

DEAF INTERPRETING IN EUROPE

Exploring best practice in the field



Christopher Stone, Editor

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Preface

This publication is the outcome of the Erasmus+ project *Developing Deaf Interpreting*. The project has been underway since September 2015 and has been a cooperation between Higher Educational Institutions in Europe undertaking deaf interpreter training, as well as national and European NGOs in the field. The project partners are: Institute for German Sign Language (IDGS) at Hamburg University, Coimbra Polytechnic Institute (IPC), Humak University of Applied Sciences, European Forum of Sign Language Interpreters (efsl), and the Danish Deaf Association (DDA).

The studies in this publication are the result of a collaboration between deaf and hearing researchers. These include: Christian Rathmann, Simone Scholl, Christian Peters (Hamburg University), Isabel Correia, Amílcar Furtado, Neuza Santana, Rafaela Cota Da Silva, and Joana Da Silva Conde E Sousa (Coimbra Polytechnic Institute), Päivi Rainö, Liisa Halkosaari, Outi Ahonen, Outi Mäkelä, Tytti Koslonen (Humak University of Applied Sciences), Mette Sommer, Karen Talks, Bo Hårdell, and Tinne Lund (DDA), and Christopher Stone and Sofia Isari (efsl).

Each contribution has been written specifically for this publication and draws upon data collected during the project. Each partner has engaged in areas of their own interest and expertise culminating in this volume. Partner meetings have enabled the discussion and further exploration of the themes raised in the contributions and we are grateful for the lively discussions that have enabled this project to bear fruit.

We hope that this publication will give a clearer picture of what is currently happening and the future directions in which the field of interpreting may develop. Our hope is that we will arrive in a place where the needs of the situation, and the skills and expertise of individual interpreters bring to bear on that situation are prioritised over and above the hearing status (deaf or hearing) of the interpreter. This does however, presuppose that interpreting services are tailored to the needs of the service users and service providers which with financial and system changes is ever less the case.

We are extremely grateful to a large number of people. Firstly, we want to thank all the deaf interpreters who have been willing to share their experiences with the researchers and all the participants who engaged in the research that enabled this publication to be achieved. We also want to thank the national and regional deaf associations, the national and regional associations of sign language interpreters, and the educational institutions of sign language interpreter training for taking time to participate in the questionnaire survey.

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The deaf way of interpreting mathematical concepts

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ABSTRACT

In this article, we focus on mathematical problem-solving articulated by native signers in Finnish Sign Language (FinSL) and discuss how to render this kind of linguistic behaviour understandably in its completeness. The phenomenon – calculating aloud in a visual manner – is still very commonplace in the Finnish deaf culture. The linguistic process itself is intelligible for native signers monitoring the calculation, but to our experience, these mathematical narratives have mostly passed unobserved and remain a mystery to outsiders. One of the reasons may lie in the fact that a mathematical discourse conducted by a deaf person can be misconstrued as “counting with fingers”.

Numerous studies have shown that deaf children and adults lag behind hearing individuals in terms of arithmetical and mathematical performance. Deaf students’ performance remains constantly “below basic level”. Deaf students’ learning difficulties in mathematics are seen as being related to linguistic problems but this bias should be revisited. It is possible that deaf peoples’ way of counting has not been correctly understood and interpreted into spoken language to the researchers. In few research articles have been postulated the possibility that deaf people should be allowed to also use visual linguistic strategies when testing their abilities in mathematics.

Besides short descriptive articles, mathematical narratives in sign language have not been an object of interest in handbooks of FinSL or for other sign languages of which we are aware. This is why this linguistic genre may remain opaque for hearing non-native sign language interpreters, too. Mathematics is one of those specialties where, not only native users of sign language, but especially people raised in the deaf community would be needed as intermediaries explaining the conceptual differences between the two operational cultures – deaf and hearing – interpreting the phenomena of the mathematical universe.

