a key requirement for Nida. This approach, which focused on the receiver, or the target audience, encouraged adjustments to grammar, lexicon, and cultural references so that readers can easily read and connect to ideas and objects from their own cultural worldview. Nida urged translators to make implicit information explicit to help clarify both the background knowledge and cultural information of a text's intended meaning. Thus, dynamic (later called *functional*) equivalence focused on meaning and how that meaning would manifest in the target language.

For Nida, the success of a translation depended above all on achieving an equivalent response; that is, a target reader's response should match the response of a source language reader. To this end, Nida's writings (1964; Nida & Taber, 1969) suggest four basic requirements for a translation:

1. It should make sense on its own.
2. It should convey the spirit and manner of the original.
3. It has a natural and an easy form of expression.
4. It produces a response in readers similar to that of its target-source readers.

Although dynamic equivalence aims to meet all four requirements, this list is organized from the most important (1) to the final requirement (4). Nida is clear that achieving equivalence in meaning is more important than equivalence in style.

Scholars have criticized Nida's theories of equivalence by noting his focus on lexical items and sentence structures. Nida, however, clearly addresses discourse structures in his early books (Nida & Taber, 1969). Other scholars argue that equivalence is subjective and difficult to achieve when talking about texts that are separated in both time and culture from new readers. Nida was one of the few translation scholars who worked with languages and cultures around the world and, in training other translators, dealt daily with practical translation problems. His approach has profoundly influenced



Equivalence in meaning

translation theorists (see the work of Peter Newmark and Werner Koller) and continues to do so today.

The term *equivalence* also continues to be used in both practice and education. Defining its exact scope reveals the problem of defining meaning, neither of which has been done successfully. In 1992, Mona Baker advocated for extending the concept of equivalence to address the flow of information and ideas in the source text compared to the target text, while also examining how these ideas are tied together, suggesting *textual equivalence* as a more appropriate term. However, Gideon Toury (1980) posed a more interesting question that has since persisted: "The question to be asked in the actual study of translation is not whether the two texts are equivalent . . . but what type and degree of equivalence do they reveal" (p. 47).

While the term *equivalence* is still in use today, its meaning is changing as both translators and scholars acknowledge that there is no one correct, or complete, equivalent in any translation. Basil Hatim and Ian Mason (1990) have led the way in suggesting that equivalence can be determined when we ask "who is translating what, for whom, when, where, why, and in what circumstance?" (p. 6). They have suggested that these questions might bring us to a focus

on the "adequacy" (p. 8) of a translation in terms of its goals and audience, as well as thinking about equivalence in terms of "intended effects" (p. 7) on the receivers. As TS turned to theories based in communication studies, discourse studies, and pragmatics, among others, these new directions "restore to the translator the central role in a process of cross-cultural communication, and ceases to regard equivalence merely as a matter of entities within texts." (p. 35). In the sections below, we explore these theories and their impact on TS.

Key Questions

- Can you provide an example of your application of Schleiermacher's strategy for maintaining the foreignness when translating from American Sign Language (or another signed language) into English?
- Can you create an example of formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence in American Sign Language to English, and vice versa?

CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

In the 1930s, linguistics moved from creating grammars into the study of parts of speech and sentence types of various languages. Accordingly, TS began to contrast specific and general differences between languages, particularly Western European languages, working into and out of English. By the 1960s and 1970s, contrastive linguistics became a popular and productive way to describe the necessary structures and forms according to each language.

Using the knowledge of how words were composed and the different parts of speech (i.e., nouns, verbs, and adjectives), translators could compare and contrast differences in noun classes, verb variations, syntactic differences, and identify the changes (or shifts) that were necessary to create good translations. It became clear that specific changes, or techniques, could be identified and categorized. The focus on describing these types of changes and creating subsequent taxonomies could be applied to any language pair and any translation.

Of the taxonomies developed, Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet's model, published in 1958 and reprinted in 1995 when it was translated into English, has become a classic and has had a lasting impact. Their examples were based on comparisons between French and English,

and served as a model for the translation of many Western European languages. We include a discussion of their work here as many of their terms and categories are still used in interpreter education classes today.

Vinay and Darbelnet arranged the process of producing a translation in the following manner:

1. Identify the units of translation.
2. Examine the [source language] text, evaluating the descriptive, affective, and intellectual contents of the units.
3. Reconstruct the metalinguistic context of the message.
4. Evaluate the stylistic effects.
5. Produce and revise the [target text].

(Vinay & Darbelnet, 1958/1995, p. 30)

They define a "unit of translation" as a combination of lexical items within a "unit of thought," which Vinay and Darbelnet described as "the smallest segment of the utterance whose signs are linked in such a way that they should not be translated individually" (p. 21). Here, the word "signs" is used to mean any unit of language that is used to designate objects or phenomena. In creating a translation, Vinay and Darbelnet suggested there are two strategies labeled "direct" (literal) and "oblique" (free) (p. 31). Within these strategies are seven procedures, many of which are still used today when discussing how to produce both translations and interpretations. For example, one procedure is *borrowing*, which occurs when the source language word is transferred directly to the target language. In many languages, the English word "computer" is borrowed directly into other languages, just as English borrows words from many languages, such as "ranch" and "tango" from Spanish, among many others.

Another procedure is *calque* where words are translated directly; for example, from French "sourd-muet" we get "deaf-mute." Other procedures include changing one part of speech for another, changing a sentence's point of view, and describing a situation in one language with a proverb or idiom from another language. Further procedures described by Vinay and Darbelnet include *false friends*, *explication*, and *generalizations*.

Translators and interpreters use many of these terms today to describe specific translation techniques. All of these terms and

procedures remain part of both a translator's and an interpreter's rendering techniques today. These strategies and procedures began to lay out the scope of decisions that needed to be made by translators, and interpreters, which signaled a new perspective in TS. As with all theories, there are gaps. Vinay and Dabelnet conceded that translators' main concerns will be in the realm of stylistics, how the meaning is expressed, and how nuances of messages are relayed, there is further work to be done to develop their approach.

Key Questions

- What do you think Vinay and Darbelnet meant by stylistic effects?
- Can you identify a *borrowing* in American Sign Language from English?
- Can you identify *borrowing* in English from other languages?

FUNCTIONAL THEORIES

The 1970s and 1980s sparked a move toward a larger and more expansive idea of translation as communication, which originated in Germany. Communication considered the larger social scene around an act of translation, including an author, an intended audience, and the function of both individual sentences as well as an entire text (i.e., a business report, a newspaper article, an advertisement, or a film, and so on).

As translation moved away from a focus on individual words and phrases, scholars began to consider that meaning could be drawn from both linguistic and social knowledge. This meant translation required thinking about the function and communicative goals of an entire text as well as its individual sentences. One of Aesop's fables, "The Boy Who Cried Wolf" is understood not only as a children's story but a warning of the problems that can arise when children lie. So, the communicative goal is to teach children a lesson, the function of each part of the story, including the individual sentences, has to be thought of in terms of the overall communicative goal. It has to further the story and contribute to the teaching of the lesson. Essentially, this moved translation toward both functionalist and communicative approaches of analysis.

This approach highlighted that readers not only spoke a different language but were also likely to have different background knowledge and cultural views, echoing some of Schleiermacher's earlier comments. Thus, translators had to consider if a similar type of text existed in the target language, and the variation among the potential readers.

Hans J. Vermeer (1989/2004) introduced *skopos* (a Greek word meaning aim or purpose) theory that focused on target readers and what was required to meet their sociocultural perspectives. Skopos theory asked translators to examine the purpose of the text for its target readers and to adjust their translations to meet this purpose. Skopos theory proposes that translators should know why a text is to be translated and what the function of the target text will be. Knowing this information would become a guiding principle when making choices for translation strategies.

Thus, as a translator's focus is on creating coherent texts in a target language and culture, it may mean that the translation is summarized or abbreviated as the details may not be necessary to the primary purpose of the text. The theory argued that translating is a cultural activity not simply a linguistic activity. This attention given to contextual surroundings was new and would be expanded, as sociolinguistics and discourse analysis became more widely known in linguistics and then applied to translation.

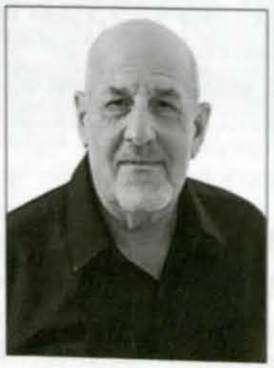
Sign language interpreters are often presented with opportunities to practice translation when handed a text prior to producing an interpretation; Banna (2004, p. 114) has called these "prepared live interpretations," which appear in a variety of forms including (but not limited to) play productions, lectures, and video stories. With this, sign language interpreters have an opportunity to prepare, discuss, and revise a translation, and consider whether to borrow a particular term or find terms in a target language that will evoke similar responses within the desired audience.

Skopos theory encourages one to develop a "brief" of a translation's requirements that constitutes its audience, where and how a translation or interpretation is produced, and which strategies best suit a translation's purpose. More importantly, skopos theory recognizes that translation is a decision-making process that calls upon the translators to use their expertise and ethical responsibilities to achieve the goals within a specific situation or goal.

COMMUNICATION AND DISCOURSE

The idea of translation as a communicative act between humans with different worldviews and the growing demand for translation in global legal, business, and healthcare settings created new perspectives in TS. At this point, scholars were beginning to include ideas and theories about interactions between people and texts, and about text types, discourse style, and register. Basil Hatim and Ian Mason (1990) began their book *Discourse and the Translator* by commenting on the ways scholars have differentiated the examination of translating, including comparing and contrasting language function, making distinctions among genres, or determining the functions of a text.

Hatim and Mason concluded that these differences confuse discussions while ignoring the similarities. Determining similarities, they argue, might allow for a common theoretical base. What they proposed was to consider all texts as evidence of a "communicative transaction taking place within a social framework" (Hatim & Mason, 1990, p. 3). This view foregrounds translation as a meaning-making process between all its participants: an author creates a text to convey meaning, a translator works to understand the meanings in its original form and attempts to re-create those same meanings in the target text, and finally a reader reads and interprets that text. Every text is created and then understood within a specific situation that includes a where, when, who, how, and why. Every reading is a unique and



Ian Mason and Basil Hatim

unrepeatable act and every text evokes differing responses in different receivers. If this is the case, then, first, there is no one correct translation, and good translations will vary depending upon all the circumstances that surround it, and should be judged by those criteria.

Past studies had typically focused on specific texts—typically their grammatical elements—and their translations. What Hatim and Mason (1990) suggested was that studying the process and the translator was more useful and productive. The process has the potential to illuminate problems as well as solutions, and then these problems and solutions could be studied across genres, cultures, and histories. Authors have communicative aims and select words, phrases, sentences, even entire texts based on those aims. Translators attempt to respond to the aims of an author, both to satisfy the original author, but also to render a text meaningful to readers of other times, places, and cultures.

Many new areas for exploration arose as the field opened up to communication and discourse: style, register, dialogue, indirect meanings, metaphors, irony, and more. Increasingly it became clear that Nida's dynamic equivalence was actually a range of valid solutions and that a translation could be judged by its intended effects on readers, or by readers themselves. Plainly, this raised several concerns: Did translator judge the intended meaning adequately? Did they evoke a meaning similar to the original meaning and was it understood by the reader? What choices do translators make to achieve these meanings?

Key Questions

- How can you judge a sign language translation from a process perspective?
- What communicative aims might influence your choices?

CULTURAL TURN

As translation moved from examining texts for equivalence to examining the culture, the discourse, and the politics surrounding both a text and its translation, Mary Snell-Hornby (1990) coined the term *cultural turn* in TS. In the same vein, Susan Bassnett and André

Lefevere (1990) urged scholars to focus on the "larger issues of context, history and convention" (p. 11). This turn to issues surrounding a text meant other disciplines, such as history, sociology, social psychology (among others) could be used to examine translation processes. For example, throughout the years translators have been "rewriting" (Lefevere, 1992, p. 2) texts to conform or reject the dominant ideology of a society and its culture. Translations can, and often do, influence how a culture is transmitted and perceived, as translators frequently change specific words or phrases to avoid insulting specific groups, to soften a harsh statement, or even omit certain words that may offend readers in a specific society, or vice versa.

Another example is handling the cultural perspectives of gender roles. Often, translations assume a male gender for pronouns and other terms when the original text used a form that did not indicate gender. For example, in an episode of the television series *Designing Women*, Jean Smart's character argues with a Southern Baptist minister that women should be allowed to become ministers (Bloodworth-Thomason, 1988). The minister insists the Bible says only men can be ministers, but one of the women in the group, Bernice, suddenly begins to explain Bible verses used to justify this decision, one of which is about the word "deacon." The original word in Greek did not indicate gender and both women and men could serve in this role. Over time, however, translations began to refer to deacons as men only. This demonstrates how translations might be skewed because of the constraints of the target culture.

Lawrence Venuti (2000), editor of *The Translation Studies Reader* and author of numerous books and articles about translation, noted that most translations are from minority languages and cultures into a major language and culture, often into American English. He pointed out that translators had long been successful in making translations culturally appropriate in the target language, typically a major language. He suggested this strategy often obscured the interesting differences in minority cultures by instead promoting both the power of majority languages and cultures (most notably the US) and the oppression of other worldviews.

Venuti, unlike Nida, argued that perhaps translators should consider *foreignizing* translations from minority cultures. That is, allowing translations to retain some elements of a source text, whether that

Lawrence Venuti. Photograph by Karen Van Dyck.

be borrowed words or cultural perspectives, and so retain some of the "strangeness" of the minority culture. He also argued that doing this type of translation promotes knowledge and understanding of cultural differences, and allows minority cultural values and ideas to stand out to the majority culture.

Key Questions

- How might you "foreignize" a sign language translation?
- How do Nida and Venuti differ in their opinions about the role of culture in the translation?
- What elements might enable a majority culture to better note the difference between mainstream and Deaf communities?

SIGN LANGUAGE TRANSLATION

Deaf bilinguals have always worked voluntarily as translators and interpreters within their communities, both by interpreting the wider society to other Deaf people, and by translating English documents such as letters, newspapers, and more recently subtitled television

shows (Stone, 2005b). Nowadays Deaf interpreters interpret in conference settings and classroom lectures, and translate television news broadcasts, websites, museum displays and audio guides, among other settings. In the UK, Deaf T/Is are employed to translate news and current affairs programs by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), while those in Europe run their own businesses translating official documents, airport and train instructions, websites, and in the German parliament (Bundestag). As of this writing, Deaf T/Is are working to create their own professional organization in the US.

In 1995, Gideon Toury wrote his widely known essay, "The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation," in which he proposed that TS should describe the *norms* that govern translation by observing translation processes and procedures. Norms are generally accepted practices or processes agreed upon by a community, and, in this sense, the community of translators. Norms range from seeming like rules, to other more flexible practices like individual preferences. Defining a norm includes describing behaviors, strategies, and processes that translators use to create a translation.

Christopher Stone (2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009) has been studying and writing about Deaf translators and their norms since 2005, completing the first major study of sign language translation, which examined how Deaf and hearing T/Is render English broadcast television news into British Sign Language.[1] He also explored "whether Deaf T/Is in particular employ certain strategies to present [British Sign Language] to audiences who, like them, are culturally Deaf and identify as members of the [British Sign Language]-using community" (2009, p. ix). In other words, Stone set out to examine how Deaf T/Is and hearing interpreters produced interpretations of television news and, if finding that the strategies of Deaf T/Is are different, to explicate the norms, the general values or ideas shared by a community, that are motivating their different process.

Stone found that Deaf T/Is created texts that, based on their experience, involved retelling, modifying, and reformulating

1. British Sign Language is a sign language used in the UK, including England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

information for easier comprehension for the Deaf audience. Deaf T/Is read through the broadcast scripts, created British Sign Language renderings using important facial and spatial cues that segmented information both on a sentence level and at a larger discourse level. They then practiced those renderings several times before representing them live to camera. Stone asked these translators to record their thinking (using think-aloud-protocols) as they prepared for a broadcast and, applying Toury's work, found similar practices and understandings among the Deaf T/Is. From these findings, Stone (2005a) was able to suggest possible norms of translation for Deaf T/Is:

1. Using experience and knowledge of the Deaf community, identify and imagine the audience of Deaf viewers.
2. Using specific prosodic features (such as eye blinks, head nods and tilts) and space, create a target-language text easily understood by Deaf community members.
3. At specific points in a target language, add (pragmatic enrichment) or leave out (pragmatic impoverishment) details and information to convey a clear and comprehensible version of any one story.

In this way, Stone demonstrated how Deaf T/Is employed dynamic, culturally mediated, and stand-alone interpretations for their deaf audience members. (To see an example of this go to https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xtDJ6uEyvnw. In this clip, Governor Rick Scott updates the people of Florida about Hurricane Irma on September 9, 2017. Certified Deaf interpreter Sam Harris is interpreting.)

Sign language translation occurs in a variety of ways—Marcel Leneham (2007) identified six types of sign language translation. For example, when a Deaf person is filmed giving a talk, a translation is created so that captions can be added to the video, or create a voice-over at a later date. More importantly, Leneham posed Venuti's questions about translating between a minority culture and a majority culture, asking that if sign language translators consistently create fluent translations into English for example, would the majority culture ever be exposed to the unique features of the minority language? However, examining translations produced for theatre plays and children's stories, Leneham showed how translating unique features in Australian Sign Language could backfire and sound like "broken" English. While these concepts have not been explored further, they are interesting questions to ask about translating between signed and spoken languages.

SUMMARY

As we have seen some ideas in translation have existed for millennia. From ancient Rome, there has always been some consideration of literal vs. free translation. Some of this has been driven by religious sensibilities to preserve the word of God, but often it has included notions of naturalness and considerations of readership. Equivalence remains a complex and intriguing issue for all forms of translation, including new and emerging media such as video, theatre, and film.

From the early to mid-20th century, translation scholars were spread among a variety of disciplines, such as literature, linguistics, philosophy, and modern languages. Holmes (1988/2004) suggested that translation research lacked an agenda because of this spread, and, thus, urged establishing a separate discipline called "Translation Studies." Holmes thought that research should focus on the description of translation as an activity and a product, and from that would emerge a theory to explain and predict how translation happens.

The call to create a discipline was successful and today the field of TS is a substantial discipline, energetic with both debate and discussion. Translation scholars have created independent departments, done research, established academic journals, and published widely. More recently and ever increasingly, translations of all genres (i.e., biblical, literary, business, and advertising) and those dealing with translation theory must consider the effect of history, their surrounding circumstances, and audiences (including the voices of oppressed groups), which are each involved in shaping and interpreting texts. Hence, this social turn in translation considers different perspectives, including the process, norms, politics, and power inherent in translation, both as an activity and as a product.

Thus, when Franz Pöchhacker (2004) published *Introducing Interpreting Studies* "to give a comprehensive and balanced account of this field" (p. 1), it was inevitable that IS would borrow many of its major concepts, theories, and methodologies from TS. Any student of IS should become familiar with the issues and ideas found in TS to support their understanding and the trajectory of the field.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Why is it important for sign language interpreters to know events and issues in TS?
2. How would you explain equivalence? Create examples from English or American Sign Language.
3. What was the most interesting idea you learned from reading this chapter and why?
4. What do you think is a good research question about sign language interpreting from the lens of TS?

FURTHER READINGS

Bellos, D. (2011). *Is that a fish in your ear? Translation and the meaning of everything*. New York, NY: Faber and Faber.

Kelley, N., & Zetzsche, J. (2012). *Found in translation: How language shapes our lives and transforms the world*. New York, NY: Penguin.

Munday, J. (2013). *Introducing translation studies: Theories and applications* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Stone, C. (2009). *Toward a Deaf translation norm*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Venuti, L. (2012). *The translation studies reader* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

4 Through the Lens of Linguistics

When we learn to speak, we learn to translate. —Octavio Paz

History is witness to the ongoing presence of interpreters worldwide. Often functioning in dual roles, clerics, soldiers, or welfare workers likely engaged in interpreting to ensure different people understood each other. The most proficient interpreters were those who studied the fundamentals of language at different levels, including words, phrases, and sentences. Without a foundation of comparative linguistics—which is ever present in TS, discourse analysis, and interpreting—many of our theoretical developments as an interdisciplinary field would not have had the strong roots that have borne the fruits we now enjoy.

BY THE end of this chapter you should be able to:

1. define and discuss some basic characteristics of language
2. discuss the ways in which sociolinguistics and discourse analysis changed linguistics
3. identify major scholars in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, and describe their contributions
4. name and discuss one significant discourse study in signed language interpreting.

Language constitutes the primary material of both translation and interpreting. Knowing how to speak one or more languages makes us able to see the world in more than one way. Through language, we have built civilizations and developed science, medicine, literature, and philosophy. Language carries the stories of the past into the present, and molds stories of personal experience into morality tales.

The definition of *interpreter* assumes a mastery of at least two languages; however, interpreters should know more than just how to speak or sign a language fluently. Interpreting is a dynamic activity in which the primary participants think of themselves as *doing* things with language, such as persuading, narrating, entertaining, or explaining. Understanding linguistic forms and strategies that people use to convey meaning allows interpreters to infer the intent of a signer or speaker. Talking is an activity in which participants shape, minute-by-minute, the meaning of something that is signed or said. Knowing and recognizing ways of using language to construct and convey meaning is an essential skill for interpreters.

Linguistics is the study of language structures, functions, and patterns. Each language has its own internal rules and grammatical conventions, and these are identified and defined through the following specific areas of linguistic study:

1. *Phonology* is how sounds or sign units function together.
2. *Morphology* is the form and composition of words or signs.
3. *Syntax* is the formation and composition of phrases and utterances.
4. *Semantics* is the study of meaning.
5. *Discourse* or *pragmatics* is how language is used to communicate ideas.

So, for example, if we consider the English word "cat," phonologically it is comprised of three sounds, /k/ /a/ /t/. Morphologically it can be either singular *cat* or plural *cats* by adding the plural morpheme *s* (or /s/ phoneme in English). Syntactically, "cat" is a noun that occurs in noun phrases like "the cat," and in adjectival phrases like "the big cat." Pragmatically, it can be used to communicate a prototypical four-legged feline, or even a cool person. (The aim of most kids in the 1950s in the US was to be known as a "cool cat"—the opposite of which was the dreaded "square.")

The other basic tradition in linguistics is that each level of linguistic analysis builds on the former—morphemes are comprised of phonemes, words are comprised of morphemes, and sentences are comprised of words. This is known as the *duality of patterning*.

A "cool cat." From Christina Burns, *Famous Faces* (Kempen, Germany: teNeus Media, 2011).

Linguists have studied these three parts extensively in many languages resulting in some basic notions about how all natural languages work:

1. Meaningful parts of sounds or hands, vocabulary, and grammar all work together to produce meaningful phrases and utterances.
2. Children learn languages swiftly, efficiently, and without instruction.
3. Everyone speaks a dialect—a form of any language that is particular to a region or social group.
4. Speakers of all languages display a range of styles and subsets of dialects and jargon.
5. Changes in language are both typical and expected.
6. Languages are related to the societies and individuals using them.
7. Value judgments about languages or dialects are not based in reality.
8. Speaking or signing to each other is the primary way that we communicate; writing is a derivative of this kind of communication, and is different in many ways from speaking or signing.

In the past, linguists analyzed mostly vocabulary (or *lexicon)* and sentences, which were generally drawn from written texts, and then described the *grammar* (the whole system and structure) of a language. However, most of the world's languages do not have a written form,

and since writing is not the primary mode of language use, linguists began to focus on the system and structure of talking or signing *face-to-face*. Today most linguists work with recordings of spoken and signed language rather than written language. This is because speech or signing appears to be universal to all humans capable of producing and perceiving these modes of language; it is the primary way in which people communicate. Children are capable of perceiving and producing sign or speech, acquiring language early and easily using signing or speech, and are taught written forms later. This also indicates that written language is a secondary form and follows different rules than the unconscious and automatic rules of speech or sign production.

People often confuse the work of linguistics with the teaching of grammar rules. Schools and books teach the "correct" way to write a sentence through the use of rules. For example, many of us learned in elementary school never to start a sentence with "and," and to always capitalize the first letter of a sentence. While these rules are fine for writing, they do not reflect the actual way language works. Declaring that people should speak following these rules is an approach linguists call *prescriptive*; that is, students are told, much like with medicine, how and when to do something. Linguistics, however, is about *describing* forms, structures, and systematic patterns of a spoken or signed language in order to form a theory about language. Describing a language means testing the acceptability, or grammaticality, of sentences from the people who speak them. More importantly, for interpreters, there is no right or wrong way to speak or sign.

Going back to the example of never start a sentence with "and," linguists have noted for decades that, in English, Americans often begin a segment of speech with "and." The following example is a story told by a woman named Leatha, a story about missing her Catholic confirmation classes after school and she begins with "and":

Leatha: *And* I would leave . . .

I would leave junior high

Go down to the dairy queen,

Play with my friends, da-ta-da-ta-da.

In many recordings of everyday conversation, people begin their sentences with words like "and," "but," "so," "well" among others.

In noting these findings, linguists are describing how natural speaking or signing occurs, and how different it is from written language.

Key Questions

- How many of the basic notions about language were new to you?
- How many languages in the world that do not have writing systems?
- Listen to your friends for a few hours; what words do they use to start talking?

MODERN LINGUISTICS

Up until the early 20th century, linguists were primarily concerned with organizing and describing the grammatical conventions of individual languages—which might also explain people's assumptions that linguists teach grammar rules. In the early 1900s, Ferdinand de Saussure, who is considered one of the founders of 20th-century linguistics, gave a series of lectures. In his lectures he called for the study of language as an abstract system that is inherent in all people. He argued that individual speech (*parole*) is varied and full of mistakes, whereas language (*langue*) is the abstract system in the mind and by studying this, linguists could ignore the enormous variation in everyday talk (Saussure, 1990). This separation is the foundation of modern linguistics, and is basic to understanding the nature of language as an abstract idea versus everyday speaking and signing. Linguists now focus on describing patterns in speaking and signing, and look for changes over time.

Ferdinand de Saussure

One of Saussure's (1990) most important arguments was that words (and now signs) do not have stand-alone meanings nor do they exist in isolation, but are dependent on the words around them. For example, if I say or sign "house," the image in my head of a house will not be the same image in your head; therefore, the meaning of "house" covers the basic nature of all houses, not specific houses. In this way, the meaning of any word can differ, as any one person's experience with words can differ. If there are differences, then there are likely no exact equivalents of meaning in other languages. Thus, Saussure's theory of language had a profound impact on translation and interpreting.

Today linguists study both language as a system organized in the brain, and language as what people speak or sign in individual languages. Linguistics has been an academic field of study since the 18th century and thus has a long history of theories and methods of study. Because that history is more adequately covered in textbooks about linguistics, the next section will begin with more recent developments in the 20th and 21st centuries and discuss the turn in linguistics that focuses on how people talk to each other in their everyday lives, be that at school, at work, or in dinner conversations. This turn in the direction of linguistic studies spurred an explosion of research in both translation and interpreting.

Key Question

- If, as Saussure argued, there are no exact equivalents, how can we interpret?

LINGUISTICS AND SIGNED LANGUAGES

Many deaf people around the world use a sign language as a primary language, with many new sign languages still being discovered. It is now widely accepted by linguists, sociologists, and anthropologists alike that Deaf people constitute a linguistic and cultural minority group who identify with one another based on their use of the sign language of their region/country.

Natural sign languages are syntactically complex with distinctive phonological and morphological elements, and sociolinguistic features, some of which are similar to all languages, while others are, naturally, uniquely distinct from spoken languages (see Lucas & Valli, 1992; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999). Research on the linguistic structure of natural sign languages occurs in universities worldwide, with numerous books and articles being published on these findings. Linguistics departments that include the study of sign languages are now a global phenomenon, particularly at Gallaudet University in Washington, DC, which in 1981 established the first master's degree program in American Sign Language linguistics. Since then, many interpreters, interpreter educators, and researchers have graduated from these programs.

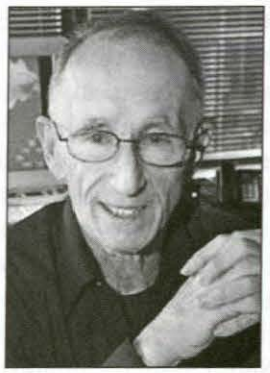
Linguistic research has also demonstrated that knowledge about language in general has expanded as a consequence of sign linguistics research. It now considers which language phenomena are modality specific (found in either spoken or signed languages), and which are modality independent (found in both spoken and signed languages). Suffice it to say, the study of forms and functions in signed languages is a major requirement for any sign language interpreter.

Key Question

- How much education in linguistics should an interpreter have?

SOCIOLINGUISTICS: LANGUAGE IN USE

By the 1960s and 1970s, linguists (such as William Labov, John J. Gumperz, and Dell Hymes) and sociologists (such as Erving Goffman) began to call for a linguistics that focused on the ways in which people spoke to family, friends, strangers, employers, and others in their everyday lives. This increased interest in language as it is influenced by ethnicity, gender, class, and minority groups came about at the same time that nations were focusing on social problems and issues (influenced by, for example, the Civil Rights movement in the US).


William Labov

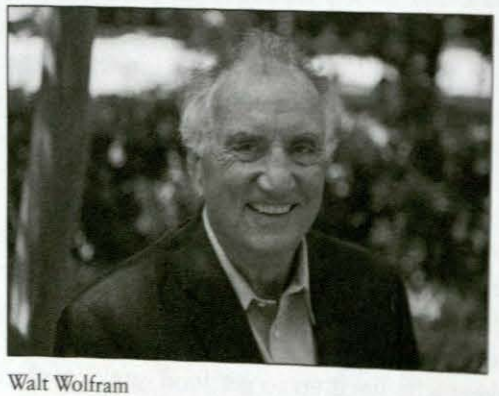
Linguists began to realize that there was a strong connection between how people used their language in different contexts, and that their language use was often tied to their relationship to a community, and with society in general. Take, for example, Dr. King's 1963 speech "I Have a Dream." This speech not only moved the thousands of people who heard it as it was delivered, but it also continues to move and inspire people today because of Dr. King's use of relevant and artful prose, and its influence from Southern Baptist preaching speech patterns. The study of how speakers or signers use language to inspire, interest, and inform through language, and its relationship to social norms and ideas, became a new area of linguistics called *sociolinguistics*.

Sociolinguistics is the study of how meaning is shaped or determined by social factors. Sociolinguistics studies how people speak or sign, listen or watch, differently in different situations, as well as speak or sign differently based on social factors, including gender, ethnicity, age, and group membership. For example, students talk to instructors differently than they talk to each other. Even people who use the same language (English for example) can have different ideas about when it is appropriate to talk, what to talk about, how to tell a story, and how to make a point. How people speak or sign with each other includes messages about their relationship with each other, and which vary depending upon who is talking or signing to whom. When people talk or sign, what they say can mean more than one thing at a time. How a person says something, using either slang or group-specific jargon,

also carries a message about relationships and group membership, as language is closely tied with a multitude of social structures and value systems. Thus, different ways of speaking and signing are also valued differently by different individuals, peoples, groups, and communities.

Labov (1963, 1966, 1972) is regarded as one founder of modern sociolinguistics due to his groundbreaking work in recording the natural speeches of communities such as Martha's Vineyard, the Lower East Side of New York City, and Harlem, in the US. By capturing these patterns, he demonstrated two things: particular ways of pronouncing words are linked to social characteristics (such as class, ethnicity, and national region). Second, that no one speaks "broken" English, rather they speak a *variant* or *dialect* of American English, which has its own grammar (or rules) that is different from *Standard American English* typically spoken by the historically privileged. One of the best-known and studied dialects in the US is *African American Vernacular English (AAVE)*, although there are many others that have been around for decades, with more still emerging today. Labov (1972), Roger Shuy, Walt Wolfram, and William Riley (1968), Ralph Fasold (1972), and Wolfram and Fasold (1974), have all demonstrated that AAVE is a regular and rule-governed variant of American English.