Keywords: calculations, deaf mathematics, FinSL

1 INTRODUCTION

When deaf adults calculate mentally, they often use their hands to perform extremely minimal but highly visible movements (see tinyurl.com/maths-FinSL). Similar mathematical behaviour can still be found among modern merchants e.g. in Africa and Oseania; this phenomenon was not foreign to people of ancient times either (Ifrah, 1994). Despite the fact that the phenomenon of using hands as a “visual abacus” is a very commonplace linguistic activity in the Finnish deaf community and in our everyday language use, it has remained unnoticed in sign language teaching for interpreters, not to mention the fact that it was never, to our knowledge, used in teaching mathematics in sign language medium schools for the deaf.

Apart from being misconstrued as calculation with fingers, another possible explanation why this calculation method cultivated within the deaf community has been overlooked may lie in the fact that the processes are complicated to transliterate or translate comprehensibly into

spoken languages (Rainò et al., 2014). Remaining as an unknown practice¹ for the non-native interpreters the “deaf way of calculation” may be misleadingly interpreted. Huovila (2013, p.18) reports encountering hearing sign language interpreters (SLIs) who erroneously translated deaf pupils’ reasoning during her mathematics courses as they were not aware the process of addition and subtraction starts from “the right to left”, i.e. from bigger to smaller units (see figure 2).

We have utilized this Erasmus+ project to create a collection of educational material for the use of both deaf and hearing sign language interpreter (SLI) students attending our training programme at the Humak University of Applied Sciences (Humak UAS). With various textual examples containing monologues and dialogues on mathematical problem solving, modelling the conceptualization of mathematical entities in FinSL, we seek to offer not only diverse ways of approaching and problematizing mathematics tasks but also examples for their multimodal interpretation and translation.

In this paper, we present some examples of signed mathematical monologues conducted by deaf people using Finnish Sign Language (FinSL). It has to be noted, though, that in our efforts to keep the metatext simple when interpreting the performance in written language, we were required to describe simple mathematical tasks. This spatially and visually complex phenomena would, in fact, require another mode of publication than the printed word, e.g. a multimedia format possibly exploiting the affordances offered by the augmented reality.

2 THEORY

In numerous studies from this and last century researchers have repeatedly shown that deaf people lag behind hearing individuals in arithmetical and mathematical performance (e.g. Frostad, 1999; Nunes and Moreno, 1998; Kelly et al., 2002; Foisack, 2003; Hyde et al., 2003; Kelly et al., 2003; Lang and Pagliaro, 2007; Bull, 2008; Kritzer, 2009; Foisack et al., 2013; Pagliaro and Kritzer, 2013). This result should, however, be questioned since the studies (except those of Foisack, 2003, Pagliaro and Ansell, 2012, and Lindahl, 2015 regarding natural sciences) do not show evidence that the deaf subjects have had the opportunity to apply calculation strategies cultivated in sign language when participating in (written) assessments. Another regrettable fallacy is that deaf students’ learning difficulties in mathematics are related to their linguistic problems connected to the written language.

This article is based on the observations by Huovila, Rainò and Seilola (e.g. Seilola and Rainò, 2008; Huovila et al., 2010; Rainò et al., 2010, 2013, 2014) and analyses of their data of a corpus of monologues and dialogues in FinSL where deaf adults present and discuss arithmetic calculations. Besides these articles there are, to our knowledge, no other linguistic analyses conducted in Finland. Elsewhere we find random observations made by Foisack (2003, Section 6.2) for children using Swedish Sign Language (SSL) and Pagliaro and Ansell (2012) for children using American Sign Language that have studied in depth deaf peoples’ linguistic behaviour when solving mathematical problems. And in her dissertation Lindahl (2015) analysed discourses conducted in SSL concerning concepts and phenomena in physics and organic chemistry. Lindahl (2015) has also conducted research on collective meaning creation processes between mathematics teachers, science teachers and deaf bilingual pupils in a multimodal context, exploiting the framework of translanguaging (see for example García 2009, García and Sylvan, 2011).

In their “mathematical thinking-aloud” Finnish deaf people use fingers, both hands and three-dimensional neutral space in front of the signer extremely systematically (see Rainò and Seilola, 2008 for a discussion of addition, subtraction, division and multiplication). Fingers and hands with their movements in space have special roles where all of these elements are used as buoys (Lidell, 2003) when calculating and anchoring, for example, totals and subtotals in “a visual abacus”.