Everyone speaks a dialect of their own languages. Speakers are usually bound to each other through social identity markers such as class or ethnicity, or by the geographical area or region where they live. For example, Latin American countries all have their own dialects of Spanish, such as Cuban Spanish, which identifies one's origins.


Walt Wolfram

Some dialects are highly valued, typically because wealthy and powerful people use them—such as Standard American English (sometimes referred to as Broadcaster English) in the US, or Received Pronunciation in the UK (historically broadcast by the BBC and used by the monarch)—while other dialects are often ridiculed like many southern US dialects. As Peter Trudgill (1994) explained:

> We may as individuals be rather fond of our own dialect. This should not make us think, though, that it is actually any better than any other dialect. Dialects are not good or bad, nice or nasty, right or wrong—they are just different from one another, and it is the mark of a civilized society that it tolerates different dialects just as it tolerates different races, religions and sexes. (p. 2)

At first, the study of dialects focused on words and phrases, but as linguists recorded the actual speech of people in different places (developing a large groups of data, or a *corpus*), they noticed that often people change how they spoke depending upon who they spoke to, or where they were.

Analyses of talk began to include discussions not only of the participants' language use, but also the place or setting in which the recording took place, and information about their gender, ethnicity, regional backgrounds, and relationships with their conversational partner all known as *linguistic metadata*. Analyzing and discussing these factors also meant expanding beyond linguistics to include other fields of knowledge, such as sociology and anthropology.

Key Questions

- What do you call the way people speak where you grew up?
- What is your word or sign for the object in which eggs are fried?
- Identify the dialect of English you speak or the dialect of American Sign Language you use?

John Gumperz (1982), a linguist and another pioneer of sociolinguistic studies, famously wrote about an incident in a cafeteria where British English and Indian English people came into contact. He observed the exchanges between British Indian cafeteria workers and British workers who lined up to get food, making particular note of

the tension between them. Gumperz showed how the rise and fall in vocalizing, which is called *intonation*, affected the meaning of single words. When the Indian speakers served gravy, they simply held up a spoon and said "gravy" with a falling intonation which sounded like they were making a statement, "this is gravy, take it or leave it." To the British English speakers, this sounded abrupt and rude. But, the Indian speakers were not being rude; their way of speaking was to present an option (or gravy, in this case) and allow the other person to accept or not.

Hearing these or similar statements in a flat intonation day after day led British English speakers to think that Indian English speakers were impolite; the Indian English speakers sensed the anger but found no reason for it. On the basis of these repeated interactions, each group developed stereotypes about the other. This finding became the classic example of how, even when people speak the same language—English, there is the potential to misunderstand each other, all on the basis of how we say what we mean in different ways.

Though these differences happen between people from different countries, they can also happen within families and among friends. As linguists began to study and analyze these understandings (and misunderstandings), and identify that communication can be cross-cultural within any group, they drew more heavily on the scholarship from other areas such as sociology and anthropology. And as sociolinguistics expanded beyond variation, a new framework began to emerge called *discourse analysis*.

Sociolinguistics in Signed Languages

As research on the grammatical structure of American Sign Language progressed, so did the research on the sociolinguistic aspects of signed languages, due largely to the influence of Ceil Lucas and Clayton Valli.

Lucas and Valli wrote a textbook for undergraduates titled *The Linguistics of American Sign Language*, which not only covered grammatical structures and conventions, but included findings in sociolinguistics. Later, Lucas, Valli, and Robert Bayley received a seven-year National Science Foundation grant to study variation in American Sign Language in seven major regions of the US. They published the results

Ceil Lucas

Clayton Valli

of their research in two different books: *Sociolinguistic Variation in American Sign Language* (2001) and *What's Your Sign for Pizza: An Introduction to Variation in American Sign Language* (2003). Following Lucas, sign language sociolinguists began to study variation in sign languages all over the world (e.g., Schembri & Johnston, 2007), especially regional variation, which now, in the US, includes ethnic group variants (e.g., McCaskill, Lucas, Bayley, & Hill, 2011).

Lucas (1989) edited a volume called *The Sociolinguistics of the Deaf Community* that included research studies done mostly by graduate students (many of whom were interpreters) in the newly formed Department of Linguistics at Gallaudet University. From that volume, she created a series called *Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities*, which, as of now, has published 23 volumes.

Over the years, the scope of sociolinguistic studies, which had focused on studies of dialects, has expanded to include areas such as conversation and discourse analysis, bilingualism and language contact, pragmatics, language attitudes, language policy and planning, and more, all grouped under the umbrella of sociolinguistics. Recent technological advances and the ease of video recording has created large collections of signed language interactions, which has made it possible to collect large numbers of samples, known as *corpora*, of signed language interactions for study. One of the original British Sign Language sociolinguistic variation studies used recordings from the BBC's deaf magazine program *See Hear* by Bencie Woll, Lorna Allsop, and Rachel Sutton-Spence (1990).

Bencie Woll

These scholars looked at the use of fingerspelling according to four social variables: age, sex, region of origin, and mode of communication (i.e., British Sign Language or signing with speech, etc.). More recently, Australian sociolinguists Trevor Johnston and Adam Schembri created an Australian Sign Language (Auslan) corpus, after discussions with Lucas. This included naturalistic conversational data, storytelling, and the elicitation of signs collected from major cities in Australia. A similar approach was then used by Schembri in the UK for a British Sign Language corpus in conjunction with Deaf linguist Jordan Fenlon and others engaged in data collection and analysis. These corpora allow us to look at signed language variation, which has been of great use in educating translators and interpreters.

Sociolinguistics and Signed Language Interpreting

Sociolinguistic processes are inherent in the practice of interpretation. Interpreters both comprehend utterances and render new utterances using their linguistic, social, cultural, and sociolinguistic knowledge to create a successful communicative exchange. Sociolinguistic approaches and methodologies are well suited to IS precisely because interpreting involves such a complex array of language and social behavior. Interpreters perform intentional sociolinguistic analyses, and reflect tacit, sociolinguistic knowledge as they engage in the task of interpreting.

Eugene Nida was the first translation scholar to urge the application of sociolinguistic perspectives and methodologies to translation and interpreting issues. He believed that sociolinguistics offered a way to systematically analyze the communicative whole of texts (or discourses), while including information outside a text itself, affirming that "only a sociolinguistic approach to translation is ultimately valid" (Nida, 1976, p. 77). Sociolinguistics not only studies the languages and variation present in an interpreted event, but also constitutes the larger societal context in which interpreters work. In the next sections, we highlight some interpreting studies that we have labelled sociolinguistic because they raise issues, such as language contact and attitudes, which add to the study of linguistic structure and function.

Variation

Variation as a sociolinguistic area examines the choices made by members of a language community, in keeping with linguistic and social factors, and reflecting the social organization of a community, including grammatical constraints (see Lucas, Bayley, Valli, Rose, & Wulf, 2001). Studies of interpretation that examine choices made by interpreters who are using American Sign Language or a form of *contact signing* focus on a variety of aspects, including grammatical and prosodic behaviors on the face and the use of space.

In a seminal case study, Winston (1989) investigated the strategies of a more literal interpretation (erroneously termed transliteration) in a classroom lecture. Her study was not only the first of its kind, but was also chosen by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) to represent the standards for evaluating this kind of literal interpreting.

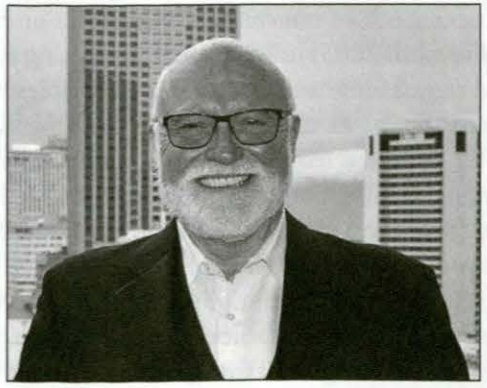
Winston (1989) found that the interpreter used a number of linguistic features, (such as space and syntactic order) that are present in American Sign Language, all of which did not adhere to the strictness of a literal interpretation. While the interpreter maintained a more literal variety, she also borrowed numerous elements of American Sign Language to make the interpretation more easily understood.

Language Contact

Numerous studies on sign language interpretation examined language-contact questions from different angles. Language contact—or code-switching, code-mixing, and lexical borrowing between English and American Sign Language—exists within the scope of interpretation, as it requires that two or more languages be in contact in one social encounter. Understanding the effect of language contact in interpretations into American Sign Language or other signed languages is vital in judgments of acceptability and accuracy in interpreting.

Jeffrey Davis (1990) filmed four interpreters as they interpreted a faculty lecture at Gallaudet University for a campus audience. Upon transcribing and analyzing their target-language output, he asked questions pertinent to how code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing manifested in the target interpretation. Because American Sign Language is not only conveyed by signs, but also has oral, facial, and spatial channels for linguistic output, interpreters can visually represent English by lip movements or by fingerspelling English words.

In this study and in later work (see also Davis, 2003), Davis found that American Sign Language–English interpreters could move from American Sign Language mouth movements to form English words with their lips—a form of code-switching performed sequentially. When these interpreters were using both facial and manual components of American Sign Language, they could simultaneously represent English with lip movements—a form of code-mixing. And finally, they could borrow from English using lip movements and fingerspelling, and then restructure these to conform to the manner in which American Sign Language uses lip movement (reducing the enunciation of a word) and fingerspelling (becoming a sign). The strategies



Jeffrey Davis. Photograph by Paul Davis.

patterned similarly across all four interpreters, regardless of their native or non-native fluency in American Sign Language, each strategy functioning to elucidate or disambiguate the interpreted messages. This study represented a major contribution to the understanding of bilingual behaviors in language-contact situations, and its effects on the linguistic choices interpreters make.

For the past 20 years, Davis (2010) has been investigating and analyzing North American Indian Sign Language, particularly Plains Indian Sign Language (PISL) (which is composed of several signed language varieties and dialects) in which he once again finds examples of language contact and borrowing.

Key Questions

- What kind of language contact affects your interpreting work?
- What varieties of English and American Sign Language are around you?

Language Attitudes

Language attitudes are opinions, ideas, and prejudices that speakers have about their own language or the language or language varieties of others. All languages have dialects—and dialects, in and of themselves, do not have qualities like "broken," "pretty," "harsh," "musical" and other words that convey how someone feels about a language or a dialect. Several studies investigate the phenomenon of language attitudes, both of interpreters and about interpreters.

Lawrence Forestal (2005) investigated the shifting attitudes of Deaf leaders toward signed language interpreters. He notes how older leaders think of interpreters as their friends in exchanges, whereas Deaf individuals who attended mainstream schools had different feelings about interpreting. Jemina Napier and Meg Rohan (2007) investigated interpreting from the perspective of deaf consumers in Australia to explore their agenda for quality interpreting services. They found that general satisfaction levels were high among Deaf consumers, even though they seem to have little choice about who interprets. For them, the key factors for working with interpreters included understanding consumers and contexts, as well as professionalism and attitude.

Also attitudes of interpreters themselves, (whether deaf or non-deaf, native signers or second-language learners) are reflected in the language choices they make while working. For example, Stone (2009) found in his study of Deaf interpreters working in television, that Deaf interpreters and hearing interpreters have a qualitatively different product as a result, in part, of different attitudes about what constitutes discourse, its meaning, and its translation thereof.

Language-attitude research has taken many forms in the sociolinguistic examination of language users, whether they are monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual. The varying practices of interpreters (such as Deaf or hearing interpreters, native signing versus non-native signing interpreters, and so forth) often serve to reflect practitioners' own language attitudes. It is worth noting that, similarly, the language attitudes of interpreters as embodied in their interpretations undoubtedly also inform the attitudes held by consumers of interpreting about the interpreters with whom they work. And that within multilingual contexts language attitudes can also have an effect.

Multilingualism

Sociolinguistics devotes much attention to people who come into contact with more than one language, whether due to the types of interactions occurring across language communities (thus, resulting in language contact), or to the knowledge of and use of two or more languages by an individual or community (i.e., multilingualism). Sign language interpreters, (either Deaf or non-deaf) and native signers, or second-language signers (professional or ad-hoc interpreters), by the nature of different interpreting tasks, constitute bilingualism or multilingualism and language contact.

In studies of multilingualism, one issue pertains to interpreters working around geographical or political boundaries. Claire Ramsey and Sergio Peña (2010) interviewed each other "to document issues in *la interpretación en la frontera* (border interpreting) as well as our respective histories as participants in border life" (p. 5). Specifically, they addressed sociocultural issues while examining the convergence of physical and cultural borders within quadrilingual interpreters working between Mexican Sign Language (LSM), American Sign Language, Spanish, and English around the Mexico–US border. The variability that sign language interpreters who work in this border

zone encounter includes understanding the linguistic variations of Mexican Deaf people who typically have limited exposure to schooling (if any), as well as limited exposure to LSM or Spanish. Moreover, they must apply their own multicultural and multilingual life experiences to master ways to explain social and cultural traditions, and expectations within American, Mexican, and Deaf cultures.

Lisa B. Martinez (2007) examined the complicated multilingual process of *code-switching* used by Filipino interpreters when interpreting from Filipino Sign Language (FSL) to Filipino, English, or another of the numerous languages spoken in the Philippines. Surprisingly, the interpretations revealed consistent and ongoing code-switching between Filipino and English for both monolingual and bilingual hearers. While the study offered no reasons as to why, it was clear that the interpreters had to know not only Filipino and English, but also other possible languages of the archipelago. Because studies like this one address issues of multilingualism pertaining to interpretation, they also touch on the unavoidable issue of language contact.

Each interpreted interaction undertaken by a professional interpreter is situated within communities that harbor their own unique multilingual, bilingual, and language-contact phenomena, both within a setting that represents a snapshot of what may be a long history of language policies and planning, and in a social environment beset with language attitudes about one or both of the languages involved.

Key Questions

- Many questions about interpreting have sociolinguistic areas of focus. Which of the studies in this section was most interesting to you and why?
- Why do you think questions about interpreting have a sociolinguistic focus?
- How have people responded to you learning American Sign Language? How is it different than people's attitudes toward deaf people who use American Sign Language?

Another area of study that incorporates sociolinguistic concerns is *discourse analysis*, which is both an area of study and a methodology. Discourse analysis has proven to be a productive way to study both sign languages and interpreting, and has since flourished in academia.

DISCOURSE AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse is a both the constant linguistic activity between people and the constant process of the creation of meaning. Discourse surrounds us, describing scenes, telling stories, making us both laugh and cry. Whatever people are doing, they are always creating and interpreting both discourse and meaning.

What is meant in an academic sense by discourse can be a complicated and lengthy explanation. For such explanations, we refer readers to the works of Schiffrin (1994), Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton (2001), and Johnstone (2002). Some linguists recommend an all-encompassing definition, as in discourse "simply describes the object of study: language beyond the sentence" (Tannen, 1989, p. 6). Others such as van Dijk (1997) noted "discourse is a concept and a term that stands for complex phenomena and thus requires entire chapters, if not volumes, to define and describe" (p. 1).

We will define discourse as language as it is actually expressed and understood by people engaged in a social interaction to accomplish a

Deborah Tannen. Photograph by Stephen Voss.

Deborah Schiffrin

goal. This definition (developed in linguistics) has as a central goal to discover and describe how participants in a conversation make sense of what is going on within the social and cultural context of face-to-face interactions. And it is this type of discourse, a face-to-face interaction, which interpreters are principally involved in.

Discourse analysis, then, is a term often used interchangeably with *discourse*. It is, primarily, as Schiffrin (1994) and Johnstone (2002) suggested, a variety of methodological approaches that can answer many kinds of questions about human interaction. While contemporary linguists still take as an object of study different sounds or signs (phonology), words or signs (morphology), and sentences (syntax), linguists who are discourse analysts focus on connected language—such as conversations in which people talk back-and-forth, or speeches given to an audience. Discourse analysts also seek to understand how people accomplish certain actions or goals as they talk. This type of analysis requires the application of ideas and concepts from disciplines like sociology, which are borrowed into linguistics.

Like sociolinguistics, discourse analysis also relies upon actual recordings of people as they speak or sign with one another. With the advent of smaller and more portable cameras, linguists are now able to capture video recordings of what people say and do. Video allows for recordings to capture the multimodal nature of face-to-face interaction, which can be viewed repeatedly and in slow motion. Analysts can then document their observations and create a *transcript* of what is said or signed by all participants. Video recordings and transcripts can also be shared with others, including the participants in an interaction, to gain their perspective on what happened.

Transcribing what people say or sign with each other is a challenging task, as people do not talk or sign in complete "sentences" as this is a written language phenomena. Rather, they often start speaking with words such as "and," "so," or "because" (among other variations), thus, "breaking" the "rules" of written language convention. Often, their talk is brief, unfinished, or interrupted by pauses, and occasionally two people talk at the same time. Discourse analysts use the term *utterance* to describe connected segments of language, which rarely look or sound like the "grammatical sentences" found in grammar books. For discourse analysis, an utterance then, is a natural unit

of communication. While a number of new software programs for transcribing discourse exists, such as ELAN, which creates complex annotations on video and audio resources (see Chapter 8), the following is an example of what transcripts (which are still used today) looked like in the 1980s and 1990s:

Setting: seven women having lunch in office lunchroom; chatting about childhood and religion; Linda has just told a story about getting out of Sunday school. And Leatha begins a new story:

Leatha: Wait Linda, I gotcha beat honey,

For three years my parents thought I was going to catechism

And I would leave—[laugh]

I would leave junior high,

go down, go to the dairy queen, play with my friends, da-ta-da-ta-da.

In this example, Leatha's talk is separated into independent *utterances* (rather than sentences) as she pauses, laughs, and signals the list in the last line. Any punctuation marks, such as commas (,), indicate where Leatha paused while her listeners knew she would continue. At the end, her list becomes a singsong rhythm that she completes with the final "da-ta-da-ta-da."

Discourse analysts study this kind of talk to find patterns in the sequential nature of speech—that is, how turns occur, how stories are constructed, how listeners know Leatha is not going to catechism, and other kinds of poetic devices (including repetition and rhythm), which are found in everyday conversation. Knowing how people portray meaning in features other than words or signs is of intense interest to translators and interpreters alike.

In Europe, discourse scholars Norman Fairclough (UK) and Ruth Wodak (Austria) created a new kind of discourse analysis called *critical discourse analysis*, which incorporates social theories (see Chapter 5, Sociology and Anthropology) to examine ideologies and power relations involved in discourse. Discourse analysis has spread to other major disciplines of academia, including medicine, education, law, history,

and government. Studies range from analyzing a single feature of discourse, like cohesive markers "now" or "then," to observing different linguistic strategies, such as asking questions, question–answer pairs, making apologies, and telling stories. It includes analyzing speeches, sermons, instructional lectures, interactions in work places, schools, and in the home. Discourse analysis also explores and explicates social problems such as discrimination against minorities or patient compliance with doctor instructions by analyzing the discourse contained within these interactions.

Discourse analysis is a useful and appropriate approach to discovering what actually happens when an interpreter is working. Interpreters make discourse decisions about whose turn is next in conversation, when to pause to ask for clarification, and when to answer direct questions. Interpreting, then, is a discourse process that requires practitioners to make intentional and informed decisions about a range of possibilities (Roy, 2000). This suggests that what is important about learning to interpret is understanding the nature of social situations and discourse processes, and recognizing the different ways language can be used.

Discourse and Discourse Analysis in Signed Languages

The study of discourse in American Sign Language began in 1977 with Charlotte Baker's investigation of how Deaf people took and yielded turns. Since then, discourse studies about American Sign Language and other signed languages have flourished. Numerous articles, including Elizabeth A. Winston and Roy (2015), have explored sign language discourse and its features, involving (but not limited to) turn-taking (Coates & Sutton-Spence, 2001; McCleary & Leite, 2013), discourse markers (Roy, 1989b; Stone, 2001), eye gaze (Mather, 1989), register (Stone 2011; Zimmer, 1989), indirectness (Hoza, 2007; Roush, 1999), utterance boundaries (Fenlon, Denmark, Campbell, & Woll, 2007), asides and quotes, (Locker, 1992), spatial referencing, cohesion and involvement (Winston 1991, 1995, 1996), imagery and dialogue (Roy, 1989b; Winston, 1992, 1996), and prosody (Dachkovsky & Sandler, 2009; Winston, 2000), among many others.

Elizabeth A. Winston has been and continues to be on the cutting edge of scholarship in signed language discourse studies. She

Elizabeth Winston

has continuously pushed the field forward through her analyses of prosody, the use of space for discourse purposes, spatial mapping, cohesive markers, repetition, and several other features of discourse in American Sign Language.

Discourse and Discourse Analysis in Signed Language Interpreting

While translation has been affected by successive generations of linguistic theory as well as early research in interpreting, the greatest influence on IS has come from interpreting scholars who studied sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. These approaches focus on people's everyday use of language, and inquire into how humans conceptualize particular meanings, or select among the possibilities of meaning.

While some studies (mostly US) on signed language interpreting from the 1970s and early 1980s exist (Brasel, 1976; Hurwitz, 1980), it was not until the mid-1980s that sociolinguistic studies of signed language interpreting first made their appearance. The field of sociolinguistics and its exploration of how people speak in

natural settings pushed researchers toward data that was authentic and produced in a setting where the participants were involved in a real activity, such as giving a lecture or a job interview. In IS, researchers began to move away from concerns of error, correctness, and source–text or target–text comparisons, and focused on multiparty interactions with interpreters, who (as they discovered) were also coordinating and negotiating meaning (Roy, 1989a, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998).

The first major discourse analysis study was conducted by Cynthia Roy (1989a, 2000) whose approach grew out of interactional sociolinguistics, and specifically drew upon the works of Gumperz (1982) and Tannen (1984). Roy's study, which was based in a discourse analysis framework, focused on the turn exchanges of an interpreted interaction between a college professor and a graduate student. Up to this point, investigations on interpreting had either been experiments or films of interpreters as they worked in large public settings. But sign language interpreters do the bulk of their work in face-to-face, private meetings with three participants: two primary speakers and an interpreter. This study was the first to film the kinds of interactions interpreters experience on a daily basis.

Roy's analysis was in two parts: (1) the structure of turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974) in a three-way conversation, and (2) the participants' intentions and interpretations of the turns taken (Bennett, 1981; Tannen, 1984). Her findings revealed that the two participants alternated turns with the interpreter, who also took his own turns. This dynamic demonstrated that rather than being a neutral conveyor of messages, interpreters in these situations (and more generally) are active participants who could potentially influence the direction and outcome of an event. Subsequent studies, such as Danielle Claude Bélanger's (2004), examined interpreter-mediated encounters between *Langue des Signes Québécoise* (LSQ, the sign language used by Deaf people of francophone families in Québec) and spoken French in Canada, and also found interpreters to be active participants in these interactions.

Other studies that followed (while they may not have been labeled as sociolinguistic or discourse studies) maintained a focus on language beyond sentences as they related to interpreting. For example, in Winston and Christine Monikowski's (2003) study on interpreters'

markings of topic boundaries, they found *prosodic features* (Winston, 2000), such as pausing, were major indicators of discourse segments. While this study was a discourse-based analysis of topics, it also addressed issues related to sociolinguistic variation.

Napier's (2002) dissertation studied omissions in university-lecture interpretations. In this, Napier proceeds from a discourse-based interactional perspective, which categorized omissions based on the interpreters' level of awareness of them and the extent to which they were regarded as intentional. She found that interpreters make intentional omissions (in addition to other types of omissions) that are strategically designed to support the quality of their target productions. Moreover, Napier demonstrated that various sociolinguistic factors—such as situational context, familiarity with the discourse environment, knowledge of the topic, and familiarity with the deaf and non-deaf participants—each affected the rate and types of omission occurrences.

Discourse-based analyses of interpretation have focused on a variety of discourse-based features and strategies, including politeness, dialogue and action, among others, all of which is to analyze interpreting as an interactional, social encounter. In the next section, we explore a relatively new area of linguistics that is also concerned with how meaning is generated and understood.

Jemina Napier

COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

Cognitive linguistics is a recent branch of linguistics that investigates languages through their (sometimes universal) underlying concepts. It concerns the general conceptual organization and principles of the mind, and how these are recruited in language processing. Discerning these cognitive abilities explains how people produce and understand language. Cognitive linguists argue that concepts occupy *mental spaces* in the mind; these spaces are informed by experiences, knowledge, and sensory perceptions. It is from these spaces that language emerges to convey concepts (e.g., ideas, thoughts, and information).

Cognitive linguistics emerged as a reaction to generativist theory in the 1970s and 1980s. Theorists such as Ronald Langacker (2008) and George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) led this movement through notions that language emerged from the basic general processes of one's mind. They argued the form and functional correspondences of languages were derived from human experience (i.e., what one sees, hears, touches, and smells). The primary claim is that language arises out of language use, that language is learned through by speaking or signing with others, and that the mind creates meaning as it uses and produces language. This approach began with the study of metaphors and has since produced significant findings in both spoken and signed languages.

In cognitive linguistics, *conceptual metaphor* or conceptual domain refers to the understanding of one idea in relation to another. An example of this is the understanding of "quantity" in terms of direction (e.g., "the price of peace is rising"). These metaphors arise out of the organization of human experience, and are seen in the language use of our everyday lives. These metaphors shape human thought and action. In Lakoff and Mark Johnson's (1980) work *Metaphors We Live By*, they argued how everyday language is filled with metaphors that we no longer notice. Their famous example was one of the commonly used conceptual metaphor: "argument is war." This metaphor shapes our language in the way we use war vocabulary when talking about arguments—that is, it is not uncommon to hear someone say "he won that argument" or "I attacked every weak point in his argument." This war metaphor shapes the very way arguments are conceptualized, and which then frames arguments as battles that are either won or lost.

We used to think of metaphors as poetic devices created and used only by poets. However, research has since changed our ideas about the use of metaphor and its extensive presence in language, particularly English. The pervasiveness of metaphor in our everyday language affects interpretations of speech and meaning enormously. When English uses war metaphors to talk about arguments and debates, is our interpretation also presented as a battle? Do these metaphors exist in American Sign Language? Are any of these metaphors comparable? This discussion has barely begun.

Cognitive Linguistics and Signed Languages

Fauconnier, a spoken language linguist and cognitive scientist, put forward the notion that as people talk to each other and share ideas and thoughts, they use language that shows what something "looks like or is like" (Streeck, 2009, p. 289). Signers literally use the space in front of their bodies to achieve the same outcome. When they associate a space with a concept or what something looks like, it depicts, (or conveys) what their mind is thinking. While linguists have long been aware of signing that occurs in the space in front of the body, Winston (1993) created the term *spatial mapping* to define how signers associate an area with a concept, such as an object or an idea. When you learned how to place a school to your left and a house to your right, you were learning spatial mapping. Through this type of setup, you demonstrated the physical location of these two things in relation to the other.

The linguistic term for this use of "language as showing" is *depiction*, which is a broad category that includes verbs that show relationships, imagery that shows objects, and dialogue that shows interaction (Liddell, 2003). In depiction, signers use their face, hands, arms, body and surrounding signing space, and may even "become" the entity they wish to communicate (Dudis, 2007). The application of this theory to signed languages is fairly new but it is changing how linguistics treats the structure and function of signed forms. It is becoming clear that depiction constitutes a large part of signed language structure.

Another aspect of cognitive linguistics is the exploration of metaphors in sign languages, including their subsequent translations or interpretations. Within the field of sign language translation and

interpreting studies, as was true of the larger world, metaphors had been viewed as poetic devices, rather than conceptual images that are portrayed in everyday language use. Sign language linguists have recently begun to address this metaphor use in sign languages (Roush, 2011; Taub, 2001; Wilcox, 2000).

Cognitive Linguistics in Signed Language Interpreting

In a sign language interpreting study steeped in both discourse and cognitive linguistics, Julie Armstrong (2003) examined the use of action and dialogue in American Sign Language through interpreters. In the sample English texts, interpreters who were native signers created and produced 16 or more instances of depiction (known as *imagery* in discourse studies) and dialogue; conversely, interpreters who were second-language users either did not produce this type of depiction or may have attempted to create action and dialogue, but were unsuccessful. Not only were native signers producing depiction, in eight out of 16 examples, their action and dialogue sequences appeared in the same sequence of the talk. Depiction and dialogue are major elements of American Sign Language and highly valued by Deaf communities.

Daniel Roush (2011) has also contributed to cognitive linguistics in American Sign Language through his analysis of metaphors, particularly the conduit metaphor in American Sign Language. The conduit metaphor, originally discussed by Reddy (1979), allows English speakers to conceptualize human communications as the bodily transfer of thoughts and feelings—as if words are boxes into which a person puts thoughts and then sends to another person who unpacks the boxes and receives the thoughts of another. While this does not describe how thought and communication work, general uses of conduit metaphors are pervasive and reveal how people typically think. As Roush translated specific English metaphors that applied this conduit idea, he found that while American Sign Language could convey some hints of the metaphor, it did not have ways to display the major concepts. Rather, he discovered "the aesthetic of signs would be appreciated in their visual appearance—not in how they are transferred through a conduit" (Roush 2011, p. 166).

Conduit metaphors in English translations were often simply deleted by Deaf translators rather than substituted with similar metaphors in American Sign Language. Likewise, metaphorical expressions in American Sign Language, typically translated as single words in English, do not convey a full rendering of the expression in American Sign Language. The conceptualization of words is not the same as the conceptualization of signs. If most American Sign Language/English interpreters are native speakers of English, then many of their conceptual concepts are derived from their language use in English, and they may be unaware of the different conceptualizations that American Sign Language users may have. Missing this type of understanding clearly impacts translating or interpreting text or speech into English.

SUMMARY

This chapter has provided an overview of linguistics (including its various approaches), which has had the longest tenure in TS and IS. In both translation and interpreting most of the research and scholarly writings to date have stemmed from linguistics. This is understandable, given that translation and interpretation are language-based activities, and linguistics not only possesses a long history, but also continually intersects with both. As the scope of linguistics broadened and expanded, it increasingly provided more avenues of research for answering puzzling questions about both fields.

This chapter began with basic information about language and linguistic studies. After noting the effect of Saussure's findings and the beginnings of modern linguistics, the focus turned to major new areas of study, including sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, and cognitive linguistics, both in mainstream research and in sign language linguistics; evidently, all of which are interested in meaning—the central concern of both translation and interpreting.

Interpreting, by its nature, is a sociolinguistic discourse-based activity whose growing body of research inevitably addresses aspects of the processes and products of signed language interpretation. This chapter covered such studies of sign language interpreting, touching upon variation, language attitudes, multilingualism, and language contact. We also explored discourse studies of sign language interpreting, including turn exchanges, prosody, and discourse-based analyses, in addition to newer cognitive linguistic studies of sign language interpreting, including both depiction and metaphor.

Sociolinguistics, with its focus on language and social knowledge, is extraordinarily suited for transdisciplinary studies. Just as the study of sociolinguistic issues has a great potential to impact interpreting practice and pedagogy, the study of interpreters and interpretation has much potential to contribute to our understanding of sociolinguistics and the sociolinguistics of deaf and non-deaf communities alike.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is the most interesting thing you learned about language and why?
2. What conversations are you involved in now and which would you like to record and analyze? Why?
3. This chapter posed the metaphorical example "argument is war." Can you think of another metaphor in everyday language? How does this new perception of metaphor informed by cognitive linguistics change our ideas about the meaning of certain phrases?
4. What would be a good research question about sign language interpreting through the lens of sociolinguistics?

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5 Through the Lenses of Sociology and Anthropology

History is, strictly speaking, the study of questions; the study of answers belongs to anthropology and sociology. —W. H. Auden

Sociology and anthropology are both expansive disciplines with a number of a subdisciplines. In this chapter we explore some of the characteristics of these disciplines and some of the subdisciplines, and discuss some of the ways they have and can contribute to Interpreting Studies (IS).

BY THE end of this chapter, you should be able to:

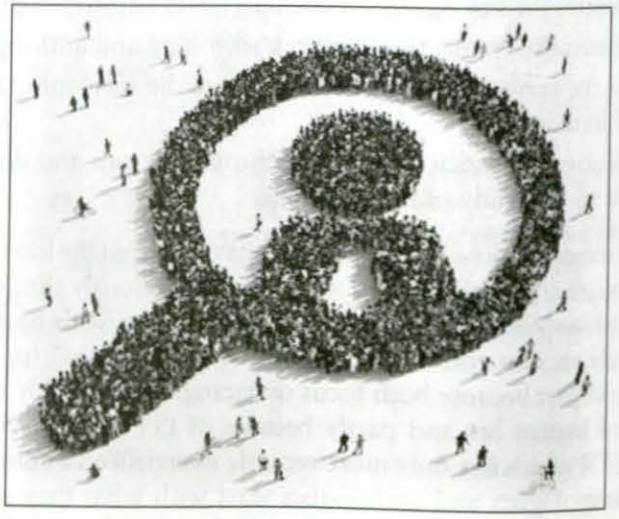
1. identify the key figures of sociology and anthropology
2. discuss the connection between sociology and anthropology
3. list the various disciplines that explore the sociocultural aspects of human life
4. identify how sociology and anthropology can and do contribute to the study of interpreting.

Until recently, the two areas of IS that have received the least attention are *sociology* and *anthropology* (other than vicariously through sociolinguistics). As Pöchhacker (2004) suggested, these fields have "played a relatively modest role in interpreting studies to date" (p. 50). This might be in part because both focus on intangible but highly influential aspects of human life and partly because of IS's roots in Translation Studies (TS) which has only more recently experienced a cultural turn.

Anthropologists and sociologists start with what they see people doing in their everyday lives; however, the person is not the object

of analysis. Rather, the anthropologist and sociologist focus on the various interactions in which people find themselves throughout their lives, which these disciplines refer to as the *social*. Anthropologists and sociologists attempt to understand how people are situated within society, which, to some degree, directs and affects their actions. Because of their similar focus—the human condition—both disciplines have been influenced by many of the same scholars. Their similar roots and focus should not be confused with a lack of distinction; sociology and anthropology are distinct in what they aim to understand from their observations. When combined, these two fields make up what Pöchhacker (2004) referred to as *sociocultural* approaches.

The sociocultural approaches of interpreting are those components of the process that influence the ways in which people behave in interpreted events (e.g., think, talk, move, stand, or dress). IS scholars using anthropology and sociology want to situate interpreting and the interpreted event within a larger context. This requires an examination of external, but still influential, factors that affect both the interpreter and her process. In specific situations, the interpreter is producing an interpretation and the interpretation itself—the decisions an interpreter makes—is being driven by various *social forces* around these situations.



Sociology. Photograph by Amanda Carden/Shutterstock.

Let us consider what we mean by social forces. In writing about soldiers as products, Michel Foucault (1995) makes this point well in his explanation that 18th-century soldiers were produced by the state:

> By the late eighteenth century, the soldier has become something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body, the machine required can be constructed; posture is gradually corrected; a calculated constraint runs slowly through each part of the body, mastering it, making it pliable, ready at all times, turning silently into the automatism of habit; in short, one has "got rid of the peasant" and given him "the air of a solider." (ordinance of March 20, 1765) (p. 135)

This gradual training of the body soldiers undergo is similar to what interpreters experiece: becoming proficient in working languages, understanding what their profession entails, and gaining "the air of" an interpreter. A sociocultural analysis can then be undertaken by examining the ways that the interpreter (and her body) are conditioned to behave like an interpreter.

For example, consider the ways in which many interpreters "rest" while working. How do we indicate to the deaf person that more information is to come? What behaviors do we display when we want

French soldiers

to demonstrate that we are neutral during an interpreted event? All of these (uniform) behaviors help to identify us as a member of a particular group—interpreters.

A second example requires an explication of how interpreters and their work are organized. This type of contextualization recognizes that the same interpreted message, in another context, would occur differently on a macro (e.g., global), meso (e.g., community), and micro (e.g., individual) level. This necessarily changes the focus to the social world around the interpreted event. Consider for a moment interpreters who work in a video relay call center. As she sits in her cubicle, she receives a difficult call and requests a team. At the end of the call, the two interpreters briefly discuss their work together. Then both interpreters log back into their respective stations and begin to accept calls again. This moment in both interpreters' lives serves as an ideal starting place to examine these three levels.

At the micro-level, an analyst may want to understand this interaction by asking how did they negotiate the teaming process? Who took the lead and why? Was it dependent on who was already on the call? Or did experience factor into it?

At the meso-level, researchers may want to explore how the teaming processes happen across an entire call center: When are teams called? What is the process that interpreters go through, internally and externally, to get a team? Is there a protocol they must follow? Who established these protocols? If, however, the interest lies at the macro-level, the starting place—the team work—points us into an examination of VRS as a mechanism of access for deaf people, which not only occurs in that particular call but also within many settings around the globe. The questions might examine how access is defined: How do current government policies affect access? How is access reconciled with the aims of capitalism? These kinds of questions and levels of analysis help to provide a sociocultural examination of interpreting.

Both disciplines are concerned with how people influence and are influenced by society. While sociology and anthropology are closely related, they focus on different aspects of social life:

1. Anthropologists typically focus on the creation and maintenance of groups of people, including their interactions, behaviors or cultures, and influence on societies.

2. Sociologists may consider the role of culture, but are more interested in the influence of social structures and social institutions in maintaining certain practices, such as gender bias, racism, or audism.

Sociologists use the terms *social structure* and *social institution* in closely related but distinctive ways. Social structure is an abstract or broad term used to mean a pattern of social relationships and the influence that pattern has in society. One example of this might be family; people born into a wealthy (privileged) family are more likely to go to elite schools, naturally establish contacts with other wealthy (privileged) people through their surrounding social networks, and have more job opportunities because of these connections than someone born into a poor (disadvantaged) family.

Social institution, on the other hand focuses on form. That is, how do we define the family? How has the family, and our understanding of it, changed over the years? One can simply consider the popular television show *Modern Family* as a point of reference. In this show, we see how the family—the entire Jay Pritchett clan—is made up of three smaller households. One household includes Jay's daughter, her husband, and their three biological children; another household includes Jay's son, his husband, and their adopted daughter from Vietnam. Then, there is Jay's own household, which includes his considerably younger second wife, their biological son, and his wife's son from a previous marriage. This shows us that the makeup of the modern family is different than most people believe—a mother, father, 2.5 kids, and a dog named Spot. It also demonstrates that families are produced through second marriages, adoptions, and other blended forms. Understanding social structures and social institutions is a key component to understanding sociology and anthropology, including how each contributes to IS.

Key Questions

- Compare the social structure of interpreting with the social institution of interpreting.
- How do the focuses of anthropology and sociology differ from how other disciplines examine interpreting for an English class?

SOCIOLOGY

Sociologists believe that everything people do and say affects everyone around them, and potentially even the wider world. And although our actions are our own, they are influenced by the world we live in. Our interactions with each other through familial or religious connections, and the laws and policies handed down from federal and local governments that we live by shape the way we behave in our daily lives. In other words, sociologists examine the ways in which people's lives influence society and how the society they are embedded in, with all its rules and interactions, helps to shape their lives. Sociologists refer to this as examining the *organization of the everyday*.

Sociologists focus, not on individual people, but on the social structures that influence individuals. Social structures are the recurrent patterns of interaction. Every interaction has a structure to it and the various situations in which interpreters find themselves are influenced by the situation's structure. If we consider the structure of a courtroom, the judge sits at the bench and controls the proceedings. The other people in the courtroom, while part of the interaction, are limited to particular roles; they do not approach the bench without first obtaining the judge's permission, nor do they do a great deal of talking until asked a question by a judicial officer. The interpreter who finds herself in this situation must recognize the situational structure as she engages in her work. Interpreters who fail to recognize the rules of the courtroom, such as talking without being asked a question by the appropriate person, could be charged with contempt.

Similarly, classrooms have social structures: the teacher stands at the front of the classroom and lectures, while students sit facing the front and take notes; students raise their hands before speaking and ask for permission before leaving the room. If this is a primary or secondary school, interpreters have to acknowledge that they are adults in these settings and therefore have a responsibility for students' well-being.

Sociologists also study social institutions, which are established in order to meet basic human needs and to support the social structures of a given society. In the same courtroom example, an accused who finds himself in a courtroom will not be allowed to speak on his own behalf, or know what kinds of things to say when he is permitted to

speak. Therefore, there is a need for someone who understands the rules and patterns of the courtroom. To ensure the accused is protected, according to the US Constitution (or Acts of Parliament in the UK), we have created various occupations that are familiar with courtroom protocol, thus allowing another (i.e., attorneys or barristers) to act on behalf of the accused.

When someone interacts with these social institutions (whether legal, educational, or otherwise), they become connected to a host of other institutions and peoples. For example, in his examination of video relay service (VRS), Brunson (2011) demonstrated how interpreters who work in this venue are connected to a web of *social relations* that extend beyond the immediate event into other institutions and with other people.

According to Brunson, the *institution of access* is the web of social relations that include the law, policies, and interpreting governing bodies, which are each connected through written policies or rules moving between and among various sites to influence people on a broad scale. That is to say, "access" by providing an interpreter is a process that connects individuals in different locations.

A simple example might be a look at the scheduling of an interpreter for a doctor's appointment. This begins when a deaf person requests an appointment with a doctor. The doctor then calls a referral agency to schedule an interpreter. The agency calls an interpreter who is credentialed to provide interpreting. The credential body is often located in another state. The interpreter takes the job and shows up at the appointment.

This demonstrates that the social institution of access is more than the interpreter providing communication access during the event of the medical appointment. It also includes the various forms of coordination (by a doctor and referral agency), skill evaluation (by a credentialing organization), and negotiation (between an interpreter and referral agency, and a referral agency and a doctor's office) required to make this communication access a possibility.

Sociologists think about the work of sign language interpreters as part of this larger web of social relations. They are interested in the investigation and analysis of how an interpretation is not only the product of an individual interpreter, but how it is also the product of a web of social relations.

ANTHROPOLOGY

Like sociology, anthropology is a broad discipline. Generally, its goal is to develop a theory of human life, uncovering patterns that explain why "humans behave as we do, how we evolved to look like we do, and why we don't all look the same, and why there is such variation in our cultural behaviors" (Park, 2011, p. 15).

In this book, our discussion will focus on the branch of anthropology known as *ethnology*. Ethnology is the study of cultural, social, and sociocultural aspects of human life. While both anthropology and ethnology might have begun as "the science of history" (Harris, 2001), it has since developed into a discipline that has fixed its gaze on the *culture* of human life. Culture itself also has a variety of different meanings, but in this context refers to the "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man [sic] as member of a society" (Tylor, 1871, p. 1). As Jurmain, Kilgore, and Trevathan (2010) also reminded, "technology, religion, values, social organization, language, kinship, marriage rules, gender roles ... [and] inheritance of property ... are all aspects of culture" (p. 4). Although some of these topics might not seem clearly connected to the work of interpreting, interpreters work in a world where all these elements of culture may affect the wider social structures and institutions in which people live and work.

Most of what we know about sign language interpreting to date has come from linguists or linguistic analysis. More recently, sociology or anthropology scholars have been specifically exploring the work of interpreting (see Brunson, 2008, 2010, 2015; DeVault, Garden, & Schwartz, 2011; Haualand, 2014), at least in part, as an influential phenomenon that pertains to a given topic under investigation (Kusters, 2012b).

If we consider the history of sign language interpreting, at least in Western or "Global North" contexts, it is organized by the social institutions of religion and kinships; some of the first interpreters were members of the clergy and family members. Even today, some sign language interpreters get their start in the field through these types of social relations (see Chapter 2, History). With a focus on culture, anthropologists might examine the significance of religion and kinships in providing this service. How does this practice perpetuate

cultural practice? Similarly, a sociologist would want to examine the structure of a society. What is the role of religion and kinships in a particular society? Now that we have introduced the disciplines of sociology and anthropology we will discuss the development of the disciplines.

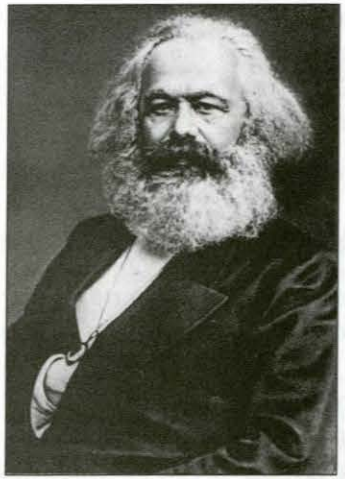
KEY SCHOLARS IN SOCIOCULTURAL APPROACHES

Anthropology and sociology share certain scholars who are closely associated with, and given credit for developing, particular theories in both disciplines. Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Michel Foucault are among those who provided unique examinations of the world that informed these disciplines, and whose ideas continue to have a lasting effect on these disciplines and others. Contemporary scholars from economics to linguistics, and geography to medicine, have employed the same thinking of these great theorists. Their thinking about social structures and social institutions have led to more contemporary analyses by scholars of postmodernism and feminism.

Karl Marx

Many have heard of Karl Marx's *The Communist Manifesto*, coauthored with Frederick Engels, a commonly assigned reading for many undergraduates, regardless of their discipline. A far less read but widely heard of treatise is his *Capital*. In his three-volume critique, and call for change, Marx "attempts to show the consequences of the capitalist mode of production in people's lives" (Dant, 2003, p. 9). If one only reads the *Manifesto*, which is less than 100 pages in length, they only get a glimpse into the critique that Marx would go on to articulate in *Capital*. That is like only reading the abstract of a research paper, or understanding the manual alphabet and feeling competent to be a sign language interpreter.

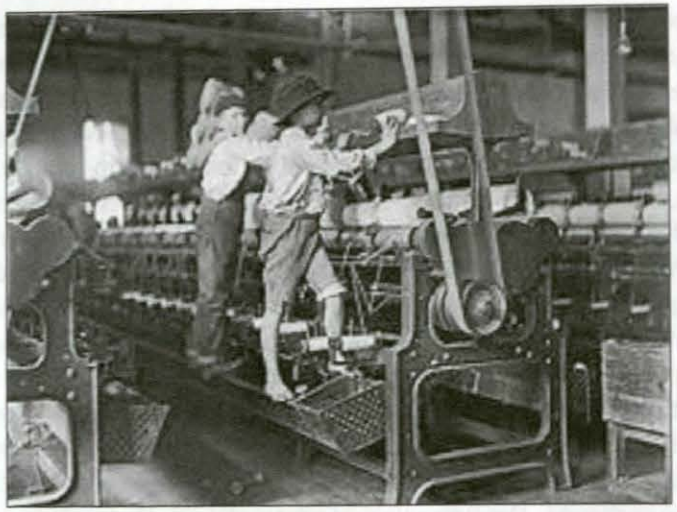
Marx and Engels "began with the premise of *materialism*, meaning their belief that human existence determines human consciousness" which can be "contrasted with [philosopher Hegel's] idealist belief that human consciousness determines human existence" (Erickson & Murphy, 2013, p. 20). Particularly, Marx was



Karl Marx

interested in how the *means of production* (or how work gets done) influenced people's thinking. Writing during the Industrial Revolution in Europe, he and Engels were able to see firsthand how people's labor processes changed from individual manual labor to entirely mechanized labor. They saw how this change would influence how people, through their changing experiences of work practices, come to develop an explanation and understanding of the world they live in.

As the means of production, or work, constantly evolves, people experience the world differently throughout history. This leads to different conceptions of the world in different eras. For sign language interpreters, this meant that as our "means" of production (or work processes) changed from, for example, face-to-face interpreting to remote technologically assisted interpreting, we began to see our work differently. We are no longer limited by geographical boundaries. For example, American Sign Language interpreters in Canada can provide interpreting services for the US and vice versa. Understanding signs of only one region may thwart our ability to effectively interpret for people who are now able to use our services. This also affects our interpretation. When a person says "will call you in a few minutes," we may now include the sign for VRS or video conferencing in our communications.



Industrial Revolution. Photograph by Jacob Riis.

There should be little doubt that a Marxist analysis in interpreting has something to contribute to the field of IS. After all, interpreting is work (or labor), and its means of production is always changing. It is not only interpreting in video relay centers that changes the work we perform; we could also explore the questions: When do we interpret in teams? When does a deaf interpreter work alone?

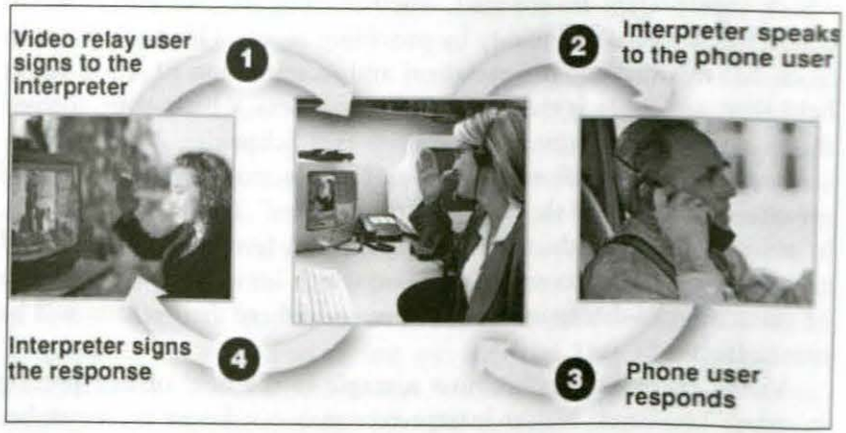
A Marxist analysis could also be useful in IS because the work in which interpreters are engaged, whether recognized or not, concerns correcting levels of inequality by providing access. This analysis stems from Marx's critique of capitalism and examination of labor. Marx held that creativity is the essence of humanness, which, thus, formed the basis of his critique of capitalism (see Schneider, 2006). His issue was that "*capitalism* is a mode of production based on unequal private ownership of the means of production" (Dillon, 2010, p. 34). In this mode of production, the (privileged) few are in control and the many are made to work for them, which limits people's ability to be creative and determine when, how, and where their efforts will be most effective.

Video relay services are now a staple in the field of interpreting in many countries. Newer interpreters may not know or remember a world without VRS. However, many of us who began our careers

before the 21st century clearly remember what it was like to perform phone interpreting while the deaf person was sitting in our office or us in theirs. We would sit across from the other and awkwardly attempt to hold a phone clamped by our head on our shoulder while signing. This also made it particularly difficult to form certain facial expressions, and often we would forego movements out of fear of dropping the phone.

Enter VRS, which relies on teleconferencing and broadband technologies to provide telephone access to deaf people—a feat and outcome of deaf people's ongoing fight for equal access in the world. In VRS, interpreters wear a headset so they no longer have to worry about trying to clamp the handset. This ergonomic change allows interpreters to employ all the linguistic features of the sign and spoken language they are interpreting, minus the obstacles of a traditional phone exchange. Deaf people's critique of how the world was not accessible challenged the status quo and led to better services, such as video relay service.

As this new form of telecommunication technology has taken hold, interpreters have had to adapt to a "major paradigm shift ... moving [them] from *being* the technology of interpreting to *being mediated by* the technology of interpreting" (Peterson, 2011, p. 204; emphasis in original). Although this technology was intended to involve two people (deaf and non-deaf) having their communication



How video relay service calls are made. Courtesy of the FCC.

interpreted, there are times when either one or both individuals may not be present at all but the interpretation still occurs. An example of this is when a robocall is used to confirm an appointment or solicit donations (among other tasks), which connects to an answering machine for the deaf person. In this scenario the interpreter is working between two machines rather than two people.

This paradigm shift includes interpreters and service users learning new rules of engagement for phone interpreting (Brunson, 2011), and, for interpreters, being less clear about what is expected of us (Alley, 2012, 2014). For example, before VRS it was acceptable for interpreters to talk with the deaf person before an assignment. It was also common practice to talk with the deaf person if there was no interpreting to be done. Although some video relay providers in the US have become more flexible, previous VRS discouraged interpreters from talking with the deaf person while placing the call. At first, interpreters were told that this was because of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), but it later became clear that this was a VRS provider policy rather than a regulation put in place by the government. In his analysis, Peterson (2011) summarized this dilemma in true Marxist fashion, framing the problem as such:

> The government of the United States has been involved in a grand social experiment over the last few decades. Services that were once public concerns, things like defense, education, highways, criminal justice, and now sign language interpretation, have been given over to the control of the private sector. (p. 203)

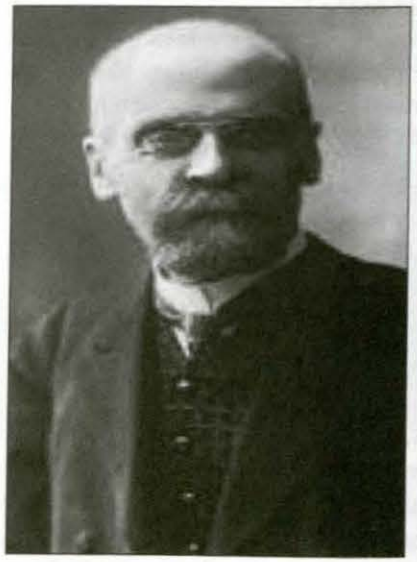
What Peterson is lamenting is the change in the mode of production. Rather than access being the domain of the government, it is a private service that is provided for a fee. This has led to our seeing the world (and interpreting) differently.

Further exploring Marx's notion of creativity as the essence of humanness, let us acknowledge that interpreting is a creative endeavor (Horváth, 2010). Practitioners take a message and, based on their own experiences, provide their own interpretation of its meaning. However, the various settings in which they find themselves could be seen as limiting the ability of an interpreter to exercise her creativity. That is, can an interpreter gain some background information about a deaf person before a call so that she can include, in her interpretation

some contextual information, or, does she simply have to sign what is said, which could consequently create misunderstandings? Policies that prevent (or discourage) interpreters from using all available tools (e.g., talking with the deaf person before the call) is an example of how creativity might be curtailed.

Emile Durkheim

Another historically prominent figure in both sociology and anthropology is Emile Durkheim. Durkheim, who is often credited with writing the first sociological study, titled *Suicide*, argued that "social interactions" were to be considered *social facts* and could be explained in terms of those social facts, rather than in terms of biology or psychology. Behind this pronouncement was Durkheim's understanding that society was a realm unto itself: "*sui generis*" (Erickson & Murphy, 2013, p. 52). Durkheim saw society differently than Marx, who otherwise suggested that the state apparatus was responsible for maintaining conflict. Durkheim took the position that social solidarity would eventually increase to the point at which government interference would be necessary to organize its details and maintain harmony.



Emile Durkheim

Durkheim (1984) also viewed society as an apparatus made up of interrelated parts. Each part has a role and as long as each part is functioning correctly, life is good. A good analogy for this configuration could be the inner workings of an internal combustible engine, which is made up of various elements such as pistons, crankshafts, cylinders, spark plugs, and oil. As long as the engine has the right amount of oil, its spark plugs are firing correctly, the crank is not prevented from moving up and down, and the cylinders are smooth and allow the pistons to move freely but remain controlled, the engine will operate correctly. If any of those parts are not functioning as they should then the car will not run properly.

Whereas Marx focused on disrupting the status quo, Durkheim wanted to see it maintained. If we look again at the provision of VRS, a Durkheimian analysis would focus on its various social structures; that is, a division of labor is necessary to maintain it functioning effectively. There is a category of people we call management, another we call workers, and a group of processes we refer to as rules and regulations, all of which allows the system to achieve its function: providing access to people. For Durkheim, when someone begins to challenge or disrupt (as Marx would) the status quo, those *deviants* are to be dealt with swiftly to prevent further disruption.

Another example that applies to interpreting regards its multiple credentialing bodies in the US. They represent a disruption to the quasi-monopolization of qualification offered by the RID. Each has different evaluation systems and different standards for granting credentials. This can and does lead to some confusion and dissent from interpreters and their consumers, deaf and non-deaf people. In some states RID certifications may be seen as less valuable than the local credentialing system. In Texas, many interpreters opt for the Board for Evaluations of Interpreters (BEI) program instead of the RID exam. Similarly, when the National Association of the Deaf (NAD) offered a credential, interpreters, out of loyalty to deaf people, decided to take that exam rather than the one offered by the RID.

When Brunson took the RID test there were two certifications available: the Certification of Interpretation (CI) and the Certification of Transliteration (CT). The first test required candidates to demonstrate their ability to work between American Sign Language and English, while the second tested the ability to work between a contact

sign system and spoken English. Interpreters who believed transliteration countered the values of the Deaf community refused to take this certification exam. These are just some simple ways in which interpreters have dissented over the years, or have been deviant in a Durkheimian sense.

Before the NAD and RID decided to partner on a new test, interpreters could obtain certification from either institution. Deaf people and non-deaf people were often unclear as to the difference between these credentials. Similarly, when interpreters opted to take the Educational Interpreters Performance Assessment (EIPA) instead of an NAD or RID test, more confusion occurred and potentially weakened the certification status of RID's assessment.

Interpreters who became credentialed by a system not under control or recognized by the RID challenged the organization's ability to exert a significant amount of influence over the field—a move that proved intolerable. If left unchecked, additional credentialing bodies could have dismantled the nationally recognized system.[1] To regain order, this deviance needed to be contained, and interpreters who supported it had to be brought into the fold. While their incorporation of these systems, particularly the EIPA, was not a smooth transition, the alternative could have been far more destabilizing.

If we take a Durkheimian stance, the incorporation of the EIPA and NAD credentials into the RID was inevitable and necessary to maintain its authority as the primary organizing body for sign language interpreting (see Brunson, 2017).

Max Weber

Whereas Marx and Durkheim put forth analyses of society that focused on the how individuals interpret moments they experience in society, Max Weber presented an analysis that incorporated people's acting, thinking, and feeling. According to Erickson and Murphy (2013), "Weber sought a theory that placed existing beliefs and [social] structures in particular historical contexts" (p. 55). Weber, just as Marx and Durkheim, worked to develop a *grand theory*, that is, an

1. It is worth mentioning that the spread of BEI credentials represents another disruption to the current system.

Max Weber

abstraction from the every day. However, although Marx believed history and society were shaped through the relationships people have with each other, and their connection to the means of production, Weber (2002) argued it was the meaning that individuals gave the world that shapes history and society.

A Weberian analyses focuses on meaning assigned to particular events and phenomenon. Let us consider the recognition of educational interpreters. Prior to the decision to include the EIPA credentialed interpreters under the RID, there was a clear political position of RID *not* to recognize educational interpreters among their ranks. This of course does not mean there were no interpreters who worked in educational settings who were members of the RID. However, the work of interpreters in the educational settings has longed been recognized as different from other types of interpreting (see Schick & Williams, 2004).

In educational interpreting, interpreters often have to decide what information will get interpreted—the academic content, the classroom discussions, or the interruptions (Wolbers, Dimling, Lawson, & Golos, 2012). Shaw and Jamieson (1997) found that interpreters are regularly faced with decisions to interpret the academic content presented by the teacher which sometimes leaves the student without access to his classmates.

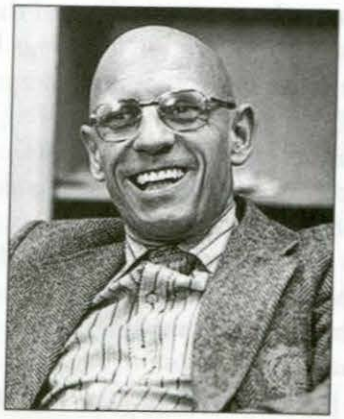
This failure to incorporate educational interpreters in the RID was, in part, because the practice of educational interpreting within

primary and secondary education settings was seen as supporting an *audist* culture (in which deaf children are mainstreamed), rather than allowing them to maintain a self-imposed segregation in schools for the deaf. By not recognizing a need for specific educational-interpreting qualifications, the RID could maintain a supportive stance for children being educated in specialized schools with immersive sign language practices, rather than in mainstream programs.

The lack of action to bring about certifying interpreters in educational settings allowed the RID to be seen as politically aligned with members of the Deaf community. Even so, it neither engaged in lobbying for certified interpreters to work in such settings, nor allowed the development of educational-specialist certification. To maintain its monopoly, the registry had to recognize this work that was occurring and bring educational interpreters into the fold; this change in the meaning of what an RID-credentialed interpreter is shaped history, in turn.

Michel Foucault

A more contemporary thinker about society was Michel Foucault. While Marx, Durkheim, and Weber worked with grand theories, Foucault opposed this approach and instead centered his analysis on power. Unlike the other individuals discussed, Foucault (1991) viewed power as embedded in the everyday and exercised through various



Michel Foucault

discourses. Discourse, for Foucault, wields a lot of power and refers to the systems of thought—that influence individuals. For those who subscribe to Foucault's analysis, power is no longer solely part of a large apparatus, like the state; instead, they believe it is part of the fabric of social relations.

Foucault noted that people who dominated social relations were able to define society according to their own preferences: "Beginning with the Enlightenment and the rise of the nation-state in the eighteenth century, discourses of science, sexuality, and humanism became dominant in European society, preserving their power through mechanisms of control such as prisons, hospitals, asylums, and museums" (Erickson & Murphy, 2013, p. 147). In other words, labels began to not only provide a way of talking about the world but would define individuals. Relations between people were defined, through various discourses of science, sexuality, etcetera, in binary terms. Normal or abnormal, sane and insane, became, not just clinical terms, but would shape how people who were labeled as one or the other were viewed and treated.

Perhaps Foucault's (1998) greatest contribution to sociocultural theory was his analysis of what he referred to as *discursive practices*. It should be understood that "discursive practices" has a different meaning than the common parlance of "discourse," which is often associated with linguistics (see Chapter 4, Linguistics). Foucault is not just referring to talking or signing; rather, he contended "discourse is something that runs from one person to another" (Renkema, 2004, p. 48). Discursive practices then are the way in which talk is embedded within the various social structures that it has passed through, both historically and extra-locally.

An example of how discourse shapes behavior can be seen with how the concept of "social justice" has now begun to shape the work of interpreting. The phrase "power and privilege" are a type of discursive practice. Foucault would ask does it include issues of gender, sexuality, race, and ability? Or is it simply a way to talk about deaf and non-deaf dynamics? Who decides that dynamic? For example, the RID requires a certain number of continuing education units (CEU) in courses or workshops on "power and privilege." As such, it would seem that they presumably have a clear definition of the meaning—but what is it? Furthermore, how does this idea of discourse influence interpreters themselves? There are now interpreting

programs that focus on "social justice." How does this change or influence their work? Does this mean that interpreters should now advocate for deaf people? What about those who can hear? Will non-deaf people accept the idea that interpreters are behaving more like social workers who can sign (or at least like agents of social change) than a neutral person hired to "only interpret"? These are the kinds of questions that only discursive analyses could attempt to answer.

Foucault also provided an analysis that "challenge[d] the transcendental status of knowledge. To this end he showed how knowledge is formed in the interaction of plural and contingent practices within different sites, each of which involves the material and the symbolic" (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014, p. 174). The point they are trying to make is that Foucault puts forth the idea that "knowledge" is subjective. What counts as knowledge depends on where and when the information is provided and who is in power. One element of what he is talking about is propaganda. The information that is shared, sterilized of dissent or knowledge, which has not been sanctioned by those in power.

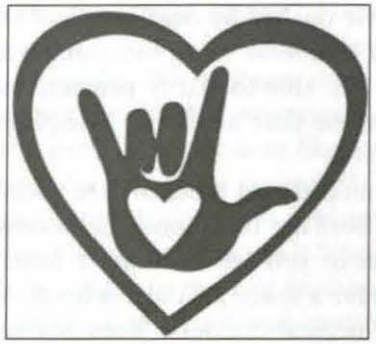
Consider the example of "knowing" when you are sick. Although we know our bodies better than anyone, we often defer to physicians to "know" we are sick. In this way, our actions of going to a physician to "know" we are sick is a way we are participating in the discourse that physicians are "all knowing" when it comes to the matters of the body. A further example of this is the term "hearing impaired"—a term that has now fallen out of favor, but was common for many years. It was based on a medical model of deafness. The medical field labeled those "hearing impaired" as audiologically defective in some way. This term becomes part of how people talk about deaf people. It shows up in legislation, textbooks, and what people say on the news. This is how discourses are created and maintained. Recognizing this narrow view, many deaf people have opted to be referred to as Deaf which they feel better represents their own beliefs about their position, as further embedded in discourse. Here we actually see two wildly different discourses in operation. The first is the medical discourse. Since the body is their focus, doctors are seen as experts when it comes to people who are deaf. This discourse influences how these people are treated. They are treated as disabled or somehow "broken." Another discourse

that is at play is the one pushed by deaf people. Theirs is a cultural discourse. Within this discourse these individuals can be seen as a minority group. They are able to justify protections under the law. It is within this discourse that academic disciplines such as Deaf Studies develop.

Both discourses (cultural and medical) are problematic under a Foucauldian analysis. Both are based on a dichotomy. Either you are "normal" and can hear or you are Deaf and a member of a cultural group. These do not leave a space for those who do not fit nicely into these categories. The medical discourse does not account for those who consider themselves to be members of a cultural group. It also focuses solely on the inner workings of the ear. The cultural model, on the other hand, does not have a way to include those who may see their own inability to hear as a disability.

It is now common to, in writing, use a capital D when talking about deaf people. This was first used as a designation of people who were considered to be culturally Deaf (see Woodward, 1982). However, are all deaf people culturally Deaf? Are there not some deaf people who view themselves as disabled? The war veteran who spent his life listening to music but had a head injury in the war and does not sign is probably not going to identify with a Deaf culture. The hard of hearing person who signs but prefers to only use a spoken language, also may not consider herself to be a member of the Deaf community. And some Deaf people who view themselves in some contexts as disabled? Authors who use the capital D without considering the full range of implications would be criticized by a Foucault scholar.

Another example, drawn also from a US context, regards the idea of "certification." Within the field of sign language interpreting, there exists a discourse around those "qualified" to interpret and those who are not. "Certified" interpreters, by virtue of being granted certification by a group of evaluators, are said to embody the *values* and *mores* of a certifying body. There is a belief that their work, among some, is beyond reproach. The term "certified" now appears in state legislation and, although it is not the only criteria cited, it is often what deaf people say they want in an interpreter (Ferracuti, 2017). As such, the RID is able to exercise power over interpreters in California from their office in Alexandria, Virginia.



Deaf heart

Another example is "Deaf heart," which supposedly refers to the characteristic of an interpreter who is aligned with members of Deaf communities. Power is exerted discursively by those who deem themselves as being entitled to ascribe this label to interpreters and by being identified as having deaf heart. As Foucault reminds us, this type of far-reaching power is dangerous because it is not consistent. One person might deem someone a "Deaf heart" while another might not. When this occurs, how is someone supposed to know what the correct behavior is?

Anthropology and sociology have inspired people in other disciplines to take up their theories to examine notions of oppression, cultural commodification, power relations, and gender. In the next section, we discuss three areas that seem, at least currently, to have the most relevance to Interpreting Studies: feminism, cultural studies, and Deaf Studies.

Key Questions

- How does working on a deaf–hearing team change these "means of production"?
- What are some other discursive practices in interpreting?
- What types of settings have rules or policies that might limit an interpreter's creativity? When do you think creativity might or should be limited? Who controls this decision?

RELATED DISCIPLINES

Although these three disciplines we are about to discuss (feminism, cultural studies, and Deaf Studies) require different levels of investigation, they are closely related to both sociology and anthropology because of their shared interest in the lived human experience. They also have similar goals of explicating how society influences people's lives, namely people who identify as marginalized.

Feminism

A discussion of those contributing to dominant sociocultural perspectives would be incomplete without considering the role of feminism. Feminism can be broken into various periodical "waves," as is now echoed in Deaf Studies.

We should state upfront that no one person is responsible for feminism (or sociology or anthropology). However, one of the early writings that employed a feminist lens is *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* first published in 1792 and written by Mary Wollstonecraft. Her text wastes no time making her point that men have wrongly assumed they have dominion over women. In her dedication to M. Talleyrand-Perigord, the late bishop of Autun, she wrote:

> If women are to be excluded, without having a voice, from a participation of the natural rights of mankind, prove first, to ward off the charge of injustice and inconsistency, that they want reason—else this flaw in your NEW CONSTITUTION will ever shew that man must, in some shape, act like a tyrant, and tyranny, in whatever part of society it rears its brazen front, will ever undermine morality. (Wollstonecraft, 1792/1995, p. 69; emphasis in original)

Although Wollstonecraft's proclamation is a clear challenge to men's authority, it was not until the 19th century that the period of feminist writing and activism commonly referred to as first-wave feminism began.

First-wave feminism focused on gender as a twosome: there were women and there were men. One of its motivations was to campaign

Mary Wollstonecraft. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London, United Kingdom.

for equal opportunities for women through the suffrage movement (the right to vote). These activists were also involved with both the temperance (abstaining from drinking alcohol) and abolitionist (the ending of slavery) movements.

Second-wave feminism, which is perhaps the most well-known, conjures up images of 1960s "bra-burning"—a phenomenon that may never have actually happened. Still embracing the gender binary, this wave focused on reproductive rights and sexuality. Within this wave, women began to make theoretical connections between their own oppression and the larger social structures that were influential in society (see Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch*). This wave was particularly marked by a renewed interest in the writings of Marx and his critique of capitalism, which extended to scrutinize the patriarchy and *heteronormativity* as additional tools of women's oppression.

Within the Third Wave of feminism, born in a time of post-colonialism and post-modernism (influenced by the work of Foucault), notions of the "universal womanhood" were challenged. That is, this wave of feminism challenged the idea of one kind of woman. Women argued women were diverse and as such they might have different needs to those expounded by white middle-class university professors. Women in developing countries, for example, may not be worried about equal pay (a focus of previous waves of feminism) because their worries lie on whether they have access to medical treatment.

The Fourth Wave emerged to embrace the lessons learned from previous waves, instead coupling notions of intersectionality with feminism's persisting goals (Crenshaw, 1989). That is, understanding that to talk about "woman" also requires a discussion of that person's race, sexuality, social class, (dis)ability, and gender identities, among a range of additional factors.

While there are multiple tenets of feminism and several waves, the overall argument of feminism is focused on creating a world that is equitable. Whether the focus is on sexuality and the body (Muscio, 2002), pay equality (Nippert-Eng, 1995), or the recognition of unpaid work (Hochschild, 2003), feminism is critical of a society that perpetuates "normal" as people who are heterosexual, able-bodied, male, and white Anglo-Saxon. Feminism urges society to be inclusive, where all people count and are equal. Typically, heterosexual white able-bodied men have had control of discursive practices and the means of production because they held the power to define the way of the world. They are allowed to produce, reproduce, and disseminate to people in different locations the texts that are filled with these discourses. And through these texts, they are able to define the world; they hold positions of power, and their social network agrees with their perspective about the world. Feminism urges us to work against these perspectives and to work for a more equitable society.

At least in the modern era, sign language interpreting has been dominated by women. According to the RID's 2016 Annual Report, the gender ratio in the field was approximately 90 percent women and 10 percent men. In Europe, ASLI's Fees and Salary Report puts the ratio at about 80 percent women and 20 percent men in the United Kingdom in 2011.

Sign language interpreting has a long history of being a helping field (see Fant, 1990), and this, in turn, has resulted in its lack of professional recognition. Recently, interpreting is being referred to as a practice profession (Dean & Pollard, 2005). While this designation mainly occurs among practitioners, it might eventually make its way into the mainstream. Through feminism, we can examine the implications of the dominance of women in the field. Since women have historically had far less power than men in the world, often fields dominated by women earn far less than those dominated by men. And so, feminism might do what?

We can explore how the numerical dominance of women affects curricula in various training programs and where interpreting training programs are housed within educational institutions; or we can trace the ways in which this dominance has influenced the trajectory of the field. That is, is there a correlation between the history of interpreting and the prevalence of women and the various metaphors of practice (see Chapter 2)?

Given that far more women than men are employed in interpreting, this may pose a challenge to deaf men who need to visit a doctor and want to have a male interpreter. Another aspect of this gender imbalance is the way in which deaf men have had to be aware that their personal medical business would most often be discussed through female interpreters. Feminism would help us explore these dynamics of a woman-dominated profession, further emphasizing questions such as: How has this changed the dynamics between men and women in a current era? These are just a few of the questions that can arise from a feminist critique of interpreting.

Cultural Studies

One cannot discuss the sociocultural dimensions of sign language interpreting without considering *cultural studies*. After all, what happens to one group within a given society is often known to the world via various forms of media. We are part of what Lewis (2008) referred to as a "global media sphere." We are no longer isolated communities without ties to one another. We are connected, for better or worse, through various media. This is because people are constantly seeing images in the media that define beauty, strength, wealth, and even what is considered undesirable. This necessarily informs our images of the world and ourselves (Lewis, 2008). Not only are we constantly bombarded by such images in the media but we are influenced by these images as well. They inspire us to take action (such as donate money, or call a local representative), or change something about ourselves.

Developed by Stuart Hall and his colleagues at the Birmingham school, cultural studies examines various media as they move in and out of people's lives. In this way, such forms become conceptualized as texts (i.e., something that is reproducible and can be disseminated in different forms).

Stuart Hall

A *text* is produced, taken up, replicated, and then connects people in various locations. As Lewis (2008) explained, "the media do not exist 'out there,' but are immersed in the everyday" (p. 4). They are representations of the world we live in. They make sense and resonate with us because we can identify with them. Consider the commercials you see on a daily basis. Those that are focused on something you are familiar with, a place, a product, a person, etc., are easily recalled. As Storey (1996) contended, "although cultural studies cannot (and should not) be reduced to the study of popular culture, it is certainly the case that the study of popular culture is central to the project of cultural studies" (p. 1).

To bring this point home, let us take two polar examples. The first is the coverage of the 2012 super storm Sandy, which held the attention of New York City's residents and *Saturday Night Live* writers alike. This incident was not famous because former Mayor Bloomberg's talking points were found to be interesting, but rather the way in which deaf New Yorkers accessed the information in his speech through sign language interpreter Lydia Callis. (To see the video clip, go to https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mrmsFdgHuDw. Mayor Bloomberg of New York City updates citizens about Hurricane

Sandy—"it's getting too late to leave" on October 29, 2012. Lydia Callis is interpreting.)

Throughout Bloomberg's address, the facial grammar Ms. Callis used captured the interest of people from all over. Anna Witter-Merithew (a certified interpreter) was asked to speak on National Public Radio (NPR) about the grammatical features of American Sign Language. In particular, she was asked to explain the role of facial expressions (the focus of many non-signing viewers) of Ms. Callis's famous display, which she deemed appropriate for what she was interpreting.

Most likely it was unintentional, but Ms. Callis's interpretation became a text that was broadcast over a particular kind of media—the television, and invited a lot of attention and discussion to American Sign Language in the United States. People began to discuss it. Anna Witter-Merithew's actions were far more intentional. Her media of choice was radio, and was intended to educate people within her broadcasting range about the role of facial grammar in American Sign Language and communicating meaning. This example shows us that media and their chosen texts are important means for shaping people's understandings of a wide range of topics.

Another example regards Nelson Mandela's highly publicized 2013 funeral. While many tuned in to mourn his death, this factor was not the focus of his service. Rather the focus was on Thamsanqa Jantjie, who quickly became known as the "fake interpreter." Irrespective of Jantjie's skill, this event put sign language interpreting (and deaf people's lack of access) in the spotlight. Ironically, the fiasco occurred on the same day that former World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) president Dr. Liisa Kauppinen joined the list of highly distinguished recipients of the United Nations Human Rights Award Prize and received highly appropriate interpreting services at the UN in New York City. This formed the backdrop of a Twitter moment in which #realinterpreter and #fakeinterpreter began trending. In highlighting the different levels on provision at both the UN and at Mandela's funeral, Gallaudet University's chair of the Department of Interpretation was asked to speak to listeners of *The Kojo Nnamdi Show* on WAMU, a local public radio station in the United States (based in Washington, DC), to shed light on interpreting as a general field in addition to Jantjie's displays. No one was asked to speak about the interpreting that happened at the UN in New York City.

These two examples capture how pop culture can be explored and, therefore, influence people's thinking about interpreting. These video recordings become texts that transcend the moment in which they were created. They are taken up across the globe as examples of access, both flawed and effective, for deaf people.

Another way in which texts are influential in interpreting is through its various memberships in certain organizations. In the United States, the RID provides its members with cards and certificates, which extend beyond the moment in which they were earned and then copied, shared, and able to corroborate an interpreter's skill. This occurs regardless of when the certificate was earned. In the United Kingdom, interpreters are also required to carry their (photo) credentials with them to indicate they have met, either through an academic route or a portfolio of evidence, the national occupational standards for sign language interpreting. In many Northern European countries, where the government pays for the interpreting services, interpreters must hold the credential to receive payment. Again, each of these credentials are texts that point to competency that was demonstrated at another time and place.

Deaf Studies

Paddy Ladd (2003) stated that he developed the term "Deafhood" to refer to the examination of the lives of deaf people. In his writings on Deafhood, Ladd has contributed greatly to, if not pioneered, the field of Deaf Studies.

Paddy Ladd

Murray (2017), in his examination of Deaf Studies in the United States, instead suggested that several co-occurring events created Deaf Studies. The first was the burgeoning field of American Sign Language research, which was prompted by *A Dictionary of American Sign Language on Linguistic Principles* written by William Stokoe, Dorothy Casterline, and Carl Croneberg (1965). This ultimately led to a focus on showing deaf people were part of a linguistic and cultural minority group. The aim was to explain the deaf experience to non-deaf people. The work of Stokoe (see Chapter 4, Linguistics), Harlan Lane, and the early works of Carol Padden, Tom Humphries, and Barbara Kannapell (to name a few) also fell into this category. Attempting to challenge the prevailing *medical model* or pathological view of deafness, these, and other scholars, pushed for a way to identify deaf people as a minority group.

In particular, Stokoe's research led to the creation of the Linguistic Research Laboratory (LRL) at Gallaudet University, which introduced a space for cultural discourse that, according to Murray (2017), nurtured an environment for people intending to create "social change" (p. 81). This new space allowed for a sort of self-discovery for deaf people. They were learning to be deaf in new ways: "The LRL was a space in which they found a new way of understanding themselves as a cultural and linguistic minority" (Murray, 2017, p. 82).

The recognition that deaf people had a unique culture was the second co-occurring event that created Deaf Studies. This was a political movement, which not only influenced how deaf people saw themselves and, thus, recognized their behaviors as entirely cultural, but also one that would bleed over into the field of interpreting itself. Interpreters would need to be seen as not only competent in the language but also in Deaf culture (Philip, 1997, cited in Murray, 2017, p. 89). For example, the Deaf President Now (DPN) movement in 1988 had a major effect on deaf people's agency. It resulted in the installation of the first deaf president at Gallaudet University, which received global attention. One cannot deny the significance of this achievement, as it was the first time, perhaps in history, that deaf people were allowed to control their destiny (see Christiansen & Barnartt, 1995), with their success being witnessed via the media across the globe.

Although a relatively young field, Deaf Studies is another relevant way in which to examine interpreting, for interpreting will not be

successful without an understanding of those who might take advantage of our work. Deaf Studies, as with feminist studies, takes advantage of the ideas found in both sociology and anthropology—indeed, the savvy reader is now asking herself, "will there be a section on Hearing Studies?" This is a good question that can be answered as such: "Academia and interpreting has been dominated by those who could hear; therefore, the whole field could be seen as 'Hearing Studies.' "

Deaf Studies has been around in various departments around the world including "Gallaudet University in the United States, Centre for Deaf Studies (CDS) at the University of Bristol, England, and the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand" (O'Brien, 2017, p. 57).

Deaf Studies is not simply about sign language and Deaf culture. It concerns an interdisciplinary field that explores, as O'Brien (2017) and Marschark and Spencer (2011) suggested, the study of anything linked to deaf people, language acquisition, and sign language interpretation. That does not mean that Deaf Studies has not evolved. Instead, it becomes clear that:

> similar to Feminism, Deaf Studies has suffered from essentializing. Little or no mention is made of the cultural significance of different groups within Deaf communities—they are all constructed as sharing the same culture in equal measure. Furthermore, although limited mention is made of Deaf families, hard of hearing and mainstreamed Deaf young people and the like, there is almost no mention of the distinction of class, race, gender, age and sexual orientation. (Ladd, 2003, p. 260, cited in De Meulder, 2017, p. 103)

Rather than exploring the uniqueness of the myriad people who make up the larger category (i.e., deaf people), academics have lumped all deaf people into one group. While this might be useful in terms of talking points, this aggregation is problematic when it comes to identity recognition.

SUMMARY

Throughout this chapter, we have provided an overview of some of the thinkers who have influenced the fields of anthropology and

sociology. Their efforts have so influenced our lives that they are ingrained into the very fabric of society. This is often unrecognized. Within interpreting the ideas of these two disciplines appear without much fanfare. We discuss "cultural capital," "identity," "power and privilege," "groups," "invoicing," and "certification" all without the type of critical examination that otherwise comes with a sociocultural eye.

We have also provided an overview of other disciplines that benefit from both sociology and anthropology, particularly Deaf Studies, feminism, and cultural studies, which have already made noted contributions to IS. It is likely they will continue and that their contributions will only improve our understanding of interpreting as a social phenomenon.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the social institutions that influence the work of sign language interpreters?
2. It is becoming more common for interpreters to appear alongside government officials during times of disaster. How can sociocultural examinations help to understand this phenomenon?
3. How is your behavior as an interpreter shaped by discursive practices?
4. What are some possible interpreting phenomena that can be explored through a sociological lens?

FURTHER READINGS

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6 Through the Lens of Social Psychology

Any psychology of sign systems will be part of social psychology — that is to say, will be exclusively social; it will involve the same psychology as is applicable in the case of languages.
—Ferdinand de Saussure

Social psychology has always been a part of the framework used to understand interpreting. Why shouldn't it be? Any discussion of the field must include a discussion of how the environment influences one's decisions. What sign should I use to indicate a person with a limp? How should I sign "making love" without showing the nondeaf onlookers a sign they will surely want to show their friends? If I wear a tie but the deaf person doesn't, will I make them look bad? These are some questions that expose people's dependency on social psychology.

BY THE end of this chapter, you should be able to:

1. define and discuss the significance of social psychology in relation to interpreting
2. identify the key figures and their contribution to the field of social psychology
3. explain how society affects how individuals come to be identified as interpreters
4. discuss how self-image is developed.

Social psychology is focused on how individuals interpret and assign meaning to the world around them. This body of work is found

at the nexus of sociology and psychology. Through social psychology's micro-level analysis, we can explore how an individual experiences everyday events and interactions. There are three central, interdependent concepts that we get from social psychology: self, identity, and role.

In 2015, the RID board of directors announced that there would be a moratorium on all performance testing starting in January 2016.[1] The reasons for this moratorium were unclear, at least to the authors, and the announcement surprised even those within this members' own organization. It meant that sign language interpreters in the United States would be unable to become "certified" by this body until the moratorium was lifted. A multitude of questions were then raised: How does this decision affect sign language interpreters and their identity? How does this decision affect the RID's reputation? Will this moratorium affect the trust consumers have in interpreters and their professional association?

Through the shared appreciation of the significance of an interpreting credential and the authority of the credentialing body, interpreters share an *identity* with each other. Identity and *culture* are interconnected. The anthropologist Toon van Meijl (2008) suggests that "identity came to be understood as the historically and culturally rooted self-image of a group of people that was predominantly sketched and sharpened in contact vis-à-vis other groups of peoples" (p. 170).

Identities shape how people respond to and experience the environments in which they are embedded. As we will see, identity is a fluid concept containing additional sub-identities and co-occurring identities that emerge and exert influence over the work of sign language interpreters. Identity and its study fall under the field of social psychology, a sub-field of sociology that intersects with psychology. Sociology (see Chapter 5) focuses on the interactions between people and various social structures, which shape and influence their lives. Social psychology, on the other hand, is interested in the specific ways in which social contexts influence how people think, feel, and behave, and falls under what is referred to as microsociology.

1. The moratorium continued for the legal certification SC:L, while the general National Interpreter Certification (NIC) was once again offered shortly after.

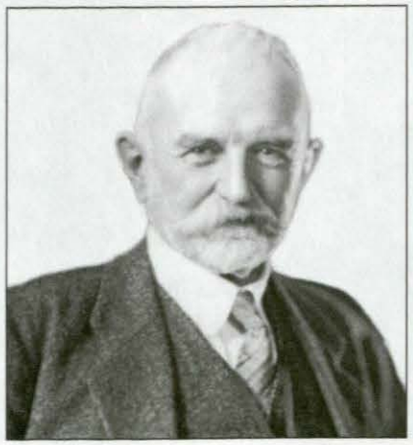
The works of two key scholars within social psychology have both directly and indirectly shaped the work of interpreters: George Herbert Mead and Erving Goffman. Each developed and wrote about various concepts that interpreters encounter every day in their work.

GEORGE HERBERT MEAD: THE SELF

As both a psychologist and a sociologist, it makes sense that George Herbert Mead would want to examine the intersection of how the mind is influenced by society. One of Mead's most significant contributions to both sociology and psychology was the understanding of the development of *self*, which he imagined as contextually and environmentally produced; to him, the "self" is the by-product of the social environment in which the individual finds themselves:

> What goes to make up the organized self is the organization of the attitudes which are common to the group. A person is a personality because he belongs to a community, because he takes over the institutions of that community into his own conduct. (Mead, 1934, p. 162)

Here, Mead reminds us that people are a product of their environment, which involves relationships to others in that environment. Consider a black man in the United States. We might want to refer



George Herbert Mead

to him as an African American. However, if he were to travel to either the Caribbean or Africa, he would quickly find out that he is simply an American. This is because his environment has changed and, therefore, others' point of reference to gauge his identity has also changed.

Gallaudet University professor H-Dirksen Bauman has been known to state he "became hearing" (Bauman, 2015) in his early 20s. Of course, he does not mean he was finally able to hear but rather that he now recognized there were people who could not hear and who identified him as a "hearing" person (or *Other*). Bauman began to view himself differently. This is a common experience among many non-native users of a signed language. In this way, Bauman is expressing the same idea that Mead expressed in relation to the "self."

Bauman is also participating in a "discursive practice" (see Chapter 5, Sociology). That is, the word "hearing" and how Deaf people use it, versus its everyday use, is embedded in power relations. When Deaf people use this sign, they are referring to someone who

Self reflection

is not familiar with or does not have respect for both Deaf culture and Deaf people. These could be people who have (intentionally or unintentionally) oppressed deaf people. The main point is that they are outsiders.

The sign they use is HEARING, which is also used in the United States to mean SAY. A person can SAY something and not be HEARING. Furthermore, one can hear and not be HEARING. However, Bauman (and interpreters) often use this sign and spoken word for all people who can hear. When they see the sign, they interpret the word as "hearing," which is a literal translation done without an appreciation for the political meaning behind the sign. Its meaning is what Cokely (2001) refers to as being *culturally rich*. Whether Bauman is aware of his participation in this discursive practice, we cannot say, but we do suggest it is at play here. As we stated in Chapter 1, we have opted to use "non-deaf" when referring to people who might typically be referred to as "hearing." In this way, we are unabashedly participating in discursive practices.

The self requires *reflexivity*, or the ability for one to view herself and her actions in a context to better understand both. That is, it requires that there is an "I" that can consider an object that is "me." The term *self* includes both the actor who thinks ("I am thinking") and the object of thinking ("about me"). Moreover, the actor both is able to think and be aware of thinking. As the philosopher [René Descartes] famously asserted, "I think, therefore I am."[2] Awareness of having thoughts matters (Oyserman, Elmore, & Smith, 2012, p. 71).

Sign language interpreters often employ the "self" when they are attempting to produce an interpretation. Consider for a moment how we gauge whether our interpretation is accurate. Sometimes, this can be gauged when we are able to rely on the consumers for immediate feedback (e.g., a lifted eyebrow, or a direct or follow-up question, among other possibilities). At other times, we attempt to employ the "I" and "me" of Mead's analysis; that is, we (I) look at ourselves (me) in our mind's eye. We watch (and re-watch) our interpretation to determine if it looks or sounds correct.

2. In Oyserman, Elmore, and Smith (2012), the authors credit John Locke with this saying.

As children, we are developing our self. The self is not static or unitary. That is, in some situations we might have a particular self while in others we have a different self. Snyder (1980) provided further description when explaining that although we

> assume that people are fairly consistent and stable beings . . . this is not always so: each of us, it appears, may have not one but many selves. Moreover, much as we might like to believe that the self is an integral feature of personal identity, it appears that, to a greater extent, the self is a product of the individual's relationships with other people. (p. 84)

Snyder reminds us that our self, or at least the "self" we present, depends on where that presentation occurs and to whom we are presenting. The work of interpreting requires that we consider these two factors while interpreting. Not only must we present the self of another while we are interpreting, we are also presenting one of our *selfs*.[3] When we walk into the job, introduce ourselves to the consumers, and assert what we need to do our job effectively, we are attempting to inspire confidence in our consumers while, for example, a deaf person presents a topic that we know very little about and we must interpret it into a signed language; all of these are moments of presentation.

Although "identity" and "self" have been used interchangeably (Swann & Bosson, 2010), the former typically refers to a sense of belonging. Bucholtz and Hall (2010) defined identity as the "social positioning of self and other" (p. 18), while Durkheim (1951) posed important questions regarding whether people are part of or are disenfranchised from certain groups. In his study of suicide, Durkheim found that people who had strong social ties to institutions such as family and religion were less likely to commit suicide. Membership in a group, he suggested, could influence a person's decision to commit suicide.

Regardless of one's occupation, group affiliation and the identities developed and maintained through these affiliations are important for development of identity and self. Sign language interpreters are members of a various social groups. Identities and selfs are not static

3. The use of "selfs" is distinguished from "selves" in that the former is the plural of "self," and the "self" is reflexive, as opposed to the inactive noun "selves."

and can co-occur. Interpreters are members of a profession, community, nation, while also being mothers, heritage signers (or both), and can be deaf or partnered with a deaf person. Other identities are developed around how one enters the field. Did the interpreter enter the field through the community or through an interpreter training program? Each of these categories subsequently shapes the interpreter's work.

Key Questions

Reflect on your own pathway into the field of interpreting.

- How does it shape your identity?
- What identity do people assign to you upon discovering you work as an interpreter?

ERVING GOFFMAN: IDENTITY AND ROLE

Identity has always held significance in society, and is the focus of sociology and anthropology. Erving Goffman was a sociologist whose work often appears in IS because of his appeal to sociolinguists. His work focused on the interactions between people, and partly examined these relations through language. Of course, there are other ways in which we interact. That is, we also interact through body movement, our clothing, where we stand, and so forth. All of these were areas that Goffman wrote about extensively.

Erving Goffman

Goffman used the analogy of a theater to explain human interaction, he refers to it as the *dramaturgical* analysis of the every day. In his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman suggested that every day we are participating in a performance. During the performance, we take advantage of our clothes, props, demeanor, and the environment to make our performance believable. This necessarily suggests that our performance is influenced, at least in part, by the audience. Consider a stand-up comedian who changes their comedy routine to include local events. While the goal and some of the comedic material remains unchanged, the comedian who includes local information is able to draw in the audience more.

Think for a moment about sign language interpreters. Our performance as professionals often employs these same components. Our clothes (or costumes as Goffman referred to it) are usually solid colors and appropriate for the institutions we find ourselves working in. Most interpreters learn early that a deaf person who must watch an interpreter wearing polka dots will quickly experience eye-fatigue. (Although many interpreters have experienced interpreting to and from a deaf person who has decided to wear polka dots or stripes.) Often interpreters, in some countries are told to wear contrasting solid colors by teachers during training programs and by assessment boards. People we interact with then come to expect that we will wear contrasting colors. When we do not do this, we are questioned by consumers.

We also carry our props with us. For example, interpreters may carry tools (e.g., a pencil and drawing paper) to communicate clearly to someone who is foreign born or to assist their team. Also, an interpreter may simply carry her professional association's membership card. In states with a licensure requirement, interpreters are ever ready to present this prop to prove they are a member of the field and are endorsed by the State to provide interpreting services.

Another way we present ourselves is our behavior (or demeanor as Goffman referred to it). When interpreters walk into an assignment, to whom do we approach first? We typically introduce ourselves to the deaf person, if they are there, and then go on to introduce ourselves to the non-deaf person. We stand or sit at the front of the room.

We place ourselves across from where the deaf person will sit. (This is different, for example, from spoken language interpreters who will place themselves next to the interpreted party or at the side or back of a room if a booth is present.) These are all given meaning because of the environment in which it all takes place.

A related concept with similar significance in Goffman's (1961) work is the notion of *role*, which, he asserted, "consists of the activity the incumbent would engage in were he [sic] to act solely in terms of the normative demands upon someone in his position" (p. 85). Role refers to what is expected of individuals. Another way to think about this is to consider what it is your expected to do and by whom. You are a student; you are expected to attend classes, read your assigned readings, and complete your homework. These are not the only normative expectations, however. Professors expect that students will read more than assigned, and that they will ask insightful questions during lectures, not simply when the assignment is due. Professors also expect students to be as excited about the material as they are. Your professors also have expectations placed on them. They are expected to present information, assign work, and evaluate your progress. Additional responsibilities involve being personable, recruiting students to the university, sitting on several committees, and publishing their research. As you can see, expectations depend on the person's role. Interpreters, deaf people, and lay users of our services may have different expectations. Our job is often as much about interpreting as it is negotiating competing and sometimes mistaken expectations.

As Hlavac (2017) noted, many still have an assumption that interpreters work only out of the goodness of our hearts: "Social responsibility and altruism still figure prominently in lay conceptualisations of interpreters—from the 'helpful bilingual' to the person who 'assists with translation' " (p. 197). And our profession has always been obsessed with the roles of interpreters and the metaphors we use to describe ourselves (see Roy, 1993). In the United States, the RID and its various metaphors of practice (e.g., helper, machine, communication facilitator, and bi–bi, as discussed in Chapter 1) are all about the roles interpreters will occupy during an interpreted interaction. Likewise, Llewellyn-Jones and Lee (2014) developed a model that attempts to challenge the current thinking about the prescriptive

roles for interpreters with three axes for considering: presentation of self (drawing on Goffman, 1959), alignment (drawing on Giles, Coupland, and Coupland, 1991), and interaction management (drawing on Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998).

Early writings on interpreters and their role were written by a sociologist, Bruce Anderson (1976; 1978). He suggested that interpreters hold a great deal of power while carrying out their duties. He also suggested that understanding the work of interpreters, sociologically speaking, could help build intercultural awareness—his area of interest at the time—when he wrote, "understanding the role of the interpreter may also aid understanding of interaction between people of different statuses and backgrounds within a single-language community" (Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002, p. 210).

Role and identity are closely related concepts. People often identify with their roles. An officer is an officer even when not on duty. They are likely to see everyone as either a law-abiding citizen or a criminal. When we introduce ourselves we often refer to our identity as our role. When a police officer says, "I am an officer," she is stating, "I am a member of the body that protects society."

The *geopolitics* of recent years has forced identity into the spotlight. For example, after the 9/11 attacks on the Twin Towers in New York City, what it meant to be an American was discussed in classrooms, around dinner tables, and during news conferences. An "us" versus "them" took hold throughout the country. Furthermore, the global debates around emigration are caught up in the fervor of *identity politics*, much of which is judged based on *phenotypes*. That is, whether someone looks like they "belong" continues to be shaped by our ideas and our actions. In the US, these debates center on what it means to be (or look like) an American. Is it enough to be native born or are there additional criteria that must be satisfied? Recent political debates have framed this issue as "immigration reform" upon which advocates for stricter immigration laws and can be referred to, according to Johnson, Farrell, and Guinn (1997), as a "nativist backlash," or a:

> growing intolerance among native Americans (i.e., those who were born in the United States of parents who were also born in America) of immigrants, and growing opposition to what is perceived to be the nation's open door immigration policy on the one hand and its seeming inability to stem the tide of illegal immigration on the other. (Brimelow, 1995, cited in Johnson et al., 1997, p. 1060)

This issue was perhaps most poignant in the 2016 US presidential race in which identity became front and center. During this period, we witnessed former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton being labeled an "insider," while billionaire real-estate mogul Donald J. Trump was touted as an "outsider." Another identity marker that some suggested played a significant role, at least in Clinton's first run for the presidency, was gender (see Carroll, 2009). The candidate herself also discussed the issue during her second, albeit failed but more successful, run in 2016. When Clinton won the Democratic Party's nomination, she made an impassioned speech about breaking the *glass ceiling*.

The significance of identity is certainly not limited to the US. In 2014, Scotland held a referendum to dissolve its union (created in 1707) and leave the UK. Some suggested this move, which was spearheaded by the nationalist dread expounded by Scottish First Minister Alex Slamond, who served from 2007 to 2014, was also about identity politics (Erlanger & Cowell, 2014). While this referendum was defeated, similar debates arose in the following two years, which led to what became known as Brexit—or Britain's vote to leave the EU.

The Brexit vote, which was successful, flamed "us" versus "them" ideologies. The British referendum was also clearly about identity, particularly in relation to the perceived "threat" of immigration. As Cuerden and Rogers (2017) remarked, "this political issue [immigration] seems to have been a major contributing factor in the decision to leave the EU, but it may also have encouraged some individuals to engage in open hostility towards immigrants across the country" (p. 158). As we can see, identity is a global issue and can center around visible characteristics (i.e., skin pigmentation). This can also happen with behaviors (i.e., speaking versus signing).

As we go through our lives, we come in contact with a diverse range of people. This happens first with our family, then later through school, friends, and mass media. Each of these *agents of socialization* helps shape individuals and inform their view of the world.

England and Scotland road sign

Interpreters should consider the influence of identity of everyone involved, including their own, on any given interaction which forms part of their work. Throughout this chapter, we discuss the various ways in which identity intersects with interpreting.

Identity is how one sees oneself and how one portrays oneself to others. Berger and Luckmann (1966) in their highly influential book *The Social Construction of Reality* outlined how identity is created and maintained:

> Identity is, of course, a key element of subjective reality and, like all subjective reality, stands in a dialectical relationship with society. Identity is formed by social processes. Once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations. (p. 194)

Here, Berger and Luckmann explain the relationship between an individual and society, one that is interdependent. Individuals are shaped by society but they are also shaping society. Berger and Luckmann (1966) are not suggesting that we are all puppets of society and are not participating in creating our identities. We have some control over

our identity but we have to employ the mechanisms available in society. For a great example, look at singer Miley Cyrus.

When she first became an American celebrity, it was on the hit Disney series *Hannah Montana* playing a singer with a secret identity (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uVjRe8QXFHY). When the show ended in 2011, Cyrus decided to reinvent her identity. She used the same media attention that made her famous as Hannah Montana to help her shed the wholesome persona in favor of one that was grittier. She was regularly photographed by the paparazzi in revealing outfits and carried this highly sexualized identity into her public appearances. The culmination of which occurred at the 2013 MTV Video Music Awards, during her performance she demonstrated that she was no longer the girl we watched growing up on the Disney Channel, but rather a young woman who was in control of her sexuality (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YFLv9Ns1EuQ). She has been very successful in not being identified as Hannah any longer.

We agree with Berger and Luckmann's notion of the subjective-social. In order to fully understand the work of sign language interpreters, we must also understand the social processes and social relationships we find ourselves in. These are integral to developing identities as group members and professionals.

Identity and role often interact when people come together. This is no different for interpreters. We are people who have identities and expected roles. In a recent turn in sociolinguistic studies (McKee & Awheto, 2010), researchers are collaborating with practitioners as they reflect upon their work—the continuous struggle to make appropriate choices in multilingual, multicultural settings. They focus on themes such as *co-constructing* the event, language challenges, the importance of *social identity*, and responsibilities invoked by the interpreter's cultural allegiance.

These issues can manifest in any interpreting situation, ranging from those involving deaf children to those involving trilingual interpreters working with indigenous deaf people. For example, McKee and Awheto (2010) explained:

> how the interpreter, from her own cultural position as a trilingual Māori woman, responds to the sociocultural dimensions of the event in negotiating her role. Her macro-level awareness of peoples' intentions, identities, and varying cultural schemas for

> the event determine the way in which she mediates interaction, often motivating her to take participant positions that depart from the "normative" interpreter role. (p. 87)

Together, they examined how the interpreter negotiated her positions in a trilingual situation involving non-deaf, deaf, Māori, and Pākehā participants with disparate cultural schemas and discourse repertoires.[4] Their analysis of how Awheto explained her actions and behaviors highlighted her highly visible position and her multiple footings as the interaction unfolded. The interpreter's concern for protecting the integrity of the participants' cultural norms was moving. At times, she even positioned herself as a mediator, "encouraging each party to make their perspectives more explicit to the other, in order to mitigate potential social damage within and beyond the event" (McKee & Awheto, 2010, p. 113).

This case highlights the interpreter's identity as she negotiates her role in a given interaction. In mediating communication in this situation her decisions are clearly shaped by her own identity, her ethnic alliance with, and social network knowledge of, other participants.

Key Questions

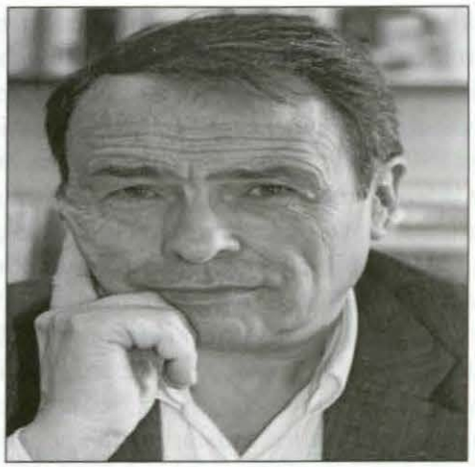
- How do you identify yourself? How do others identify you?
- What various roles do you take on?

PIERRE BOURDIEU: HABITUS

Through our various experiences, which are shaped by our identity, roles, and understanding of self, we develop what is known as schemas, or frameworks for understanding our actions and interactions with others. Consider when one decides to go to a sit-down restaurant versus a fast food restaurant.

When one mentions a sit-down restaurant, people immediately begin to consider costs, attire, and seating arrangements. They realize

4. Māori people are indigenous New Zealanders, and Pākehā people are non-Māori New Zealanders of European ancestry.



Pierre Bourdieu

that when they arrive they will be greeted by a host, and will be seated and handed a menu. There will be silverware and a napkin on their table. They know they are to use the napkin for the remnants of food left on their face and mouths and to clean up any food that has fallen onto their shirts. They know that eventually someone will bring them water, ask for their drink orders, and explain the specials. At the end of their meal, they know, from experience, that they will be offered coffee and dessert and eventually handed a bill. This is a generic restaurant schema.

Our reactions to the world we live in and the daily events we encounter are shaped by such schemas. Schemas often refer to those ideas we have about a particular phenomenon. It is part of what Pierre Bourdieu (1977) referred to as our *habitus*, which includes our ways of acting, thinking, and feeling. This encompasses the various schemas we hold. Both are informed by our race, gender, sexuality, socioeconomic status, abilities, religion, and a whole host of other identities we possess. Thinking back to the recent generic restaurant example, where a person is accustomed to eating is dependent on their identity (i.e., if you are an observant Jew you will likely eat at a kosher restaurant). A wealthy person might expect that the napkins are made of cloth while a person who does not have a lot of money might expect that the napkins will be in a dispenser on the table, rather than folded

elaborately on the table. Our habitus then shapes how we respond to situations we are in. For Bourdieu, this allowed for the perpetuation of social class. We can also apply this concept to the field of interpreting. Our beliefs and experiences shape our interpretation.

In the early 1990s, Brunson taught a class on English to American Sign Language interpreting at a local college. The class had approximately 15 students. As is common in these classes, only 2 of the students were male. The in-class assignment was to interpret a doctor's appointment for a female who was being told she needed to schedule a mammography. While reviewing the students' work, he realized that the women all grimaced while interpreting "mammography." The men in the class, on the other hand, all had awkward smiles and also decided, when indicating the actual test, to touch the palms of both hands in front of their chests, thus, interpreting the breast would be completely flattened. Over the years, Brunson continued to use this assignment and without fail, found his male students persistently exhibit the same smiling and crushing action that caused the women to grimace; although the women were indicating the squeezing of a breast, they were very careful not to have the palms touch. What can we learn from this class and the students' interpretations? This demonstrates that the women and men both have two different schemas when it comes to mammography tests. The male students, who have likely neither experienced nor even talked with women about the process, had not realized that this would be an uncomfortable test. They also did not consider what it would mean if their interpretation included the two hands touching palms in front of their chest. This is one example of how our schema (or lack thereof) informs our habitus, which in turn, shapes an interpretation.

Borrowing from the sociology of translation, IS scholars have employed Bourdieu's concept of habitus although the discussions are not always couched in this terminology. According to Wolf (2012), one benefit of drawing on the sociology of translation is that

> the relations of power underlying any process of translation in its various stages have been foregrounded already by culturally oriented approaches, but now they can be connected to the translation's and the translator's situatedness in society. (p. 11)

Wolf reminds us that people are all embedded in social relations, which, in turn, influence how we react to every situation, including both translation and interpretation. To better understand the work of interpreters we must do so in context. This means to explore not only the interpreter's actions but various social influences that shape those actions.

In his study of VRS providers, Brunson (2011) demonstrated how habitus influences interpreted events. At least two interpreters in his study spoke about how race, identity, self, and previous experiences (without using these terms) influenced their behaviors while interpreting. One (who referred to himself as D. Vahded) explained how a person's visible traits (i.e., race) influences his interpretation:

> If I have a black caller and he is using (oc: starts to rock body) his urban colloquial, and his counterpart is on the same level, do I want to keep it white bread (signifies a higher level/register)?[5] Or do I want to bring it to that level (bring it down)?[6] (Brunson, 2011, p. 96)

D. Vahded probably does not realize that his behavior could be construed as racist, nor does he recognize that he is bringing in his own belief about black people and through his actions he is reinforcing stereotypes.

Another interpreter, Sarah, recognized (albeit late) that she was also bringing herself into the interpretation when someone who was wearing a "white turban thing" (p. 97). After seeing the caller spell his name as J-A-M-E-S, Sarah attempted to pronounce it as if the caller were from the Middle East. It was not until the non-deaf caller clarified that the caller's name was indeed James, as it's pronounced in American English, that Sarah realized the schema operating in her head and its influence on her interpretation. Given the schemas produced by how identity influences politics throughout the world, it is not surprising that both D. Vahded and Sarah made the decisions they made. They both demonstrate that we are products of our environment.

5. Comment was signed and spoken simultaneously.
6. Comment was signed and spoken simultaneously.

Key Questions

- What is your schema for getting a driver's license?
- What is your habitus for the process of getting a driver's license?

POLITICS OF INTERPRETING AND OTHERING

The *dialectical* relationship between identity and society possesses, among other factors, a political dimension. Who we are and how we behave is a product of how we think others perceive us. Our identity is influenced by our position and responsibilities in any particular moment and setting; and it is shaped by our previous experiences. Therefore, it is a response to those around us. Throughout the history of the practice of interpreting, and briefly discussed in the history chapter (Chapter 2), who the interpreter is—perceived or actual—or with whom she appears to identify was a factor that had to be considered by the parties involved in the interpreted event.

There is a significant amount of literature that has addressed the politics of the interpreter. According to Marcos Sarmiento Pérez (2011) the identity of the interpreter was paramount in the colonization of the Canary Islands (see Figure 6.1). "Beyond mere knowledge of two languages, the interpreters' kinship or cultural proximity with the islanders played a key role in achieving the goals of the conquerors" (Sarmiento Pérez, 2011, p. 172). Although not the focus of Pérez's argument, we can assume that this was also the case for the other colonization practices that occurred throughout the world.

Sarmiento Pérez suggests that the identity of the interpreter was partly political and supported conquest. Tryuk (2010) has also demonstrated this in his exploration of interpreting that occurred in the Nazi camps during World War II. Tryuk suggests that in some situations the benefits of having an interpreter was superseded by *macro-level* politics.

> They were singled out as *Lagerdolmetscher* (camp interpreters) . . . [who] often had to perform this function in addition to their other activities forced upon them as inmates. Their work

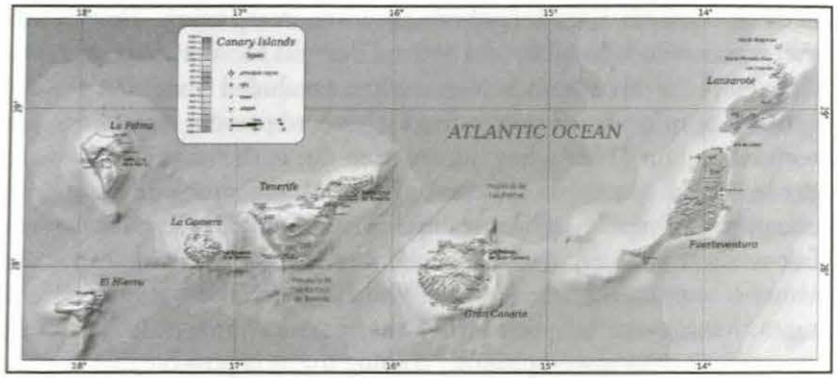


Figure 6.1. Canary Islands

> as interpreters did not guarantee them any privileges in terms of how they were treated, such as additional rations. Nor did it guarantee them survival. Their knowledge of German did however give them access to information and enable them to communicate better with other inmate functionaries, and in addition simply allowed them to help others. (p. 130)

What is also of interest here is that being an interpreter, which is often regarded as a privileged position, can enable political acts of resistance. Furthermore, we see the politics involved in interpreting in the account provided by Lung (2009) in her analysis of first-century Chinese translating and interpreting (*yi*):

> In this regard, yi (understood either as an interpreter or as an interpreting act) serves not only as an indispensable "tool" to bridge communication between the Inspector and the tribal peoples, but also as propaganda to trumpet the Han governance among the indigenous population. (p. 125)

Once again, the role of the interpreter as an agent of subjugation plays out here and occurs at a state or empire level.

Let us consider the relevance of the yi's (or interpreter's) concerns about the neutrality of the yi (or interpreter) in modern times. Within most if not all codes of professional (interpreter) conduct there is mention of neutrality. In the United States, interpreters who work in legal settings are often discouraged from having an unclear line

of distinction vis-à-vis for whom they are interpreting. That is, an interpreter who is hired by the defense counsel to interpret a meeting between the attorney and a client is often precluded from interpreting for the Court in related proceedings. This is to prevent the interpreter from relying on or including information not in the immediate source text in the interpretation. An example of this might include that while interpreting for the defense counsel and her client, the client states that when the car accident happened he was "coming to a stop" and is sure to emphasize "coming to." While in court, the same defendant states that he was "stopped" when the accident happened. This time, however, he does not emphasize "coming to." It is possible that the interpreter, having already interpreted the defense counsel meeting, will decide to emphasize "coming to" in the utterance, which would be using information from a previous assignment. Any motion challenging the interpretation would likely be sustained as the interpretation would be inaccurate.

While interpreters attempt to separate themselves from previous jobs, if we have done our jobs (i.e., considered what we have interpreted) then it is difficult to "unknow" that information. It could inadvertently show up in our next interpretation. Here we see that interpreters are instruments of various institutions and so adopt these rules of neutrality and yet this may not be a value of the sign language community they are also serving (see Rudvin, 2007, for a comparable example in the spoken language interpreting field).

Brunson (2011) found that some interpreters who had deaf parents preferred to work in video relay service centers rather than educational, legal, or medical settings because it allowed them to work with people they would likely not know and would likely not know they had family members who were deaf. This need to separate oneself from one's group may or may not be a value held by the group. Yet as individuals the dialectical relationship we engage in with society (both group society and mainstream society) can lead us to developing a professional identity that differs from our private identity.

Interpreters routinely move in and out of these "worlds" or spaces with their own rules and norms throughout their days and lives. For this reason, their identities may change as they enter and exit these different "worlds." Given that identities are not fixed, Turner (2005) reminded us to question not *what* identities are involved in

interactions, but "*who* are the participants in this interaction being now?" (p. 33; italics added). This is useful advice for all interpreters. Asking ourselves this question reminds us to consider for whom we are interpreting, how they are related to one another, and how they may relate to us.

As we have suggested, identity is always being produced in relation and reaction to situations and people. The fluid nature of identity points to the ways that identity does not belong to one person but to all the people in the given event as they help to co-produce the identities of each other (Urrieta, 2007). This process clearly occurs within Deaf communities in which people are seen as members (or outsiders) based on their relationship to the *subgroups* or entirety of a community.

Sign language users can also be judged by their language use; although, this is not unique to such groups:

> The use of a particular language or form of language can be an important element of identity, and aspects of identity, such as gender, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, as well as moral status, are constructed and ascribed in the process of using language. (Temple & Edwards, 2002, p. 3)

This plays out as we grow up in and outside of school, with the language we use at home and the language that we use with our friends. And as professionals it also plays out in the language and language style we use to present ourselves in interpreting situations.

As Temple and Edwards (2002) continued, "language is an important part of conceptualization, incorporating values and beliefs, not just a tool or technical label for conveying concepts" (p. 3). Language is how we connect with each other and share information. It is through language that communities are formed and maintained. For example, as Baker and Padden (1978) have asserted, the most unifying characteristics of the American Deaf Community is a common language, American Sign Language. In their study of Algerian Jewish Sign Language (AJSL) users, Lanesman and Meir (2012) found that the use of AJSL was a strong identity marker. "By choosing to use ISL [Israeli Sign Language] in the public sphere AJSL users signaled their identity as members of the Israeli Deaf community" (p. 168). Due to the significance of language and its role in identity and community

building, we believe that interpreting is, in part, about the production, reinforcement, and transmission of identity of all speakers, which includes interpreters themselves.

We know from Lane (1999) that "Deaf identity is highly valued" (p. 17). By who? Interpreters have to remember this while they are working because it directly impacts the way information is conveyed. Think for a moment about interpreting the following statement for a Deaf person, "Are there going to be any other hearing-impaired people in the room?" If we assume the question was not intended to be offensive, then we would want to choose a set of signs that would convey the genuine question. If, on the other hand, the question was intended to be an insult to the Deaf person, we would choose another set of signs.

Sign language interpreters' identity is tied to their work with deaf people. That is, have you ever heard a sign language interpreter refer to themselves as a community? Perhaps they have said "the interpreting community" believes this or that. Or you may have seen someone say how does this affect the "interpreting community?" This has often led to misuse of the term "community" when its use may merely be a misappropriation of a culturally rich sign language concept, narrowing its meaning to "network."

Furthermore, interpreters are routinely engaged in what Kreher (2013) referred to as "border crossing." Interpreters work at the figurative borders between two (or more) worlds. Here, Kreher drew on the work of Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) who articulated the tangible and intangible spaces of borders. As border crossers, we need to be mindful of how we present identity-laden talk to those who are fellow border crossers (e.g., other interpreters) and to those who do not cross those borders.

The field of sign language interpreting has a long history of participating in identity politics. Take for example the delay in establishing an educational specialty certification for sign language interpreting within the United States. Until the EIPA K–12 certification (see Chapter 2, History) was accepted by the RID, those who worked solely in educational settings and did not hold a certification from the RID may not have been considered a part of the interpreting profession. Some have argued that this was intentional.

When the RID was established, schools for deaf people existed around the country. These social institutions were paramount in creating a sense of self and identity among the nation's deaf children. In these environments, deaf people were able to use American Sign Language. Deaf adults acted as role models as they held positions as teachers, staff, and administrators. Having direct communication with each other allowed for the development of a shared identity that became the draw of schools for the deaf. This draw continues today for both residential schools and Gallaudet University.

Interpreters in educational settings would have been a barrier to direct communication that was a sought-after commodity in these institutions. Therefore, when the RID was established, the founders focused on community or public interpreting. Although the RID was established in the mid-sixties and the law that gave rights to persons with disabilities in educational settings to a "free, appropriate public education (FAPE)" was not passed until over 10 years later in 1975, the RID has, to date, not created an educational interpreting credential and only in the early part of the 21st century granted recognition to those who held an educational interpreting credential. This could be seen as the RID's way of supporting the wants of deaf community members, (i.e., keeping interpreters out of the classroom). Although residential schools were and are a perpetuation of segregation, they provide a space for deaf people to learn a signed language, develop long-lasting relationships, and are seen as positive by many Deaf organizations including the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD).

Smith (2013) suggested that interpreters in educational settings have only recently gained their due recognition: "Only in the past two decades has the field of interpreting begun to critically examine and legitimize the work of interpreters in K–12 settings" (p. 15). It could be said that K–12 educational interpreters historically suffer from what Goffman (1963) referred to as a *stigma*. That is, these interpreters have yet to gain acceptance from the larger profession of sign language interpreters. We suggest that their social identity is discredited. Deaf people also have a discredited social identity, or stigma, because they are perceived as disabled (Goffman, 1963); and there is a perception of all interpreters as altruistic and helpful bilinguals

(Hlavac, 2017), which has led to the underpaid educational interpreter. Alternatively, we could understand this from a frame about colonization or conquering (as with the Canary Islands discussed previously). If we take this perspective then the RID, by refusing to legitimize educational interpreting, was supporting the lower status of deaf "natives" rather than supporting the aim of the conquering mainstream society.

Key Questions

- In what setting do you plan to (or do you) work as an interpreter?
- What are the politics that influence your decision to work in that setting?
- What politics do you expect to experience or have experienced in that setting?

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

The overarching identity of interpreters in most countries is one of professionalism. In 1985, more than 20 years after the RID was established, Braden (1985) began contemplating the identity of sign language interpreters in the US. Drawing on research from the field of sociology of work and the professions, he laid out the various characteristics of recognized *professions*, which are still used today. These include:

1. specialized command of a body of knowledge (theory), which is applied to define and solve the problem of the client or society;
2. an extended period of training to acquire expertise necessary to perform the function of the profession;
3. exclusive ownership of the body of knowledge claimed by the profession (neither too narrow or too broad in focus);
4. an ideal of service putting client needs above all other demands (especially personal needs); and
5. license/autonomy from society for performing and policing the profession in the public interest.

For interpreters to be recognized, and thus gain, the identity of a professional, they must be able to have a theoretical foundation for their work. Our field has this done with metaphors of practice (as mentioned in Chapter 1, The Discipline of Interpreting Studies), such as helper, conduit, bi-bi, and ally rather than theories. We have also begun to develop a theory of understanding of the work we do with the work of scholars such as Cokely (1992), Pöchhacker (2004, 2016), Wadensjö (1998), Brunson (2011), Stone (2009), Winston (1989), Napier (2002), and Roy (1993, 2000). Each of these researchers and their respective bodies of work has helped illuminate the work of sign language interpreting.

The first interpreter preparation programs (IPPs) were only a few weeks in length in both the US and UK (Brien, Brown, & Collins, 2002). Now, most training—even those housed in junior colleges—are more than 3 years in length. Although in the beginning the amount of training for sign language interpreters was initially minimal (Cokely, 2005; Fant, 1990), we have learned that advanced training and a minimum of a college degree is required to perform the work we do. Not unlike nurses, we have realized that there is a great deal of training and work that needs to happen to bridge the gap between the classroom and practice (see Rolfe, 1998; Witter-Merithew & Johnson, 2004).

Until the decision to bring educational interpreters into the organization in 2000, interpreters as a profession (i.e., the RID) did not satisfy the third criterion. We did not have exclusive control over the work. In the United States, for example, physicians held a monopoly over their practice (Starr, 1982). However, this is changing with the emergence of web-based services such as WebMD, as well as with the elevated statuses of other members of the health care team. We now have physician assistants and nurse practitioners both of whom can prescribe medicines.

Braden's (1985) fourth characteristic is putting clients' needs first. Of course, most interpreters appreciate the need to put the client's needs before their own. However, we have traditionally thought of the "client" as the deaf person. We have given little, if any, regard to the non-deaf person and her needs. What we are still struggling with, as a field, is understanding what it means to put the client's needs first. And now our client is often the agency or government institution.

We have never answered the first basic question—how do you serve two clients who often have two different goals?

Furthermore, does either interlocutor's needs outweigh the need for a culturally appropriate interpretation? At what point is the interpreter "over interpreting"? Is it the interpreter's responsibility to make up for years of oppression that the deaf person has undoubtedly experienced? All of these questions require answers, and are directly related to our professional identity and are connected to the identity of the people we serve in a dialectical way as described earlier.

Another way in which the needs of the deaf person may affect the interpreter has been termed the *vicarious trauma* syndrome. This occurs when "we experience profound alterations of our identity, self-esteem, and world view; our ability to manage strong feelings suffers; we are vulnerable to intrusive imagery and other posttraumatic stress symptomatology" (Harvey, 2002, p. 211). To maintain our own well-being vicarious trauma must be dealt with, otherwise this too can affect our professional identity and the way we engage with those we serve.

All credentialing bodies around the globe have made strides to police the field of interpreting. They do this through the provision of assessments and credentialing. As we stated in the beginning of this chapter, RID's moratorium on credentialing of interpreters is problematic given that it directly relates to our identity as professionals and interpreters. Although the moratorium has been lifted for the generalist certification (NIC) it continues for the legal specialty (SC:L) and educational (ED K–12). How are those working and receiving pay as interpreters in these areas supposed to construct their professional identity if they are unable to demonstrate Braden's (1985) fifth criterion (a license to practice) if they cannot take these tests?

Key Questions

- What specific behaviors do professionals typically demonstrate?
- Is being professional in interpreting the same as being professional in business? Why or why not?

Sub-Identities

Throughout its history, sign language interpreting has often seen identity as a binary; either someone was deaf or they were "hearing." However, this was not always the case, for example, we know from the work Groce (1985) has done that this binary did not always apply. In fact, in her study of Martha's Vineyard in the early part of the 19th century, deaf or non-deaf was not the identity marker people clung to, rather it was their role in the community. Was this person the blacksmith? Did they run the local store? Were they the mayor? These were the identity markers. And we see similar accounts of this in modern day particularly in Adamorobe in Nigeria, which has its own village-specific sign language system (see Kusters, 2012a, for a detailed account). We do not subscribe to this paradigm. Nor, as we have discussed above, do we suggest identity as a simple category. As we will discuss, people often occupy more than one identity at any given time.

Being an interpreter is just part of who we are. We all have other identities that are subordinate and reliant on, or connected to, our interpreting identities. Most of these identities are connected to how it is we came to the field of sign language interpreting. Sign language interpreters can join the field in a variety of ways. They may have met someone who was deaf. They could have a "calling" to provide this service. They could have a family member who is deaf. They could have just stumbled upon the subject while scanning the catalog for the local college or found a book on sign language while at the bookstore. These are by no means mutually exclusive. That is, someone could have a family member who is deaf but also learn their craft through an interpreter training program, among other possibilities.

Heritage Signers: It's In My Blood

Many of the first sign language interpreters had a family member who was deaf. Some of them had parents who were deaf. These individuals were referred to as children of deaf adults or Codas. These children (and later adults) held a special place within the Deaf community because of their proximity to deaf people and because they often served as ad-hoc interpreters for other community members in their places of origin (Garcia & Cole, 2014; Napier, McKee, & Goswell, 2006).

Heritage signers, as Codas have alternately come to be called in the early 21st century, have a unique identity because they see themselves as neither deaf nor non-deaf, but both. This has led to the idea that there may be unique needs for training these children to become interpreters (Williamson, 2016). Given that heritage signers come into the field with knowledge and experience with a signed language, there might be a tendency to put heritage signers on a pedestal.

However, we know that interpreting is more than being bi/multilingual. As mentioned above, one of the characteristics of a profession is extended training. For interpreting this enables us to gain mastery over the mental processes required to perform the task. Although there are benefits to being bilingual at an early age, it is unfair to assume that merely growing up with a signed language gives an individual more advantage than growing up with a spoken language would give someone. This is because the heritage signer is not a heritage interpreter. They still need to learn the process of interpreting.

Much like the myth of the *model minority* label—which dates back to the 1960s (see Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998), which has been applied to Asian Americans—this assumption is unfair to heritage signers. Although some interpreters who have deaf parents might consider Deaf culture to be their culture (Horejes, 2012), these interpreters have worked hard to master their ability to interpret to and from a signed language just as someone with non-deaf parents has done.

Depending on a number of factors, (e.g., parents' bilingualism, socioeconomic status, geography, education, or generation), these interpreters might also have unique experiences that provide them with a different perspective on the work of interpreting. That is, in some cases, these interpreters grew up in a role that required them to broker between their parents and the rest of the world, which was not otherwise fluent in their language. Several scholars within and beyond IS have examined the brokering role (see Angelelli, 2016; Antonini, 2010; Bucaria & Rossato, 2010; Chao, 2006; Jezewski, 1993). These various scholars have identified both benefits and possible drawbacks that accompany occupying this role.

Many heritage signers' identities are closely tied to this role. This is, in part, because throughout their lives they have been responsible to interpret the world for their parents and, thus, providing their parents with linguistic access. However, with training these heritage signers may well be able to draw upon some resources as professionals that other interpreters might not have exposure to, but this is by no means a given.

Key Questions

- What assumptions do you have about heritage signers?
- What assumptions do you have about non-heritage signers?

Putting the "D" back into Interpreting for the Deaf

Often when people consider being an interpreter, they may not consider the role of deaf persons. Deaf people are seen as the consumers of interpreting services—people who need an accommodation (although we know some deaf people are also interpreters and discuss this below). Deaf people are an important aspect to the interpreting process. This is because we often assume that they are either the recipients or senders of the messages we are interpreting. (There are times, however, where the interpreter is actually working between a group of people that consists of a monolingual deaf person, a non-deaf person who is using a signed language, and a non-deaf, non-signing individual. Of course, this means that our focus might actually be on interpreting for the non-deaf, non-signing person.) Most of the time we are interpreting between a deaf person and a non-deaf person. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the idea of Deaf identity and how it influences the interpreting process.

In Brunson's (2010) discussion with deaf people about their experiences with VRS, he found that deaf people participate in a great deal of what he refers to as "calculated consumer labor." This work is often invisible (Brunson & Stone, 2014). That is, throughout their attempts to gain access through VRS, deaf people find themselves having to use a cost-benefit analysis. They must calculate whether their frustrations with under-skilled interpreters is worth hanging up and calling back. They must also calculate whether the benefits outweigh the potential frustrations of engaging a bureaucracy that is not designed to meet their needs. All of these are ways in which the deaf person is participating (actively or passively) in the interpreting process.

Although deaf people are as varied as any other group of people, most literature has reproduced a narrative of *homogeneity*. Most

scholars have focused on the absence of sound; this is an *essentialist* paradigm. That is, here is an assumption that one "Deaf community" exists, and that the uniqueness of being deaf is solely based on a person's inability to hear. We suggest that we avoid audiological essentialism. There are all kinds of severity of hearing loss in the world.

Padden and Humphries (2005) remind us that there was a change in the 1970s from a prescriptive definition (telling people) of what it meant to be deaf to a descriptive definition (describing the experience) of what it meant to be deaf. This could be accomplished vis-à-vis questions of Who is deaf? And What is American Sign Language?

> In 1950, these questions would be answered as: Deaf people are those who attend schools for the deaf and go to Deaf clubs. American Sign Language must be what English is not. But in 1970, the questions weren't as easy to answer. (p. 150)

Although the focus was still on the audiological privation as the identity marker, we begin to see a shift in the 1970s, which coincided with global movements and the enactment of various laws that laid the groundwork for increased equal rights.

In particular, Aramburo's (1989) study found a majority (89%) of persons who were both deaf and Black identified as Black first and deaf second. This called into question the notion that the only identity present is tied to the person's ability to hear; it also brings into focus notions of *intersectionality* (Crenshaw, 1989). More recently, there has been a body of literature that explores the various experiential dimensions of deafness. Perhaps most profound is Benjamin Bahan's (2011, 2014) musings on people of the eye and the analysis of the role of senses and culture. In it, Bahan lays out the ways that sound, touch, and sight are experienced differently by visual-tactile persons (e.g., deaf people), and how these can lead to conflict with audio-vocal (e.g., non-deaf persons). Bahan (2014) refers to this as *sensory politics* (p. 252), which occurs "when people accustomed to the visual-tactile way of life enter the audio-vocal world and inadvertently step outside of the acceptable range of behavior, they violate standards and create unintended meanings: they are loud, have no manners, and are barbaric" (p. 252). This also demonstrates the dialectical relationship of identity, here we see that this perception of violating standards only occurs in relationship to those who have a different standard to visual-tactile persons.

Key Questions

- How can interpreters benefit from seeing that deaf people are part of the interpreting process?
- Are there any situations or settings in which interpreters including deaf people in the processes may not be effective?

Deaf People as Interpreters

Recently, deaf people have gained recognition as holding a different role within the work of sign language interpreting. Some are no longer merely consumers of interpreting services but are now paid providers of that service. That is, some deaf people have carved out a niche for themselves whereby they work either between two sign languages (Boudreault, 2005) or with a non-deaf interpreter (or from a teleprompter) to render an interpreted message into a signed language for other deaf people. Deaf people, like heritage signers, have a unique perspective to provide to the interpreting process.

Deaf people have long acted as unpaid and unrecognized interpreters for members of their communities. As Adam and Stone (2011) explained, "Deaf people have traditionally turned to their fellow community members for assistance in translating English text into sign language, or the dictation of English text from sign language" (p. 235).

Gino Gouby, certified Deaf interpreter, interpreting for Markku Juhani Jokinen, past president of the World Federation of the Deaf, at Gallaudet University graduation, May 2012.

Deaf people who were not bilingual could rely on deaf friends at the Deaf clubs or work, to translate letters, formal and informal, for them.

Although there is no clear evidence that deaf interpreters are more (or less) effective than non-deaf interpreters (Ressler, 1999), Stone (2009) found that a different process exists between deaf and non-deaf interpreters, which can lead to a different end product. Furthermore, Cokely (2005) points out, from his meeting with deaf colleagues once a week for a year, that although there is "much about the work of our deaf colleagues that we do not yet understand and that they may not be able to fully articulate," deaf interpreters use "linguistic and communicative strategies" (p. 20) that are markedly different from those employed by non-deaf interpreters.

Boudreault (2005) suggested deaf people relying on a deaf interpreter often assume the interpreter can hear: "The fact is that many Deaf people who encounter a Deaf interpreter for the first time assume that she is [non-deaf], and when they find out that she is Deaf, they are suspicious and confused" (p. 323). Persons relying on a deaf interpreter may be otherwise isolated and the thought of a deaf interpreter is still quite foreign.

Now, deaf interpreters often find work with deaf–blind persons, individuals with developmental disabilities, and children. Outside of these specialty areas, some venues such as conferences may use deaf interpreters on stage instead of non-deaf interpreters. And in Canada it is quite normal for a deaf interpreter to work between two signed languages (i.e., American Sign Language and Langue des Signes Québécoise [LSQ]), as it is in other countries.

Key Questions

- Should deaf people be trained alongside non-deaf people to be interpreters?
- Do deaf interpreters always need to work between two established signed languages?

I Was Called to Be An Interpreter

Another way in which people become sign language interpreters is through their religious affiliations. While some come in contact with deaf people through their churches, others may come in contact with deaf people through missionary work. Although there has been, at least in the United States, a stigma placed on interpreters who work in religious settings (see Borrmann, 2004), it remains a pathway to interpreting.

This is important and beneficial to the Deaf community and interpreting field in particular settings (such as mental health) because, as Nijad (2003) points out, the problem of communication can be "aggravated if the other party is of a different gender, age, social class or religion" (p. 78). Tribe and Sanders (2003), too, reinforced this idea when suggesting that having an interpreter who is at least familiar with the religion makes mental health interactions go more smoothly.

Interpreter Education Program Graduates

Another way that people can enter the field of sign language interpreting is through the various interpreter education programs. With the exception of a few places, these are often housed in junior colleges, in the US, around the country. Likewise, in Europe they are often part of three- to four-year bachelor's programs (efsli, 2013). Since these graduates may not have any connection to the Deaf community before graduating, they have a different identity than those who entered the field through religion or familial relations.

Co-Occurring Identities

We are not suggesting that identities are either static or unidimensional. In fact, multiple identities are often occurring simultaneously. For example, Bienvenu (1987) suggested that deaf people and interpreters alike belong to a "third culture," (p. 1) in which both groups understand the rules of engagement. Deaf people may have, in addition to their deaf identity, a professional identity. They have a personal identity, such as family member. This is similar to interpreters who, in addition to their professional identity, have a racial identity. And they also have a gender identity. In this "third culture" deaf and non-deaf interpreters are part of this third culture in addition to their multiple other identities.

Williams (2016) suggested in her study of interpreter training programs that interpreters of color may have become more experienced

in religious services. This promotes the idea that race and organized religion are, for the Black community at least, intertwined identities. This co-occurrence of identities certainly complicates the work of sign language interpreters because it adds layers to the interpreted event that are often unseen until the event begins.

SUMMARY

As we have seen, the field of social psychology has a lot to offer the study of interpreting. It has been applied in a number of studies that have contributed to our understanding of the work we do. Through social psychology we are able to explore how individuals experience and construe their world. This is important for interpreters since to do our work of interpreting well, we must understand the interlocutors for whom we are interpreting. These individuals come to the interpreting event with their own understandings, identities, roles, and sense of self, all within which, as Bourdieu would frame, their own habitus.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Reflect on your morning. In what ways could social psychology have been useful to you?
2. What does social psychology bring to IS that other disciplines do not?
3. Why would someone want to use social psychology to study interpreting?
4. How do interpreters engage social psychology in their own work?

FURTHER READINGS

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7 Through the Lens of Cognitive Psychology

Don't become a mere recorder of facts, but try to penetrate the mystery of their origin. —Ivan Pavlov

In many ways, cognitive psychology has influenced many of the models of interpreting that we use. Many of the concepts first established in this field, such as working memory (WM) and long-term memory (LTM), have gradually been woven into how we understand the cognitive mechanism that drive the "processing" that we do. Some of this has entered our field via cognitive psychology, the psychology of language and psycholinguistics. More recently, with the development of experimental techniques and equipment, cognitive psychologists have explored more directly the cognitive underpinnings of interpreting work. For us we see this work supporting our preparation, development, and practice as interpreters enabling higher and more efficient levels of interpreting performance, including understanding fatigue. As such we feel that the area of cognitive psychology, although new and complex for many of us, is worthy of inclusion in this overview of IS.

BY THE end of this chapter you should be able to:

1. understand the notion of modularity in explaining cognition
2. explain critically the difference between reception and perception
3. describe different aspects of the cognitive system relevant to interpreting tasks
4. understand the development of expertise in interpreting.

As with many disciplines it is often hard to give an exact date when they began, as these developments are often a confluence or coming together of different factors to form a new discipline. Cognitive psychology began to emerge as a discipline in the 1950s with the convergence of Chomsky's (1957) theory of language and Miller's (1956) review of short-term memory (STM) and the founding of artificial intelligence. This information processing approach to cognition has influenced how we think about cognition and the exploration of the brain or mind/brain, less the biology and more the psychology, as an information processing organ. We could also argue that, as with many sciences, it has been driven by technological advances. These allow us to measure areas of increased brain activity via blood flow to these areas (e.g., magnets detecting the iron in the blood during functional magnetic resonance imaging [fMRI] scans), or electrical charge changes (e.g., electron flow measured through the skull in electroencephalogram [EEG] scans).

Cognitive psychology is interested in understanding how perception, attention, memory, reasoning, thinking, and language operate and interact. This approach helps us to gain a deeper understanding of the development of general and specific cognitive mechanisms (such as those parts of our thinking apparatus that are specifically used for interpreting) and whether they interact in useful ways to support the development and execution of expert performance, in this case expert interpreting performance. If we better understand expertise then we can support its development and change our practices to engage in things that will support more rapid growth of skill. It also helps us understand the differences in different populations, such as native versus non-native language users, older and younger interpreters, novice and expert interpreters, and so forth.

Through cognitive psychology, we can better understand differences between deaf and non-deaf people, signers and non-signers, and monolinguals, bilinguals (both in one modality or unimodal, i.e., two spoken languages or two signed languages, or in two modalities or bimodal, i.e., a spoken and a signed language) and multilinguals. We can also understand differences between those in their cognitive prime and those experiencing cognitive decline. This is of greater interest to cognitive psychology, as it contributes to building a broader understanding of what happens to the cognitive skills through aging

or injury rather than just applying cognitive psychology to the niche area of interpreting although age effects mitigated by expertise is an area that is beginning to be explored in interpreting.

As interpreters and IS scholars we are interested in how we can better understand human perception and our cognitive processing system so that we can use the quirks of the system to our advantage, and hopefully to improve our interpreting skills. These include the interaction between the language processing system, our knowledge/preparation, and the interaction between what we know and how that influences what we perceive (top down) versus input stimuli (bottom up) processing.

There continues to be speculation as to whether only those people with specific cognitive abilities can undertake effective interpreting work; that is, are interpreters "special" or is it just that training and practice are required (Mackintosh, 1999)? Looking at the research in cognitive psychology we find the accumulation of *domain-specific* experiences drive expertise (Ericsson, 2000); essentially, doing more interpreting enables you to hone your expertise in interpreting. However, does this expertise simply stem from a general cognitive advantage that develops as we become highly proficient bilinguals (see Bialystok et al., 2005)? And do interpreting skills scaffold from this general cognitive advantage rather than those specific to the cognitive domain of interpreting?

Whether interpreting expertise bootstraps from general cognitive abilities and then is honed by processes specific to the interpreting task is still an empirical question. Even so, there is mounting evidence to suggest that context and meaning driven processes are the cognitive mechanisms that drive the development of our expertise, which we will discuss later in this chapter. However, understanding how our brain or mind/brain (see below) works ultimately should mean that we can employ coping strategies that aid our work rather than hinder it.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGY

Cognitive psychology is rooted in the notion that the mind/brain, much like a computer, is an information-processing organism. Within this theoretical approach, the mind/brain is considered to be *modular*

(Fodor, 1983), which means it consists of different (anatomical or functional) modules that each control a specific processing task. The implication of this modularity is that different inputs or stimuli are accepted by different specialized modules for processing; that is, each module is domain specific.

For example, in a "language module" language is the input. In Figure 7.1 we see that each box represents specific types of functional processes. Each box has a specific type of input: sound waves enter the ear and are processed by the cilia in the cochlea, which transforms

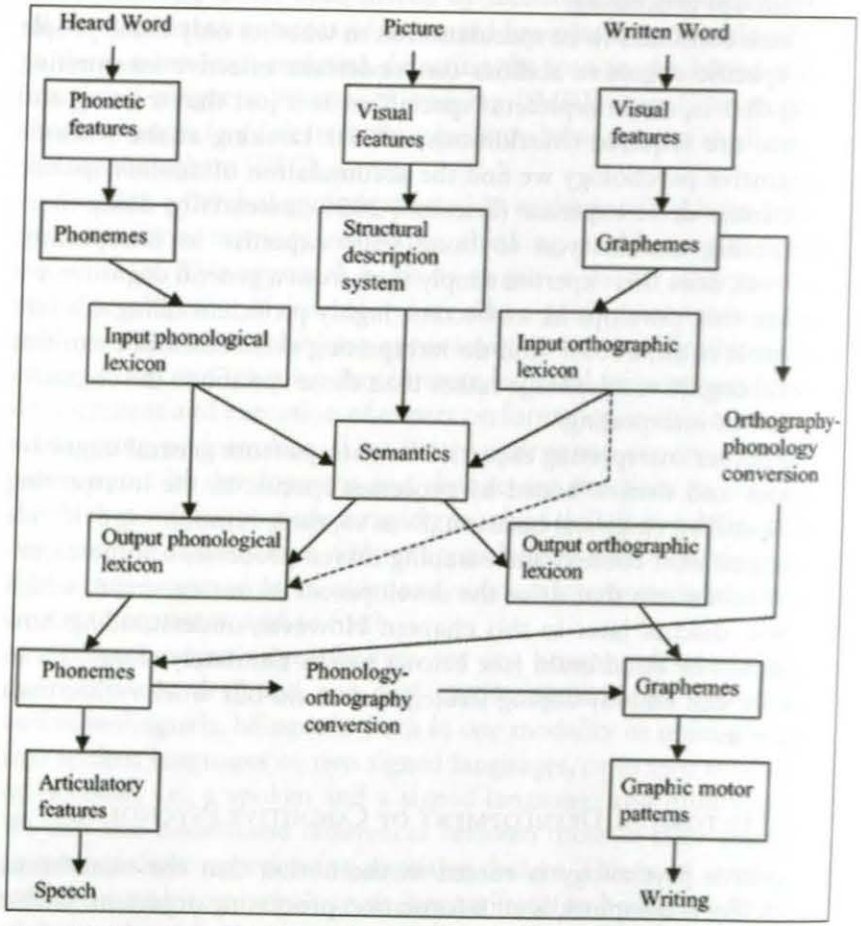

Figure 7.1. Language as a modular system from Martin (2003). Reprinted with permission.

sound waves (input) into an electrical signal (output). This electrical signal (now input) is received by the auditory cortex and then its phonetic features are identified (output), this is then processed into phonemes (output).

The idea of modularity is not unchallenged and in more recent years some of its defining characteristics have been more usefully considered as testable hypotheses. Similarly, there is some consideration of whether a module might consist of neural networks (i.e., networks of connections in the brain that work collectively together to complete a processing task). Nonetheless, the notion remains that a module or neural network both handles and manipulates only specific information types. This modularity might be due to repeated experiences with a class of stimuli, rather than something that is hardwired into the brain.

Many of the models that we have for human cognition (e.g., language-processing models and interpreting-processing models) are also premised on this idea of modularity. What is important to bear in mind for this chapter is that when studies explore cognition there are many basic cognitive processes that psychologists are still exploring. It can be difficult to apply the knowledge we have of a specific mechanism to interpreting in general as we still do not know enough basic science.

Basic science might still be able to tell us about a single-processing phenomena, such as identifying areas of the mind/brain that are responsible for processing strings of speech sounds in spoken language. However, the processing of speech sounds is one task of many that is required for interpreting. Trying to measure the interactions between these processes to produce robust evidence about interpreting processes is complex and we do not understand all of the low-level cognitive processes yet. There are, however, extrapolations we can make from the evidence psychology studies provide us in relation to interpreting tasks which certainly fosters some level of analysis.

By using these extrapolations and engaging in the language and processing work of interpreting more effectively, interpreters can adopt strategies to support the mind/brain. These strategies may be, for example, more effective than engaging in particular preparation work or online strategies, etc., that, at best, do not enhance our interpreting performance and at worst interferes with our performance.

Key Questions

- Could modularity help break down the stages of an interpreting process?
- What evidence is there to support modularity in interpreting?

The three main areas within cognitive psychology that are most relevant to interpreting are: *perception* (how your brain processes visual and auditory input), *attention* (how your brain filters the input from your environment), and *working memory* (how your brain processes and manipulates information for immediate tasks in your environment).

PERCEPTION

We live in a world with multiple stimuli that our receptors can detect, such as visible light which is the range of colors contained in the rainbow; typically humans cannot sense infrared or ultraviolet light as this falls outside of the range of light that our receptors can detect. However, perception is not just driven by the bodily apparatus we have that is stimulated by the outside world. When we consider perception, we are interested in the interaction between the low-level processing that happens with each receptor (how the rod and cone receptors in the eyes process light) which is different from the mind/brain that then delivers an *interpretation* of that light. There is a marriage between what we receive (bottom-up processing) and what we perceive (top-down processing).

Let us consider some popular optical illusions. Bear in mind that in Figure 7.2 you are receiving the lines on a page; the receptors in your eyes see the reflected light off the page (perceived as white) and where all the light is absorbed (perceived as black), which is visible to the rods and cones in your eyes. Once your brain receives this signal, it interprets the picture. But what is it? Is it a bird or a bunny?

Look again . . . it is both! You likely saw the bird or the bunny, if you did not see the bird, or alternatively the bunny, then you may now be "able" to see the other interpretation. The top-down processing provides an interpretation of the lines and can be manipulated by

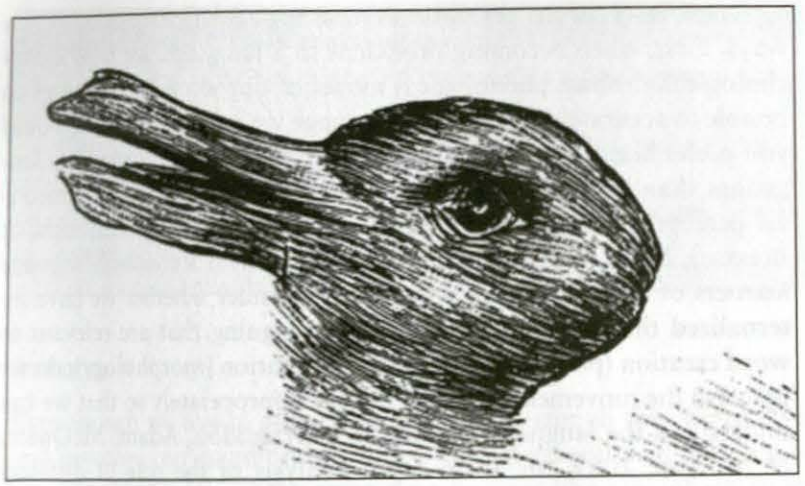

Figure 7.2. Birny or burd?

someone telling you it is either a bird or a rabbit so that you perceive the lines as one or the other.

This also helps us to think about how the mind/brain categorizes what it "sees"; that is, people either see the bird or the bunny, but not a hybrid of the two. In this instance, top-down processing applies one category to the "data" it received which is perceived as one interpretation of the form, but not both simultaneously.

We can also consider categorical perception in language as experienced by those with native or native-like proficiency. As Anglophones, we might consider the well-known example of those who speak English as an additional language to their mother tongue. In some Asia-Pacific languages "r" and "l," which are perceived by Anglophones as two separate sounds, are perceived as variants of the same sound. For a similar kind of variants in English think of the American English pronunciation of *budder* versus the British English pronunciation of *butter* (or even with a glottal stop, buʔer). When speaking English, the /r/ and /l/ distinction is not always perceived by learners or second-language users; thus, these speakers do not make the distinction between these two sounds when speaking English. These categories (/r/ and /l/) do not exist for second-language users whose own first language does not also have these phonemes until they become fluent in English.

These facets of the perception sytem applies to interpreting in two ways. First, when becoming proficient in a language, we need a psychologically robust phonological model of our working languages to be able to accurately perceive the language we are receiving (i.e., would you prefer lice or rice?). This is probably more salient for spoken languages than sign languages, although, there is evidence of categorical perception existing in sign languages (Emmorey, McCullough, & Brentari, 2003). For example, for those of us who are second-language learners of a sign language we need to consider whether we have internalized the rules of movement when signing that are relevant to word creation (phonology) or meaning creation (morphology); do we perceive the movements that we receive appropriately so that we can understand the language stimuli? (see Orfanidou, Adam, McQueen, & Morgan, 2009, for an in-depth analysis of the role of different phonological parameters in British Sign Language, such as location versus movement versus handshape).

Second, we can also extrapolate that if we "prime" ourselves, meaning give ourselves preparatory information like bird or bunny, we can influence our perception of something. There are many experiments on perceptual priming to guide the top-down processing of information. For interpreters, this perceptual priming often happens in the form of what we call preparation. We prime our perceptual system to understand stimuli (language) in a specific context that can help us interpret (top-down processing) but could also hinder us if we do not devote enough attention to the input we are receiving (bottom-up processing). For example, this kind of priming has been shown to improve novice interpreters' perception of fingerspelling (McDermid, Finton, & Chasney, 2016). Although, if you only look for the fingerspelling that you are expecting to see then you might not see that someone spelled -i-n-c-e-s-t- and not -i-n-s-e-c-t-.

As interpreters, by better understanding our perceptual system, we are better able to ensure that we prepare in ways that support our perception, reducing the cognitive effort for the perceptual part of our processing and so able to devote more resources to other aspects of the interpreting task, which is the psychological reality of Gile's (1992, 1995) effort model. This brings us nicely to the topic of attention, how your brain filters the input from your environment.

Key Questions

- What kinds of activities might aid the top-down processing of sign language?
- What kinds of activities might aid the top-down processing of spoken language?
- How will this influence your preparation habits before interpreting tasks?

ATTENTION

Even though we live in a world with multiple stimuli that we receive and perceive, our mind/brain cannot pay attention to all the stimuli we are exposed to at the same time because like any information processing "machine" there are limits to our processing power. For humans, that means the mind/brain devotes processing resources to perceiving different stimuli at different times and to some extent this can be consciously directed—although, this is not always the case.

Psychologists have explored both focused and divided attentions. Much of which has been conceptualized via Baddeley's (2000) model of WM, especially with respect to sign language interpreting.

One of the famous examples of focused attention in the Internet age is the basketball passing experiment, which identifies inattentional blindness (Simons & Chabris, 1999). In this experiment participants are asked to count the number of times that a basketball is passed between players on a basketball court.

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Before you read on, go to the website (www.theinvisiblegorilla.com/videos.html) and try the experiment.

***

Just so there are no spoilers—when told to focus on watching the people wearing white and count the number of times they pass the ball, people fail to process other information that is occurring. In fact, in this study 33 percent of the people do not see events outside the

passing of the ball. That is not to say that the "data" is not received by your visual receptors, just that as the mind/brain has a task to do it allocates mental resources to counting and so filters out other information that might detract from that task.

This suggests that there may be times when the brain allocates its resources to a task and, in so doing, does not attend to other additionally (ir)relevant information. There is no reason to assume that this is not as true of interpreting as with any other task. Interpreters need to know the environment they are about to work in so that their attention can be effectively directed. We also often need a team interpreter so collectively we can ensure "data" are not missed, should it be relevant to the interpreting task at hand.

Moreover, we know that prolonged turns of conference interpreters, interpreting longer than 30 minutes, have a negative effect on the output of sign language interpreters when tested in lab conditions (Brasel, 1976); conversely, for spoken language interpreters, this rests "on the quality of an interpreter's output and on his [sic] attitude towards the task" (Moser-Mercer, Künzli, & Korac, 1998, p. 62). This speaks to the psychological reality of interpreter fatigue, and again to the cognitive effort (Gile, 1992, 1995) along with the stress of interpreting.

In the Moser-Mercer et al. (1998) study they measured cortisol levels in saliva (higher cortisol levels were taken as higher levels of stress) to demonstrate the physiological stress response and its psychological consequences. This suggests that if interpreters pay attention to their physiological and psychological needs and the interactions between them, such as taking breaks or swapping with a team member, they are better able to attend to the requirements of interpreting work.

Although there has been much work on attention in cognitive psychology, much of the research in IS has focused on how it manifests in WM.

Key Questions

- What attentional resources do you allocate during an interpreting task?
- How might you want a coworker to support the management of your attentional resources?

MEMORY AND INFORMATION MANIPULATION

Not only are we interested in how we receive and perceive information via focused and divided attention, we are also interested in what we do with that information. Until the late 1950s memory was seen as a single unitary mental faculty. By the end of the 1960s, the generally accepted view of memory had changed, thus, introducing the term STM, which has been, and is still used, to refer to the brief storage of information. This can be contrasted with a combination of brief storage coupled with using or manipulating information in some way, which is referred to as *WM*. It is also acknowledged that there is a more permanent type of storage known as *LTM*. As more experimental studies have been undertaken, our understanding of the memory system has evolved and continues to evolve.

Some of the early work on STM began by exploring memory errors due to acoustic similarity effects (Conrad & Hull, 1964). Scholars discovered it is harder to remember sequences of similar sound sequences (b g t p c) than dissimilar sound sequences (k r l q y). Alan Baddeley (1966a) then went on to test the recall of phonologically similar words (man, mat, can, map, cat) and dissimilar words (pit, day, cow, pen, sup), comparing that with semantically similar and dissimilar words. He clearly demonstrated that phonologically dissimilar words were recalled much more accurately, while semantically similar words also had a slight advantage for accurate recall. In a further experiment with list learning, Baddeley (1966b) found that semantic similarity was seen to be advantageous for LTM storage and so contributed to our understanding of the "modular, multi-store view of human memory" (Baddeley, Hitch, & Allen, 2009, p. 438).

Baddeley continued to explore the different types of information storage and manipulation in the memory system. With colleagues, he studied the differences between STM, LTM, and the uses for phonological and semantic encoding in either module (Baddeley & Ecob, 1970). Evidence supports the complexity of the system and that

> STM, [the] retention of material over a brief period, may be based on either phonological or semantic coding. The former is easy to set up but readily forgotten; the latter may take longer to set up but tends to be more durable. (Baddeley, 2012, p. 5)

That sentences are more readily recalled than individual words (Baddeley et al., 2009) suggests that this contextualized recall should be the primary cognitive skill on which interpreters rely. As Chernov (2004) says, "instead of simply dealing with words, the interpreter should render the ideas of the speaker" (translated from his work in Russia [1973–1987] and a tenet of Seleskovitch's [1978/1999] *Theorie du sens*). The enhanced recall of sentences and semantic coding of ideas suggest some interaction between LTM and phonological coding (also known as a phonological loop [PL]), and supports the idea that the interpreters' greatest asset is the breadth of their general knowledge in addition to their life experiences. Although this interaction is still being explored, the idea of a long-term WM (LT-WM) module has been suggested.

Baddeley and Hitch (1974) then proposed a WM model to account for their empirical data that suggested a three-component or three-module system, which has been as influential in the field of interpreting as it has in the field of cognitive psychology. Figure 7.3 shows a more recent model, with the white boxes showing the original model and the gray boxes showing the links between WM and LTM.

The initial model only proposed the top three components: the central executive (CE), the PL, and the visuospatial sketch pad (VSSP).

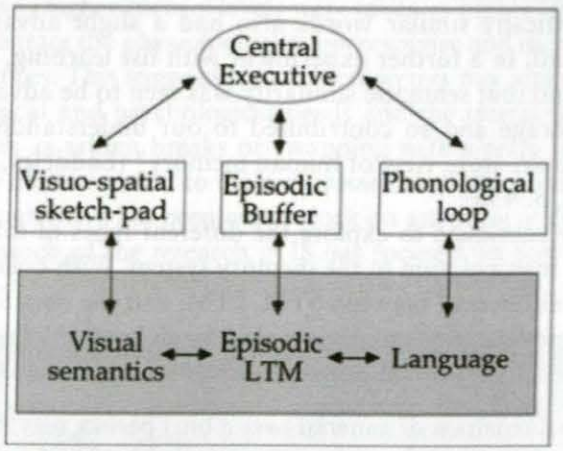

Figure 7.3. Multi-component model of working memory (Baddeley, 2000). Reprinted with permission.

Since 1974, there continues to be more evidence and the additional elements were added (i.e., the gray area).

The CE is an attentional system with limited capacity and attends to higher level cognitive activity rather than automated or habitual action. The PL was originally thought of as a storage system but is now seen to receive information from and provide information to the LTM (Gathercole, 1995). And we know that the PL rather than the VSSP is also used for sign language phonological stimuli (Rönnberg, Rudner, & Ingvar, 2004; Wilson & Emmorey, 1997), such that this stimuli is processed linguistically rather than as visual or spatial information.

Finally, there is the VSSP which is the least explored element. Originally it was understood to be visual and spatial STM, but now further evidence has emerged to suggest that there may well be both a visual WM and a spatial WM. They may also be other modes of WM such as movement-based or touch-based. If this is the case this might bring into question whether there even is a sketch pad upon which all this information converges.

Key Questions

- What role does the PL play in interpreting?
- What kinds of information might be stored in the VSSP?
- How do we "process" or "chunk" information to support our WM?

Baddeley's (2012) model is a theoretical framework rather than a paradigm upon which specific predictions can be based. The model explains current data and generates questions that can then be further explored and even helps explain the results of experiments exploring how the different modules interact. Unlike other hypotheses, however, it is not possible to use this model to predict outcomes of specific experimental conditions. These require a lower-level exploration of cognitive-psychology functions via different kinds of memory tests.

Having outlined the principal areas of cognitive psychology that have been explored since the 1950s we will now look at their application in IS.

EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF SPOKEN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING

Cognitive psychology emerged in the 1950s and as early as the 1960s and 1970s we see scholars beginning to apply theories and approaches from this discipline to interpreting. These studies explored the interpreting process from an information-processing paradigm. This notion of the mind/brain processing information like a computer has driven our understanding of the interpreting task and its subtasks. This might prove to be an inappropriate metaphor as cognitive psychologists explore the mind/brain in the coming years, but it works well currently.

We will now look at some of the early work that addresses the interpreting process, including inferencing and anticipation, interference and interpreting effectiveness, and humans' information processing in general.

Ghelly Chernov: Language Prediction and Semantics

Ghelly Chernov worked as an interpreter at the UN and later as a researcher and an interpreting educator at the Maurice Thorez Institute (now the Moscow National Linguistic University) and the University of Moscow. Russian conference-interpreting training was a two-way procedure not solely conducted into a national mother tongue; in that respect, sign language interpreter training has followed in a Moscow school tradition. This differs from Western traditions in which conference interpreters are trained to work in one direction only: into the mother-tongue.

Chernov's (2004) work has only recently come to light in the English-speaking world, as he wrote and published in Russian in the 1960s and 1970s. His work focused on the redundancy of language and the use of prediction.

Chernov worked with psychologist Irina Zimnyaya to explore the role of predictable and unpredictable sentences for effectiveness in interpreting renditions. This type of study would now be understood as probing the relationship between bottom-up processing (hearing the words of the sentence) and top-down processing (applying an expectation, or prediction, to the language we are hearing, while drawing upon the LTM linguistic storage). This relationship aids interpreters in predicting how sentences will end (Chernov, 1994).

Chernov engaged in empirical studies that often combined "real" data from UN interpretations coupled with lab-based interpretations to explore the types of anticipation and inferencing in which conference interpreters engage. Much of the early work focused on conference interpreting (interpreting single speakers), and this continued to be the case until very recently even in sign language interpreting. Chernov suggested that all interpreting studies should use normally rated speech and sentences, as this emulates actual interpreting tasks.

Although considered a pioneer, his approach was in many ways limited by the narrow understanding of cognitive psychology during his time. His work lacked some detail in terms of specific underlying cognitive mechanisms involved in different processes; however, it did lay the foundations for future research. Even so, we see that in trying to better understand the general cognitive underpinning of the interpreting process, more recent studies have tried to tease apart aspects of the memory system using different methods.

David Gerver: Interpreters Under Pressure

David Gerver worked at the University of Durham in the UK and was interested in examining interpreting performance. Gerver's (1971) dissertation *Simultaneous and Consecutive Interpretation and Human Information Processing* was completed at Oxford University. In this research, Gerver examined the effectiveness of interpreting in suboptimal conditions. Later, Gerver (1976) developed a cognitive model of interpreting based on a review of empirical data collected at that point.

At the time of Gerver's PhD, much of the initial fascination with the cognitive psychology of interpreting focused on the apparent issue of vocal suppression—that is, not being able to use your voice to support your memory because it was being used to produce a second language. In earlier WM studies, the role of subvocal or articulatory rehearsal was shown to assist STM and asking one to produce meaningless sounds suppressed or blocked any articulatory feedback (the PL); participants demonstrated a poorer performance in recalling single words because there were unable to use this mechanism to support their STM. However, spoken language interpreters

are able to listen to one language and reproduce another, and do this successfully. This begs the question, what is happening with their articulatory loop?

In Gerver's (1971) research, participants' interpretations were analyzed for errors, omissions, corrections, ear-voice-span (EVS), and various temporal characteristics involving speech and pause times. These issues are still of concern in interpreting research today and we will be discussing some more recent examples, some of which are well known in sign language interpreting.

Gerver (1971) also compared the output of interpretations and shadowing for accuracy. This helped him assess the lag time between hearing stimuli (a speech) and then either shadowing (or reproducing) or interpreting (re-presenting in L2) it under different conditions. Shadowing has been used in several experiments to try and tease out the difference between repeating verbatim the speech input (shadowing) or simultaneously interpreting the speech input. In this research, lag time is called ear-voice span or EVS as is common in spoken language interpreting.

The experimental stimuli (i.e., the spoken language, or source language) were delivered in a variety of conditions including those manipulating the quality of input by degrading them with white-noise interference. This enabled Gerver to explore the areas of perception and attention in relation to the degraded signal, or, in other words, the effect of noise on simultaneous interpreting. He had three conditions in the experiment: no noise, a language input five decibels above the white noise, and a language input two decibels below the white noise. Gerver (1971) found that "interpreters made more errors than shadowers at each signal-noise ratio" and that "the ratio of interpreters' self-corrections to errors remained almost the same" (p. iii) in all three conditions, despite the increase in errors.

Interpreters had longer EVS than shadowers, although it remained constant for both groups under the three experimental conditions. Gerver's (1971) explanation for this was that "in order to maintain a constant [EVS] under noisy listening conditions, simultaneous interpreters were prepared to sacrifice accuracy by lowering their response criteria" (pp. iii–iv); that is, they were willing to provide

an interpretation having understood or at least perceived less of the source language than was ideal. Hence, they provided interpretations (responses) with lower levels of comprehension or input.

Gerver then compared performance with measures on the Eysenck Personality Inventory neuroticism scale. This scale measures the likelihood of a person to have anxiety and worry. Gerver (1971) found that "the higher the neuroticism score, the better the performance under slight stress, but the greater the decrement in performance under greater stress" (pp. iv–v). That is, interpreters who were likely to have anxiety and worry were able to perform more accurately with a minimal stress level however, the success of their interpretation would gradually decline as their stress increased above that level. The relationship between personality type and interpreter suitability is something that has been explored both in Gerver's time (Schein, 1974) and more recently for sign language interpreters (Bontempo & Napier, 2011; Bontempo, Napier, Hayes, & Brashear, 2014).

In his second study, Gerver cited Carey (1971) to confirm that shadowing does not inhibit one's understanding of a text. This suggested that the level of processing is happening above the word recall level and so further into the system. Gerver found that listeners can recall more facts than interpreters, and interpreters more than those shadowing. He argued that "comprehension and retention of complex verbal input are a function of the channel capacity used by the subject in processing the message" (Gerver, 1971b, p. 57). The channel capacity he refers to is the notion that memory is a single channel and so has a finite capacity; although there is a finite capacity our current explanation is modular rather than channel based. The channel explanation is very much rooted in the thinking at the time, bearing in mind that this research predates Baddeley and Hitch's (1974) WM model. Even so, Gerver's experiment demonstrates that processing occurs and that the interpreters' monitoring of input and output to gain meaning is greater than that of those shadowing the language form.

Gerver (1975) went on to develop a model of conference interpreting (Figure 7.4), which was published in a variety of places. This model was the first that tried to bring together different aspects of

the cognitive process. Drawing upon Chernov (1973) and Chomsky and Miller (1963), he stressed that "an interpreter makes probabilistic inferences about the development of a sentence on the basis of what he [sic] has just heard, his own utterances are then based on these predictions, becoming more determined as the source language sentence proceeds" (Gerver, 1975, p. 125). These probabilistic inferences are based on the ability of the interpreter to anticipate the upcoming discourse due to the predictability of speech. Thus, if an interpreter hears the phrase, "she was green with . . ." then the interpreter can complete that phrase mentally adding "envy" before the speaker has finished and begin to decide how to render this message before the phrase completion (see Vandepitte, 2001). This ability is likely driven by speakers' proclivity to draw upon language patterns

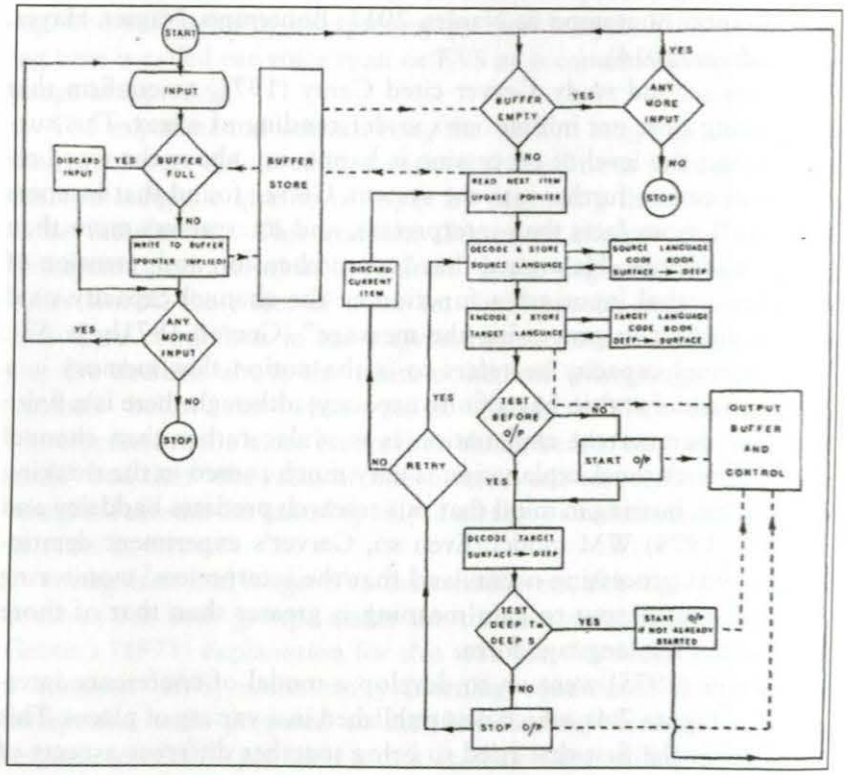

Figure 7.4. Simultaneous interpreting conference model (Gerver, 1975).

from their own language communities, which yield some level of predictability.

It also draws upon the idea of WM developing in the 1960s. As with many of the interpreting models developed at that time, WM tries to place both source-language reception, perception, and understanding in a separate place to target-language meaning creation, language generation, and production. Since that time the study of bilingualism has grown and its relationship to interpreting which takes a more realistic view on the idea of being a balanced bilingual and its implications for interpreting (see Grosjean, 1997, among others). And in more recent years the work of Setton (1999) has taken up the work of Chernov within a relevance-theory framework (see also Stone, 2009, for a relevance-theory account of in-vision sign language interpreting). Still, there is something about the comprehension of one language and the simultaneous production of another representing that language which in many ways still eludes empirical study to capture its complexity.

Later, Gerver and Sinaiko (1978) hosted a conference to bring together those analyzing interpreting. This drew both spoken and sign language interpreters together, probably in one of the first conferences of its kind and resulted in conference proceedings that connected much of the psychological research on interpreting at that time. This included work by Gerver, Moser, and Llewellyn-Jones.

By the 1980s, Gerver had begun to focus on the screening of potential interpreters; this area is one that has been of interest to several interpreter schools and has been an area of research that has gradually grown. Initially this screening involved spoken language interpreters but in more recent years there has been an emerging exploration of sign language interpreters too. The screening of interpreters allows us to better understand the foundational cognitive skills and abilities required to learn interpreting and, depending on the research participants, the cognitive mechanisms that we hone through the development of interpreting expertise. This screening has involved the further exploration of cognitive skills deemed to be prerequisites of simultaneous interpreting.

WM is often understood to be an underpinning cognitive ability but it is not until quite recently that some of the conflicting evidence has been better explored (Injoque-Ricle, Barreyro, Formoso, &

Jaichenco, 2015). Here, we do see that for spoken language interpreters the role of WM during suppression (performing working memory tasks while uttering irrelevant speech) does correlate with interpreting performance, suggesting that good WM is an underlying foundational ability for the development of simultaneous interpreting.

Barbara Moser-Mercer: Information-Processing Models

We now turn our discussion to the work of Barbara Moser-Mercer who, at the time of writing, is a professor at the University of Geneva and teaches conference interpreting, Moser-Mercer has published papers on aptitude testing for conference interpreters and various aspects of interpreters' working conditions. She maintains an active research agenda having recently explored interpreting expertise from a cognitive neuroscience perspective. Perhaps most notable is her PhD, which focused on information processing in relation to interpreting.

Moser-Mercer's (Moser, 1978) model drawn as a flow chart, attempts to represent interpreting as primarily a language-processing task. This perspective frames the initial steps of interpreting as relying on the comprehension of spoken language, the effort to understand the message of the source language, the interaction with the LTM, and the anticipation or prediction of a text. In this regard, Moser-Mercer used her experience (much like Chernov used his) as an interpreter to inform the processing model. This interaction between theoretical

Barbara Moser-Mercer

cognitive psychology and the development of an ecologically valid model—that is, a model that describes at face value a process of interpreting that is plausible under typical conditions—has in many ways been the driving force for interpreters undertaking studies in this area. The studies have not been that frequent and sometimes focus on failure rather than success but nevertheless try to describe the process so that future generations of interpreters can be better equipped to do the job.

Moser-Mercer has maintained a strong focus on interpreter aptitude (much like Gerver until his untimely passing), and has been an active researcher in the field of IS. Having explored different aspects of the interpreting process, she, in recent years, also examined the effects of aging on interpreting, looking at the interaction of expertise and cognitive decline. Moser-Mercer (Hervais-Adelman, Michel, & Golestani, 2015) has also undertaken some collaborative neuroimaging studies to further refine understandings of interpreting (as compared with shadowing), and the integration of multimodal information sources (i.e., speaker actions such as co-speech gestures in combination with the language they produce).

EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETING

As with the early exploration of spoken language interpretation some of our early scholars were interested in how we manage to interpret, juggling the understanding of one language and producing another language that is comprehendible by the audience. Much of the focus at that time also reflected the sociolinguistic discussions that were happening with respect to diglossia in sign language communities (Deuchar, 1979). Deuchar noted that in the British Deaf community there were two language types (this is called diglossia by linguists): community members in high-status language situations used contact signing or "sign supported English," where the matrix language or language for the grammatical pattern was similar to English, and with lexicon or language matter borrowed from British Sign Language. And in low-status language situations British Sign Language was used, hence the term *diglossia*. A critical gaze was cast upon the production of appropriate sign language structures, which did not cling to the form of the spoken language utterances

the interpreters were aiming to render. This critical gaze is apparent in the description and labeling of the findings and influenced the work of Peter Llewellyn-Jones.

Peter Llewellyn-Jones: Information Processing

While working at the University of Bristol's CDS, Peter Llewellyn-Jones (1982) explored the work of sign language interpreters, particularly within the broader context of "foreign language interpreting" (p. 90). His research drew upon both Baddeley's and Moser's work to analyze the interpreting work of British Sign Language and English interpreters. Primarily a data-driven study, he used conference-interpreting data to explore whether memory-processing models applied to sign language interpreting. These findings would subsequently serve to expand those same models.

Llewellyn-Jones's analysis hypothesized the deverbalization of language into some meaning understood by an interaction between the CE and LTM. His model stated that this meaning (if not understood) can be stored in the PL, whose capacity only then plays a part in the interpreting process. This follows in the footsteps of Moser (1978) with the notion that the de-verbalized meaning can be re-constructed in its most appropriate form in the target language to suit the needs of the target audience. Here we see that in the same tradition as spoken language interpreters there is a hypothesis that there is a separate process for understanding and deconstructing the SL and then constructing and producing the TL.

In the study not only was the effectiveness of the interpretations measured by deaf panelists, the processing time was also assessed to try and ascertain its role in producing comprehendible target languages. Sixteen interpreters (out of 150 participants in a broader research project) were asked to interpret a selected English piece into British Sign Language, as appropriate for that genre. Deaf panelists were then asked to complete a British Sign Language questionnaire on the content of interpretations, with only 13 of the 16 participants scoring greater than 70 percent. When compared with non-deaf controls listening to the originals significant information loss was noted.

One of the challenges raised by the selected interpreter participants was that without an audience present it was difficult to judge how to construct an appropriate target language. This corresponds with the work of Deuchar (1979) and her identification of the British Deaf community as having a diglossia; that is, that "pure" sign language was a low-status form and contact sign was a high-status form. In some ways, this obscures the findings, as the panelists' comments regarding the purity of the language do not correspond with the comprehension of the target language. Llewellyn-Jones concluded that both the Moser (1978) and Baddeley (1979) models did adequately account for his data, but also noted that further research was required into the consumers' preferences.

Dennis Cokely: Eye-to-Voice Span

Dennis Cokely worked at the Linguistics Research Laboratory at Gallaudet University. A professor and director of the Interpreter Education Program at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts, he maintained an active research agenda of sign language interpreting until his passing.

Notably, Cokely (1985) completed his dissertation examining conference interpreting. In it, he emulated Gerver's (1971) study in some ways by trying to ascertain the role of eye–voice span, paralleling the EVS measurements. However, Cokely focused on simultaneous American Sign Language–English interpreting rather than making comparisons with shadowing. His analysis looks to find problems with the interpretations trying to identify where in the process these issues might be generated. In this regard he uses EVS as a proxy, like Gerver, for the level of cognitive processing undertaken by the interpreter, such that the longer the interpreter takes to understand and "de-verbalize" the message, the greater level of processing resources understood to be allocated to the task of interpreting. This is similar to Llewellyn-Jones's research, but while he utilized a panel of deaf people to measure the comprehensibility of a target language, Cokely makes linguistic judgments based on his own introspections by comparing source and target languages for their similarities and differences.

Cokely (1985) found categories of error that he correlated to insufficient processing time. The underlying premise was that time is required to understand the context of the source language and, if insufficient time is taken for comprehension, then the target language product is skewed in a variety of ways. These categories are identified as: omissions, additions, substitutions, intrusions, and anomalies. These have been used for analysis for many years in the field of sign language interpreting but appear to contrast the suggestions of earlier authors, such as Chernov. Cokely emphasized processing errors occurring without any considerations of interactions with, domain specifc knowledge, LTM, and anticipation. It would perhaps have been useful to know the experience of the interpreters working within the domain of the conference, rather than relying solely on their years of experience; indeed, this might have shed greater light on the cause for such errors.

Although the study was useful in its focus on taking time to attend to the source message, it was usefully expanded upon in Cokely's sociolinguistic model (1992) which considered the different aspects of language and cognition in a more complex modular model. The complexity of this model makes it cumbersome as a way of explaining some of the processing issues interpreters face. Many of the details can be subsumed in larger headings in cognitive psychology such as LTM. In training these details can help to focus novice interpreters' attention on the need for conscious attention to world knowledge, language knowledge, etc.

After Cokely's work, little attention was paid to processing from a cognitive perspective as much of the focus shifted to sociolinguistic perspectives, principally due to the abundance of interpreters also trained as linguistics at both master's and PhD levels. Despite this, Napier's (2004) study examined omissions in interpreted classroom lectures, finding they occurred as intentional and strategic events, which touches upon different aspects of cognition. In some ways, Chernov's discussion of inferencing and anticipation complements Napier's strategic-omission taxonomy and moves this appraisal of interpreting performance into a positive rather than the negative tone set by Cokely. In more recent years studies of interpreting are drawing upon cognitive psychological tools such as

test batteries (e.g., a number learning task from a modern language aptitude test).

CURRENT EXPLORATIONS INTO SPOKEN AND SIGNED LANGUAGE INTERPRETING

From the mid 1990s onwards we have started to see a greater exploration of cognitive questions in interpreting research led by Moser-Mercer and others such as Christoffels and colleagues (2006; Christoffels & de Groot, 2004, 2005; Christoffels, de Groot, & Waldrop, 2003). These studies have often explored specific aspects of the interpreting process, including WM, articulatory suppression preventing subvocal articulatory rehearsal, LTM, the ever-increasing importance given to LT-WM and its interaction in top-down processing, and anticipation, prediction, and inferencing processes. In the next section, we will bring your attention to some of the studies which we think are most informative in helping us to understand what we do as interpreters and how expertise is developed.

In sign language interpreting studies have begun to appear that use cognitive psychology to better explore interpreting aptitude and the fundamental cognitive skills required to develop interpreting expertise. First, though, we turn our attention to the interaction of WM and discourse-level processing that expert spoken language interpreters engage in, as do sign language interpreters.

Working Memory and Expertise

Liu, Schallert, and Carroll (2004) undertook an elegant study to compare novice and experienced interpreters to better understand what skills are honed through experience. They selected bilingual participants who had similar levels of fluency in their language pairs and similar levels of educational backgrounds so that only their level of experience was different. In this way, they hoped that their experiment would identify the differences, or the skills enhancement, that experience contributes. This followed Ericsson's (2000) model of expertise, which suggests that 10,000 hours (approximately 40 hours a week for 5 years) of reflective and focused work are required to become an expert and that it is highly domain-specific.

Liu et al. (2004) examined interpreters working between Mandarin and English, and drawing upon the work of Daneman and Carpenter (1983), sought to test the domain specific WM capacity to see whether interpreters possessed a general cognitive advantage, or whether any advantage that interpreting experience might provide is domain specific (i.e., only yielding improved performance for interpreting). Drawing on previous studies that examined expertise—including several by Ericsson (see Ericsson & Charness, 1994; Ericsson & Kintsch, 1995; Ericsson & Lehmann, 1996)— their focus was on the selection of relevant information for the effective use of processing resources.

Liu et al. (2004) decided to explore whether there was a difference between novice and expert interpreters in the information that they decided or selected to interpret. Their hypothesis was that expert interpreters would have more effective strategies for identifying core information units at a discourse level. And that this would lead to less significant omissions. Conversely, this implied that novice interpreters would use more literal strategies with more serious omissions (Barik, 1975), as they were supposedly less able to judge the appropriate idea units to interpret.

As the team was exploring expertise for information selection honed by domain specific expertise and the effective use of WM, they identified key sentences within their selected texts to see whether or not the interpreters rendered them. Importantly, in this study the listening span test was used to identify the operational WM. Using listening span rather than a single digit memory test moves us away from the notion that interpreting improves the general cognitive function of WM. The listening span test was hypothesized to more closely approximate the operational WM that interpreters use rather than some abstract memory task. This was useful in moving our thinking forward even though the listening span test did not identify any significant difference between expert and novice groups. If anything, this confirmed that any operational WM improvements honed by interpreting are most likely to be domain specific.

What did emerge was that the greater level of expertise in interpreting the participant had, the more likely it was that they interpreted more of the essential idea units than secondary idea units. And that the greater the expertise also meant that as more idea units were interpreted, the less they were affected by the difficulty of the source language. And the final take-home message was that there was only a marginal statistical difference between beginner and advanced students, which suggests that gaining expertise is something that takes time and is honed while working. In many ways, this provides experimental evidence to support a discourse model of interpreting, and corroborates that such levels of processing are only developed over time.

If we consider this evidence alongside the more recent work of Injoque-Ricle et al. (2015) then we can start to see a picture emerging for spoken language interpreting. Working memory capacity plays a role as their evidence suggested that "[simultaneous interpreting] ability is supported not only by the capacity of WM to store or process information, but also by the ability of the interpreters to cope with the articulatory suppression effect" (Injoque-Ricle, Barreyo, Formoso, & Jaichenco, 2015, p. 61), with articulatory suppression being the use of speech for producing a spoken language interpretation interfering with sub-vocal rehearsal used for memory via the phonological loop (as mentioned previously). And expert performance is driven by discourse-level processing for essential idea units (which act as foci to which details or secondary information are then added) leading to a more effective uses of cognitive resources (which also provides empirical evidence to support Gile's 1995 model). Expert interpreters are better able to judge which idea units are critical and how to structure their interpretations around those critical idea units. This chunking of information supports the more effective use of WM.

Attention and Its Role

Šárka Timarová was trained as a spoken language conference interpreter. In her 2008 dissertation at the University of Vienna, she noted Engle's (2002) suggestion that a large WM span occurs because of leveraging the CE. This controlled attention was something that she wished to explore and did so in her "Working Memory and Simultaneous Interpreting" dissertation. Interpreters with Czech and Dutch as their primary languages—the languages in which they

had native-like proficiency and, thus, worked with as conference interpreters—participated in this study with four executive functions targeted for testing.

Again, we see that experience influences accuracy of output, but also that the EVS is shorter for experienced interpreters when compared with novice/lesser experienced counterparts. This appears to be counter to Cokely's finding for sign language interpreters but may well be due to the restricted domains in which conference interpreters tend to work (in addition to monomodal vs bimodal bilingualism). If conference interpreters operate in familiar settings then presumably they are able to better predict the coming discourse and, therefore, work effectively with a shorter (but not necessarily short) EVS. Timarová's (2008) study also suggested such findings corroborate Moser-Mercer's (1997) hypothesis, in that knowledge is more effectively organized in experienced interpreters facilitating faster lexical access (searching for appropriate words) and retrieval (producing the appropriate words that are found).

Timarová also discovered—with respect to different aspects of CE resilience to interference (measured by a standard divided attention task known as the flanker task)—correlations with interpreting experience. This suggests that the continued experience of spoken language interpreting, during which one must ignore distractions and focus one's attention of the task, improves the general cognitive ability of conflict processing or controlling their attention so that distractors are ignored or inhibited.

This might also be the case for sign language interpreters although we know from Emmorey, Luk, Pyers, and Bialystok (2008), some of the attentional control found in spoken language bilinguals are not found in sign language bilinguals. If the attentional control is part of a general cognitive skill due to spoken language–bilingual language experience, then this might not be relevant for (bimodal) sign language interpreters.

Aptitude and Cognition

Both Brooke Macnamara and Christopher Stone are interested in sign language interpreter aptitude and cognitive advances in bilingualism and interpreting. Gómez, Molina, Benitez, and de Torres

(2007) found that perceptual motor and cognitive skills were more relevant than personality traits—this later served as the main focus of Macnamara's PhD. Now continuing to explore complex bilingual communication performance, (including simultaneous interpreting), independently, both she and Stone explored domain-general cognitive abilities and how they develop through interpreting training and as interpreters become experts. This included a variety of measures including processing speed, psychomotor speed, cognitive control and task-switching ability, WM capacity, and mental flexibility (Macnamara, Moore, Kegl, & Conway, 2011; Stone, 2017).

What is evident from Macnamara's work is that there does appear to be an increase in cognitive control as sign language interpreters develop their expert control between their two languages (Macnamara & Conway, 2014). The classical language inhibition that spoken language bilinguals develop to ensure one language does not interfere with the other, is not something that people learning a sign language seem to develop initially (as we also see with Emmorey et al., 2008). But the evidence suggests that as someone develops their interpreting expertise, rendering between a spoken and signed language, this develops as the extent of bilingual management increases.

Stone (2017) also found a mixed picture of language learning and interpreter aptitude. Some of the initial assessments in the test battery (e.g., the number learning task from the modern language aptitude test) did correlate with early British Sign Language learning results, which suggests that some language aptitude is at play during the beginning of learning. However, this effect disappeared after the first semester, showing that language learning is a complex phenomenon. Stone (2017) also tested working WM capacity longitudinally and was able to verify that, as expected, it did not improve through sign language interpreter education. This confirmed that something more complex is happening with operational WM during the development stages of gaining interpreting expertise.

Other areas of testing proved that there were improvements in psychomotor skills, task switching and cognitive control of attention of students. When compared with expert interpreters these improvements matched the abilities of the expert interpreters by the

end of semester six (of a six-semester course). These results also suggest that although there are some general cognitive enhancements overall interpreting expertise is domain-specific and further research is required to better understand the cognitive specifics of sign language interpreting.

The only personality trait tested was impulsivity via the Barratt's Impulsivity scale (as suggested to Stone by Macnamara). This did discriminate between sign language students in Deaf Studies and sign language interpreting students. The interpreting students were more willing to take risks at the point when Deaf Studies students needed specific scores to continue into the interpreting specialization. However, it would seem that personality traits play more of a role in career longevity than interpreter expertise (Bontempo and Napier, 2011).

SUMMARY

Using interpreting researchers' studies in cognitive psychology, this chapter explored the mental modules engaged during interpretation. Much of this has been driven by models of memory and have evolved and changed as those models have evolved and changed. We have seen how by understanding how we receive (bottom up) and perceive (top down) stimuli we can better prepare ourselves to engage the work that we do. We have also traced the history of some of the models of interpreting that are rooted in cognitive psychology and how experimental evidence helps us to support and develop the models of interpreting that we have. Finally, we have seen how there is still much to learn about the brain and consequentially about the interpreting process itself.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is modularity and how has it influenced models of interpreting?
2. How are shadowing and interpreting similar or different?
3. What tasks might help you prepare for an interpreting event?
4. What is *not* known about sign language interpreting processes that are about spoken language interpreting process?

FURTHER READINGS

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Ericsson, K. A. (2000). Expertise in interpreting: An expert-performance perspective. *Interpreting*, *5*(2), 187–220. doi:10.1075/intp.5.2.08eri

Macnamara, B. N., & Conway, A. R. A. (2016). Working memory capacity as a predictor of simultaneous language interpreting performance. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, *5*(4), 434–444. doi:10.1016/j.jarmac.2015.12.001

Timarová, S., Čeňková, I., Meylaerts, R., Hertog, E., Szmalec, A., & Duyck, W. (2014). Simultaneous interpreting and working memory executive control. *Interpreting*, *16*(2), 139–168. doi:10.1075/intp.16.2.01tim

8

Applying the Lenses

Do it again. Play it again. Sing it again. Read it again. Write it again. Sketch it again. Rehearse it again. Run it again. Try it again. Because again is practice, and practice is improvement, and improvement only leads to perfection. — Richelle E. Goodrich

To understand interpreting, research must be conducted and thus show how theories operate in the world. This is called *praxis*. It is now time to discuss the relationship between the reader and the theories we have discussed. A reader's relationship to theory in some ways depends on their role. For example, students are expected to demonstrate their understanding of the theories by applying them to new data to illuminate a particular phenomenon. Experienced scholars, on the other hand, are charged with applying the theory to data and, while illuminating a particular phenomenon, hone the theory. Our point is that learning the theories is only one part of your task as a future scholar.

IN THIS chapter, you will see the praxis of research in the various disciplines as we discuss VRS.

By the end of this chapter, you will be able to:

1. discuss research methodologies in at least two disciplines
2. create three research questions from three disciplines
3. identify key resources requiring more developed understandings of research methodologies
4. discuss data used by the different disciplines outlined in this book.

CONDUCTING RESEARCH

You have now had the opportunity to read about the various disciplines that contribute to IS as a *transdisciplinary* field. Although we have discussed studies of interpreting that have come from these disciplines, we have now arrived at the moment where we will be more explicit about how researchers would apply these lenses. Our aim in this chapter is to demonstrate how these various disciplines might research the event of video relay services (VRS). We will propose the kinds of questions the specific disciplines might ask, describe the various ways the discipline would begin to explore a topic, take up various kinds of data, describe analyses, and finally, explain how what was discovered explicates interpreting work. We hope that this will help you, the reader, to understand how interpreting can be analyzed in many different ways. It will support you in your own research projects to better hone the type of study you are undertaking and from which disciplinary perspective, and therefore which data type you shall draw upon.

Research is neither easy nor simple, but rather a considered activity. It requires preparation, which often means an abundance of reading on and around a topic, idea, or concept. Many students focus their reading on a specific topic, but, as we have shown interpreting is a multi-layered endeavor, thus reading across disciplines and examining related ideas and concepts is a must in IS. Furthermore, we suggest reading outside of the fields we have discussed here as seemingly unrelated studies can often shed new light on a potential area of focus. Once a sufficient scope of reading has been done, substantial and meaningful questions can be formulated that, once explored, will add to the IS knowledge base.

Once there is a substantive and significant question, a researcher can determine which disciplinary research methods would best answer the question. These methods could yield data including but not limited to films, interviews, surveys, and experimental data. Once data are collected, appropriate analysis, or analyses, occurs. The analysis results in findings and these findings can be reported in a paper, and/or in an oral presentation. Every researcher should want to share their findings with others (see Napier, 2011).

We would like to point out two important issues here. First, each of us has taught undergraduates and graduate students, guiding them

through senior and graduate theses and doctoral dissertations. Within the academy students should explore questions that move IS forward. The issue we see time and again, is that the question a student wants to explore has already been investigated, can be answered using common sense, or cannot be explored using the type of data (qualitative or quantitative) the student wants to collect. Therefore, we will focus on constructing appropriate questions about VRS and the ways in which these questions might be studied within the various disciplines discussed.

A second issue is data type: What kind of data will be collected to answer the question? There are two types of data used in social science research: qualitative and quantitative (see Chapter 1, The Discipline of IS). Qualitative data is heavily descriptive and not meant to be *generalizable*. Linguistics, sociology, and social psychology are categorized under the social sciences, while history and translation are classified under the humanities, with all of the disciplines conducting both qualitative and quantitative data. Cognitive psychology studies are quantitative. Quantitative data draws upon statistics and aims to be generalizable.

As you will see, the data one collects also depends on the discipline she is in. Historians typically use primary and secondary sources, which are documents of various kinds and personal accounts. While they can be interviews with living people, they can also be interviews, records, or reports that occurred and were preserved decades before the historian was born.

Depending on the focus, translation scholars might examine the translation, the product, or the translators, or the process of doing a translation. This can be done through interviews or reflective notes produced by the translator. They could also design a study that asks the translator to talk out loud about what they are thinking as they create a translation (known as think-aloud-protocols [TAPs] [Stone, 2005b]), and then comparing their thoughts with what we know about mental processes that occur, intersecting with cognitive psychology to some extent.

Sociologists, anthropologists, and social psychologists typically use interviews, observations, surveys, and participatory data. They can also use a combination of methods within a *mixed methods* design. Linguists (especially discourse analysts) film interpreters as they work and create transcripts from these recordings to describe what is happening moment by moment. Increasingly, linguists are working on large corpora to analyze data and are using quantitative methods to find frequency effects, among other patterns.

Finally, cognitive psychologists typically design experiments to elicit data. Small sample sizes can help identify robust effects, while larger sample sizes (when available) can identify more subtle effects. These experiments are statistically analyzed to ensure that any findings are significant and have an appropriate effect size.

HISTORY

History requires us to contextualize events, often describing how different factors and different incidents interact or co-occur and bring about particular effects and consequences. To enable us to examine these patterns, we need to draw upon various documents including (but not limited to): the records of meetings (e.g., interpreter associations, Deaf associations, or government committees); legislation and its drafting (e.g., House of Representatives and the Senate, the reading and amendment of bills, enacted law); and personal accounts (e.g., written memoires, diaries, or recorded interviews). We use these different data to form a complex picture of events to better understand how things came about. In so doing we are mindful that some of the information we draw upon is opinion and weigh the opinion in light of other data. Most importantly, good historical research takes time—although, with the increased digitization of many old manuscripts it is becoming possible to search online databases, thus, saving time.

When we consider video relay interpreting there are a variety of questions we can explore historically. Firstly, the idea of technologically supported interpreting can be *deconstructed* from a historical perspective. Originally interpreters would have been present within interactions, providing simultaneous interpreting through *chuchotage* (whispered interpreting); however, this has changed in many contexts as technology advances. The first instances of some kind of remote interpreting would probably be in the 1920s using spoken language interpreting during an International Chamber of Commerce Convention (Flerov, 2014). These developments continued with the

Nuremberg trials being one of the first public viewings of technologically supported interpreting. One strand of historical research could be to look at the development of the technology, and how it was used for interpreting. We can also look at the accounts of using the technology from interpreters to understand the context of use. Much of this research into technology-assisted spoken language interpreting has been done by Gaiba (1998, 1999) and Baigorri-Jalón (2004, 2015), we could then see if these parallel the historical developments of technology-assisted sign language interpreting.

Applying this thinking to sign language interpreting and VRS raises questions that are interesting to an IS historian, for example:

1. What are the first attempts at using videoconferencing technology to deliver sign language interpreting services?
2. What technological advances supported this activity?
3. Were technological advances specific to sign language interpreting or applied from other advances?

In terms of social history, what people or organizations were involved in applying this technology, and were they successful? Perhaps worthy of note at this point is that A. G. Bell, when working on the telephone was originally trying to develop a device to aid his mother and wife who were both deaf. Yet, the (un)intended consequences of his invention would go on to have significant ramifications for signing deaf people.

We can also explore what legislation has been enacted and the subsequent discussions that led to the specific drafting of current legislation, which enable the provision of interpreting services through videophone technology:

1. Why is there is a distinction in VRS (i.e., video technology–assisted phone call interpreting) and video remote interpreting (VRI) (i.e., video technology–assisted interpreting) in some countries?
2. What were the lobbying and political discussions that led to this division?
3. Were there counter-narratives or counter-discourses attempting to secure videophone interpreting rather than VRS or VRI?

As we can see from a historical perspective there are many questions that can be asked and that require us to step back from some of our current assumptions and to better understand how we arrived where we have. Although focusing on VRS, hopefully it is clear that many of the questions posed here could also be asked of other services, such as interpreting provision or interpreting training.

TRANSLATION

Translation Studies (TS), much like IS, now chooses from a vast array of methods borrowed from other disciplines. Comparisons between a source text and its translation was, for many centuries, the primary focus of translation studies. These comparisons were done through linguistic analysis, analyzing the correspondence of meaning between words, phrases, and sentences. These studies posed the question, does the word, phrase, or sentence in the target text mean the same thing as the word, phrase, or sentence in the source language? And if so in what way? While these comparisons are still done today, the scope of such comparisons has broadened considerably.

As centuries went by, scholars gradually turned their attention either to the principles of translation practice or to comparing linguistic categories between languages (see Chapter 3, Translation). By the 1970s, scholars began to call for descriptions of the translation process, investigations of cognitive processes, and examinations of how translators make critical decisions about their translations. By the 1990s, methods for studying translations had been borrowed from approaches such as pragmatics, cross-cultural communication, gender, queer, and postcolonial studies, thus, widening the scope of both inquiry and its effects on how translations were produced. Today, the breadth of these studies provides hundreds of questions about equivalence, discourse, cognition, cultural perspectives, and much more. Moreover, TS is no longer bound to the words on a page; rather, its scope has broadened to include sociocultural, geographical, and historical conditions surrounding texts, as well as studying translators and those who shape and affect the production of a translation.

Traditionally scholars engaged in translation have undertaken comparisons between source and target language looking for

equivalent lexical, phrasal, and syntactic matches. Nowadays these types of studies have finally begun to explore language structures that, while easy for native speakers to produce, may be harder for second-language users (L2) to fully comprehend and often lack an exact equivalent in the target language. For example, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posited that our everyday language is heavily metaphorical and particularly influential in how we conceptualize certain ideas and concepts. They noted that speakers of English have conceptualized the following about language and communication:

1. Ideas are objects.
2. Language expressions are containers.
3. Communication is sending. (p. 9)

An example of this conceptualization is: "It's difficult to *put* my ideas *into* words" (p. 10, italics in original). Ideas cannot be literally *put into* words, words are not *conduits* for meanings; thus, the sentence is metaphorical. So while speakers of English are accustomed to thinking and speaking this way, it may be that a different language, like American Sign Language, does not conceptualize language and communication in the same way. Roush's (2011) study of this metaphor in English, which he translated to American Sign Language, found that it is difficult to maintain the same meaning-in-container metaphors while attempting to render a match that is acceptable and idiomatic for a deaf American Sign Language audience. Because American Sign Language depends upon the visual expression of the body to show meaning in iconic ways, there is no arbitrarily formed container (words) to carry the meaning. Rather, meaning is expressed through the signer's body and space. This moves the discussion of equivalency to a more complex, yet fruitful, level; word-for-word matches are not as important as conceptual matches. Different conceptualizations of communication have implications for how deaf versus non-deaf people understand communication through telephone technology and VRS.

Another example of a complicated linguistic structure is the use of *constructed dialogue* (CD) which refers to direct quotations (Tannen, 1986). She claimed that in the retelling of what a person said no one can repeat what somebody actually said verbatim, rather they are

creating dialogue from memory. Tannen's study demonstrated that, "the words have ceased to be those of the speaker to whom they are attributed, having been appropriated by the speaker who is repeating them" (p. 101). American Sign Language also makes use of CD (Roy, 1989b) in a wide range of settings that may vary in types of discourse and level of formality (Thumann, 2011). While both languages use CD, the frequency at which they occur and purpose for which they are used is often times different between the two languages (Nilsson, 2010; Armstrong, 2011).

Mike DeMeo (2012) found that five interpreters, interpreting from an American Sign Language lecture to spoken English, often produced interpretations that did not use CD as English is very limited in its use of CD, especially in formal lectures. Moreover, the interpreters created equivalent interpretations of CD using a variety of different English constructions. For every instance of CD in ASL, none of the five interpreters used the same type of English syntactic constructions. Would these interpreters have used more English CD constructions in VRS calls between family and friends?

Questions like these and the ones that follow can be explored through the lens of TS:

1. What does an interpreted product into American Sign Language or English reveal about how communication works during VRS calls?
2. Do deaf VRS callers have mind concepts that conflict with non-deaf phone callers?
3. Being indirect is another feature of many languages. How do interpreters translate/interpret equivalents for indirect utterances in English and American Sign Language?

Many questions can be explored from a translation lens, and another example can be seen in Christopher Stone's (2005a, 2009) studies of Deaf translators and interpreters (T/Is). Stone's investigation was composed of multiple approaches to his question; one of the most interesting was his use of TAPs. TAPs allow a researcher to elicit translator decisions at various stages of composing and revising translations. In this way, Stone is not simply relying on their first thoughts but rather their evolving thinking along the way, and then returning

for more questions and reflections. This type of data from multiple translators was but one part of a description and explanation of the worldview of Deaf translators.

Stone not only studied the interpreters' decisions and comments, but he also examined their signed translations at various stages. He analyzed the pragmatic *enrichments* (additions that make information explicit) and *impoverishments* (omissions that delete unnecessary information) of a translated text, and applied a prosodic analysis of the performed interpretations/translations. These multiple sources of data—interviews, recordings of translator thinking, prosodic and pragmatic analyses—all allowed Stone to *triangulate* his data, which means rather than relying on one source of data, he had multiple ways to provide a *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) of the norms of Deaf translation (see Chapter 3, Translation, for a further discussion of findings). Stone (2009) wrote, "The Deaf translation norm operates outside of the English SL" (p. 167). Applying this approach to sign language interpreting and video relay services specifically, a researcher can ask: is there a deaf translation norm for two-dimensional conversations via technology?

For almost 50 years, interpreter education programs have been teaching signed languages and interpreting in order to produce quality interpreters, and have failed, with some exceptions. Second-language learners have a difficult time separating themselves from their first language and often cannot "operate outside." Stone's research has shown us the ways in which Deaf interpreters, native speakers of signed languages, create the quality translations we have all seen and can hope to emulate now that we know how they are constructed.

LINGUISTICS

Linguists, particularly discourse analysts, are interested in how people accomplish everyday living through language. Video relay has afforded deaf people access to services and assistance on a scale never seen before. Video relay calls are conversations between two people who not only do not speak the same language, but also cannot see each other, therefore they cannot even use visual cues to make judgments about meaning or intention; they are both totally reliant on

an interpreter. Discourse analysts are then interested in how these conversations take place through an interpreter, how all the participants make sense of the conversation, and how they are successful or unsuccessful.

Generally, people talk in close proximity to each other, looking at each other while they talk or sign. In these face-to-face conversations, people take turns talking. In both American Sign Language and English, this turn-taking in ordinary conversations has been studied. Most of you learned how to take a turn, or get someone's attention as you grew up or in your sign language classes. Discourse analysts who study interpreting are interested in how this ordinary, everyday part of conversation happens when routed through an interpreter. Not only does this study describe what interpreters do as they actually interpret, but it also provides insight into the decisions interpreters make when communicative problems arise. That interest becomes a research question that has been answered: how does turn-taking happen when communicating through an interpreter? When we add in a video relay call, the question becomes: how does turn-taking happen when the participants cannot see each other through VRS.

While we could ask the three participants how the turn-taking happens, chances are they are not paying attention to turn-taking. When people make, or receive phone calls, they are focused on their reason for calling, not how many turns they get. Turn-taking just happens and no one notices it unless they think they're being interrupted. Moreover, our memories are not structured to remember the unconscious and automatic things we do when we talk. We do not count turns, so attempting to research this phenomenon by directly talking to the participants will not be helpful.

The primary way to observe what happens during this kind of interaction is to film it. Turn-taking is typically studied by recording the conversation, either audiotaping, or videotaping. However, federal rules forbid taping video relay calls, nor can a researcher observe calls. What researchers can do is to create mock calls and make the situation be as natural as possible. Annie Marks, a doctoral student at Gallaudet University, did this research over the span of several courses in her doctoral studies. She asked organizations to support her financially and ask the video relay companies to give her the hardware and

software to conduct a video relay call. Then, she asked interpreters and deaf people to participate. The deaf people were asked to select a non-deaf person to talk to, and the topic of conversation was left to the caller. When that was done, Marks set up times for the calls to be made and recorded and the conversations went forward as natural as possible. She filmed the interpreters and Deaf people and audio-recorded the non-deaf people.

From the recordings, Marks (2015, 2018) used the software program ELAN to transcribe and annotate what was said and done during the calls. The screen shot in Figure 8.1 of the recorded call shows the interpreter on the left as seen from the recording and the deaf caller on the right with the interpreter as seen by the deaf person. Below, on the left side, are tiers in which the researcher can note various aspects when turn-taking occurs: requests for clarification, responses to questions, turn management and more. In this way, the researcher can see how and when turns happen and what everyone is doing or saying at the time.

Marks (2018) then analyzed how interpreters managed these turns. As expected, attempts to talk or sign at the same moment present a dilemma for interpreters. Previous research had already demonstrated that interpreters manage and coordinate turns in face-to-face conversations (Roy, 2000; Sanheim, 2003), especially when both

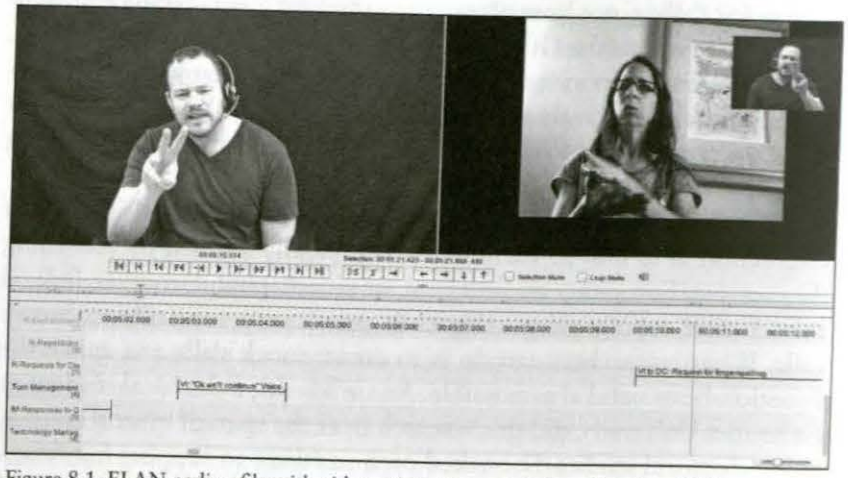

Figure 8.1. ELAN coding file with videos, tiers, and annotations (Marks, 2018).

participants begin a turn at the same time. Roy (2000, p. 85) found that interpreters have basically four options when both people begin to talk:

1. Stop one (or both) speaker(s) and allow the other speaker to continue.
2. Momentarily ignore one speaker's overlapping talk, hold the segment in memory, continue interpreting, and then deliver the "held" talk.
3. Ignore overlapping talk completely.
4. Momentarily ignore overlapping talk and then offer the next turn to the speaker, or indicate that a turn was attempted.

In addition to these options, Marks (2018) found that interpreters incorporated *strategies* "within their interpretations that resulted in omissions, addition of fillers[1] in English and American Sign Language, and prosodic changes such as held handshapes and lengthening of signs" (p. 12).

Interpreters also utilize various behaviors for coordinating interaction and managing turns. Marks (2018, p. 21) described three behaviors for managing turns in video relay calls: manipulation of eye contact and gaze, offering or holding turns, and headset contact. For example, she found that by looking down, the interpreters did not have to acknowledge attempts to take a turn, or participate by Deaf callers.

So, what does this all mean? First, Marks's findings both support and add to our body of knowledge about the linguistic work interpreters do. These findings are further evidence that this work is not only to relay messages between people, but also to be aware of the communication process and, at times, manage that process. Moreover, studies like these lead to further substantial research questions suggested by Marks, such as:

1. What behaviors do interpreters employ in managing the turn-taking with non-deaf callers?
2. What are the differences in the patterns of turn-taking in situ (in-person) interpreting versus VRS interpreting?
3. How do language dynamics and the role of interpreters influence conversational flow?

Marks's findings have important implications for the praxis of education, as they add to our body of knowledge about how best to educate interpreters, especially regarding decisions they will likely have to make. By describing what experienced practitioners do, we can pass on that knowledge to students and better prepare them for the work of interpreting. These techniques and strategies are rarely taught in educational programs or by the video relay companies, yet are important for successful interpreted interactions via VRS or by phone. Indeed, these have been explored for other sign languages and spoken language combinations (see Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, for an analysis of Swedish Sign Language and Swedish).

SOCIOLOGY

As we explored in Chapter 5, sociology is the study of interaction between the individual and society and the behaviors that result from that interaction. Is the individual a member of a group? If so, how does that influence their behavior? Are the individuals working within a particular setting? If so, what attire do they choose to wear to the assignment? There are a lot of directions a researcher could go within sociology. However, the focus must always be on this interaction and its effect.

Answering these types of questions can take on different forms. Some sociologists use survey data to explore phenomenon. That is, we might want to know what the makeup is (demographics) of the field of interpreting. For this we could design a survey that would explore the age, gender identity, sexual identity, ethnicity, race, education, and hearing status of a particular population. We could also ask about the types of settings in which interpreters typically work and how much they earn in these settings. We might want to ask how people came to be interpreters. Did they attend an IEP? Do they have a family member who is deaf? Did they simply choose an elective in American Sign Language to complete their degree? Or were they members of a church that had deaf members?

The data collected during surveys are generalizable. That is, we can take a snapshot of a population, in this case sign language interpreters, and based on the information we can assume that the entire population is similar. This means that for a sample to be (statistically) *representative* it must have a similar makeup as the entire population and be of sufficient size. For example, as there are mostly women in the field of sign language interpreting, a sample of the field of sign language interpreting should have more women than men. Since there are more white interpreters in the United States than another group, if we were studying interpreters in the United States, we should have more white people in our sample. What we cannot answer with this kind of data is *why* or *how*; that is, why do interpreters identify with deaf people more than non-deaf people, or how do interpreters respond to practices of audism? These types of questions require narratives and back-and-forth dialogue.

Another type of data sociologists collect is qualitative, a feature shared by both sociology and anthropology. Both fields use interviewing and participant observations to collect data. Within this tradition, a sociologist or anthropologist might decide to ask a subset of a population a set of questions. Rather than asking all interpreters about VRS, a researcher may ask 20 interpreters who regularly work in VRS centers to discuss their work and experiences (see Brunson, 2011).

The aim of qualitative research is different than quantitative. The data collected in this tradition is descriptive and describes how people experience the world. Rather than quantifying the numbers of people in a group, an interview produces data that help researchers understand the *why* and *how* of someone's experiences. Why do interpreters socialize with deaf people outside of work? How do interpreters come to study sign language interpreting? We cannot, with the data one would collect with qualitative studies, answer *how many* questions. How many deaf people have been unsuccessful in passing the Certified Deaf Interpreter (CDI) exam through the RID? How many interpreters are LGBTQ community members? We could ask a group of CDIs about their experiences taking the test. We could ask some interpreters about their feelings toward LGBTQ members, however.

Let us now apply the lens of sociology and anthropology to data. In the excerpt provided in Figure 8.2, the participant discusses how his work is influenced within this, at the time, a new way of interpreting provision. In his explanation of his experience the interpreter recounts various decisions he makes about in-group racial identity and

how he produces his interpretation to ensure that the two interlocutors are on the "same level" (line 5) during the call. He also explains in lines 7 to 10 (Figure 8.3) that, as he was told by his colleague, gender influences his behavior. From the data, we cannot be sure that this is accurate. However, the participant confesses that his behavior does support his colleague's statement.

1 Video relay service interpreting has just come around since I finished the [Interpreting
2 Training] Program so I am sure they are talking about it now. I could probably go back
3 and take classes now in it. (laughing). Those things I still struggle with. If I have a
4 black caller and he is using (starts to rock body) his urban colloquial, and his counterpart
5 is on the same level. Do I want to keep it white bread (signifies a higher level/register*)?
6 Or do I want to bring it to that level (bring it down*)? What I have done is try to match.
7 Recently, I had a colleague, Brenda, who was observing me, say that men tend to match
8 the hearing person instead of matching the deaf person. I guess, when I am listening to
9 the hearing person, I tend to match that level instead of the [deaf person's] register. I am
10 not sure how I feel about that. It is a little unnerving. I am very aware of my
11 involvement in the process. These are things that I have questions about and since I
12 haven't gotten an answer, I go with my gut. My gut tells me to voice it as, (feigning a
13 black dialect), "What up, whatcha fit'n do nite?" I am going to try to match that and
14 relax a little with my signing. Make it clear but make it...in sync with what their
15 conversation is.

* Indicates those comments that were signed.

Figure 8.2. Excerpted VRS Interpreter Interview (Brunson, 2011).

7 Recently, I had a colleague, Brenda, who was observing me, say that men tend to match the
8 hearing person instead of matching the deaf person. I guess, when I am listening to the hearing
9 person, I tend to match that level instead of the [deaf person's] register. I am not sure how I
10 feel about that. It is a little unnerving.

Figure 8.3. Lines 7–10 of excerpted VRS Interpreter Interview (Brunson, 2011).

Gender is a powerful social institution that we all participate in on a daily basis. We agree with Patricia Yancey Martin (2004) who asserts that gender is a social institution (see Chapter 5, Sociology and Anthropology). It is more than biology; it is a set of practices and social relations that influence persons' behaviors.

Furthermore, neither sociology nor anthropology are simply about documenting what people said during an interview. During our years of teaching research and guiding theses, we have noticed that students (and some experienced scholars) who attempt to apply a sociological lens fail to move beyond the comments in an interview. Participants' comments are important because they are the product of years of conditioning. They point to ways that people are raised, their religious beliefs, their training, education, circle of friends, and a variety of other influencing factors. The sociologist (and anthropologist) starts with what is said, or observed and then explores those comments in relation to society, social structures, and institutions. They work to put the comments in context. This is not only the context of the moment the comment was made, but also the sociohistorical and biographical contexts.

An interesting study about gender and interpreting, which would include a sociohistorical and biographical context, might examine if male interpreters typically match the non-deaf person and not the deaf person. We might want to use observational methods to see how the matching occurs. It might also be interesting to explore what is the breakdown of how this occurs. Do straight men exhibit this more often than gay men? What about white men as opposed to black men? Is this different for heritage signers and non-heritage signers? What, if any, are the differences? While these are interesting questions, sociology or anthropology researchers must first connect their analyses to the society or culture in which they occur. Rather than simply suggesting that men match non-deaf people, we also need to explore what leads to this.

It would be overly simplistic (and common sense) to suggest that it is because men and non-deaf people hold power in our society. Therefore, their shared privileged status leads to the male interpreters to have an allegiance to non-deaf people. I would suggest a more interesting question is: "How do men learn about their privilege?" This could be further explored with questions such as:

1. What phenomenon are occurring in VRS that are influenced by social institutions like the family, religion, education, and government?
2. What does that privilege, as it plays out in matching, mean for the interaction between the callers?

In this way, we are not stating the obvious, but rather we are exploring the *why* and *how* of the obvious, as would be done within sociology and anthropology.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social psychologists explore how people interpret the world around them and how that interpretation influences how they behave in a given situation. It focuses on the interpretation given by individuals and the meaning they assign to certain artifacts, moments, or statements. A question someone employing a sociopsychological lens might ask is "how do interpreters understand the notion of audism?" Or "what behaviors are identified as Deaf heart?" Other questions might be "how do interpreters present themselves as professionals?" or "how do interpreters determine how to adhere to the codes of professional conduct of their professional organizations?"

These questions can be asked to a group of people or could be focused on one or two people. The focus of social psychology is to understand, from the person(s) under study, the meaning of an event, artifact, or statement. Social psychology examines issues at the micro-level, these findings are rarely generalizable. However, the findings of these kinds of studies can provide insight into people's motivations. This can be the motivations of only the people under study or representative of a larger population.

Qualitative research lends itself well to the subjective nature of social psychology. While talking or interviewing people, researchers can probe for further information to gain a broader understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Again, qualitative research cannot be generalized. We cannot assume that all (or even a majority of) interpreters worldwide will agree with or see "Deaf heart" the same way. What we can do with this approach, however, is begin to see how subsections of various populations experience the world.

The hybrid nature of social psychology (i.e., sociology and psychology) influences the investigation of how phenomena occur. While sociology influences the qualitative side, the discipline of psychology is influenced by the experimental approach to studying events. Because sociology is about people interacting with society, it is often impossible to re-create those social moments that might be of interest to the sociologist or the social psychologist. Psychology, however, is able to benefit from various kinds of experiments and therefore the psychologist or social psychologist who is studying a psychological phenomenon can design an experiment.

Stanley Milgram is perhaps most renowned for his sociopsychological study of obedience. Attempting to understand how seemingly "good" people, such as those in Nazi-occupied Germany during World War II, inspired Milgram (1963, 1974) to carry out his study that involved a "Tester," "Learner," and an "Experimenter." In the experiment—which was completely staged—the Tester would ask a series of questions to the Learner. If the Learner answered correctly, the Tester would proceed to the next question. If, however, the Learner provided an incorrect answer, the Tester would administer an electrical "shock" by pressing a button. These shocks would increase in voltage as the experiment progressed. Eventually, the Learner would stop responding, presumably unable to because of the intensity of the electrical shocks.

What makes this a sociopsychological study? Milgram's analysis was not concerned with how often the Learner was able to provide correct answers. Instead, it was about how the Tester, who was the real focus of the study and unaware that the Learner was acting, responded to the Experimenter as an authority figure, and the Learner as someone being tortured. Many of the Testers were hesitant to continue but when instructed to do so from the Experimenter they continued. In a hopeful gesture of the future of humankind some did stop and refuse to continue (phew!). But it was only after "shocking" the incorrect Learner several times.

What would make someone continue to exact such pain on a complete stranger? Why didn't more people refuse? The Experimenter was only armed with the persona of a scientist and a lab coat, with no other tools of persuasion at hand. Yet, people often went along with the Experimenter's instructions. This is simply one sociopsychological

12	haven't gotten an answer, I go with my gut. My gut tells me to voice it as, (feigning a
13	black dialect), "What up, whatcha fit'n do nite?" I am going to try to match that and
14	relax a little with my signing. Make it clear but make it...in sync with what their
15	conversation is.

Figure 8.4. Lines 12–15 of excerpted VRS interpreter interview (Brunson, 2011).

study. However, all studies in this discipline focus on how social interaction shapes the behavior of individuals.

Again, let us turn to the data provided in Figure 8.4. The participants' discussions of their perceptions and reactions to notions of race provide terrific data for a sociopsychological analysis. For example, in line 13 one of the callers asks "what up? What you fit'n do nite" then the interpreter sees someone, he perceives to be black. This is the type of information that interests social psychologists. How, for example, has he come to "know" what a black person sounds like? Does his notion of being "in sync" (line 14) mimic something he may have seen in a movie such as *The Color Purple?* Does he sound more like Tyler Perry's alter ego Madea or Dwayne Johnson's character in *Baywatch?* It might be easy to label him a bigot or racist and move on but the reality is that understanding race in the United States is informed by the various media he is undoubtedly bombarded with on a daily basis.

Although these data do not delve into this issue, we could, using a sociopsychological lens, begin to explore where this understanding developed:

1. What clued the participant in that the non-deaf caller was black?
2. What media in society informed his understanding of what a black man typically sounds like?
3. What artifacts does he rely on for his own presentation of this caller's race?

As you can see it requires more than a moment of observation. Like all research, it takes time to fully explore a single moment and its origins.

COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGY

If we consider VRS from a cognitive psychology perspective then we are probably looking at undertaking experiments where we manipulate the conditions to see whether or not a specific phenomenon influences the outcomes of the experiment. Experiments can use a more direct measure or a less direct measure of cognitive activity to see whether there is an effect, and if so whether or not this is statistically significant and the size of the effect. We need to consider what we are trying to measure be that perception, attention, cognitive load, or other cognitive processes.

If we look at some of the studies that have been undertaken on interpreting then we can see how they would apply to VRS. Primarily, it would be possible to set up an experimental and *control condition* (or "neutral") so that we can compare the effects of the manipulation. We could have an interpreter interpret a scripted role-play with deaf and non-deaf participants live versus via VRS. This could enable us to explore:

1. whether or not there is a greater cognitive load or burden because of the use of technology and the shift from 3-D to 2-D
2. whether this cognitive load is due to the following factors:
   a. fewer contextual clues
   b. different cognitive environments (e.g., you cannot not see what people are pointing at)

A variety of indirect measures could be used to explore this study, such as noting:

1. What are the number and types of errors that occur?
2. What are the number and types of clarifications that occur?
3. What is the length of *lag-time* or *processing time* that is used?

This type of analysis would then be similar to Llewellyn-Jones (1982) and Cokely (1985), who each studied the language product as an indirect measure of cognitive activity (see Chapter 7, Cognitive Psychology). If we wish to emulate the Gerver (1971) study, we could add a third condition of degrading the video signal to see:

1. What effect does a degraded video signal have on interpreting performance?

There are some more direct measures that could be used to evaluate the cognitive effort involved in interpreting via VRS when compared with face-to-face interpreting. For example, Moser-Mercer et al. (1998) (see also Moser-Mercer, 2003, for a more comprehensive report for the International Telecommunications Union) measured the level of cortisol (stress hormone) produced by interpreters working for extended periods of time and the effect of this fatigue on performance. For our experiment, we could measure the stress hormone in the two (or three) different experimental conditions (e.g., faster and slower language speed; degraded video signal, etc.) and see:

1. Do different factors in VRS invoke different physiological stress responses?

And of course, this measure can be compared against indirect measures to ascertain whether there is any interaction between these variables.

We would need to consider the participants carefully so that we do not *confound* our results (i.e., not control for different variables). Are we ensuring that the interpreters (subjects) have the same level of expertise/experience? What selection criteria will we use to ensure that we have recruited interpreters of similar cognitive ability? Will we be using some offline pre-experimental tasks (e.g., no-verbal or verbal IQ tests, working memory tasks, attention control tasks) to ensure that the subjects meet our recruitment criteria, or to use as a further measure against performance as we see in Macnamara et al. (2011), Stone (2017), or Tímarová (2008) (see Chapter 7, Cognitive Psychology)?

It could be that we wish to recruit interpreters of different abilities, say students and professionals (this is a paradigm that is often used), in which case, which students are we recruiting? Do they have the same language and interpreting competence? What professionals are we recruiting? Is having national certification sufficient or are we looking for a specific kind of expertise?

We can then also decide whether we are undertaking a *within group study* where we compare those individuals in the group against themselves. Or an *across group study* where we compare two supposed groups against each other. In cognitive terms that might mean we need to think of the level of expertise within a specific domain (i.e., for this scenario experience with VRS calls) or within a specific topic (e.g., calling a helpline number, or having a phone meeting with their supervisor). And whichever factors (age, years of experience, certification, first language, etc.) we note are relevant to the cognitive functioning in relation to the experimental task and the manipulation we are undertaking.

To take a further example, it could be of interest to study the role of preparation (if we consider the discussion above of some of the social institutional factors that influence remote interpreting and the interpreter interacting with a deaf client before an interpreting job or not). Braun (2007) examined the role of anticipation in small-group bilingual video conferences and found the experimental conditions that we could consider manipulating are, in fact, preparatory material that affect an interpreting process (see also McDermid, Fenton, & Chasney, 2016). Again, we could use indirect measures to ascertain whether this affects the cognitive load of the interpreter. We could also use a more direct measure such as the task-evoked pupillary responses (i.e., a contraction of the pupil in relation to additional cognitive load) used by Seeber and Kerzel (2012) to measure online cognitive load during simultaneous interpreting.

In cognitive psychology, we are looking at ensuring we have a well-designed experiment, aiming to ensure the only thing that is changing in the experimental conditions is the single factor that we are manipulating. We need the measure we are using to be fine-grained enough and the number of participants (*N*) sufficient for us to find a *statistically significant* result that has a large enough effect size to warrant the results to be considered as a notable finding. Finally, cognitive psychology helps to explicate the role of expertise in interpreting, the environmental factors that affect our cognitive performance, and the underlying cognitive functions that are recruited into the interpreting process. However, it is important to recognize that in manipulating variables in "lab conditions" we lose *ecological validity*. That is to say that while the findings might be generalizable the lab conditions move the task away from the actually reality of the lived experience of interpreting.

SUMMARY

Throughout this book we have discussed the various disciplines that have been applied to the study of IS. Our discussion of these six disciplines is not intended to be exhaustive. We imagine that it is possible to examine interpreting through nearly every academic lens. We also recognize that the studies we have discussed, the ways they were applied, and the methods they have used are not the only ways in which these disciplines can be useful to understanding interpreting. We encourage students, faculty members, and future scholars to look for other ways that these disciplines and other disciplines can be taken up in the knowledge creation endeavor that is Interpreting Studies.

Our final point would be that working within a transdisciplinary framework may mean that we no longer think of methods as confined to one discipline, rather that there are methods that are appropriate for analysis at the *macro*, *meso*, and *micro* levels. We suggest that we do not dwell on a binary division between qualitative versus quantitative data. We hope we have shown that different questions can be addressed using different lenses and different theories and that each of these gives us different pieces of the interpreting puzzle.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the benefits and drawbacks of generalizing findings from studies?
2. Do you think IS scholars should strive to incorporate more than one discipline in their research? Why or why not?
3. What questions about interpreting do you think are important, unanswered, or might add to our body of knowledge?
4. Having read this book, what does it mean to look at interpreting as a transdisciplinary phenomemon?

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