1. One of the factors that has kept “the deaf way of calculating” under cover may be the commonplace thinking that “calculating with your fingers” is considered a sign of immature mathematical abilities. Recent neurological findings, however, show the opposite, Berteletti and Booth (2015) maintain that educational practices should encourage the use of fingers as a functional link between numerical quantities and their symbolic representation as well as an external support for learning arithmetic problems.

This shows the relationships between the numbers and results of calculations, while the actual calculations are performed mentally (Seilola and Rainò, 2008; Rainò et al., 2013, 2014.)

The processes described above differ completely from number representations in sign language [studied in adult deaf signers by Korvorst et al., 2007]. In FinSL, for instance, cardinal and other sequential numbers are one-hand signs produced with the dominant hand. When signing, for instance, the first nine cardinal numbers [1–9], the palm orientation is towards the signer with fingers pointing straight up [cf. '1' in Figure 1a]. 'Tens' are signed with a slight movement downwards [as in Figure 2a], whereas 'hundreds' contain a horizontal movement to the side with fingertips pointing towards the centre line [Figure 1b]. Corresponding ordinal numbers, taking only one domain of the many semantic domains of morphemes for numeral, are produced by varying the palm and finger orientation and the position of the hand in the space. (Suvi, 2018, *Numeraalit* [Numerals].)

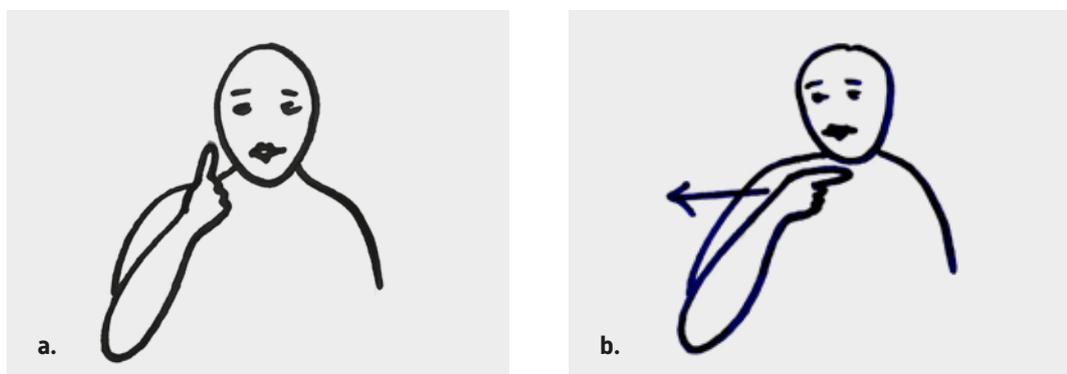


Figure 1. Cardinal numbers 1 (a) and 100 (b) in FinSL.

When signing calculation the orientation of palm and fingers roughly follows that of cardinal numbers but the hands are kept lower in the signing space and tilted slightly away from the signer [as in figures 2 and 3]. When a signer performs or illustrates a calculation, they may watch their fingers, which is never the case in normal discourse (unless the signer is recalling something and repeating his or her words sign by sign). The calculation process is illustrated below with two simple examples [figures 2 and 3; cf. Rainò et al. 2013]. In a task of addition ($23 + 23$) the signer



Figure 2. Counting aloud $23 + 23$ in FinSL (Rainò et al., 2013).

would first place tens in both hands (Figure 2a) then move the sum [40] to “the intermediate memory” on the non-dominant hand (Figure 2b), after which ones [3+3] would be added to the fingers of the dominant hand producing the sum 6 (Figure 2b–c).

Figure 3 illustrates the special use of visual abacus in multiplication. During the calculation pro-

cess of 3×8 the signer first splits the task into sub-calculations ($2 \times 8 + 8$) anchoring eights one by one with the dominant hand (representing the cardinal number 8) by touching the index and middle fingers of the non-dominant hand “with the 8” (Figure 3a). Then the two values ($8 + 8$) are fixed into a group of two entities on the non-dominant hand (Figure 3b), while the intermediary



Figure 3. Calculating 3×8 in FinSL [Rainò et al., 2013].

sum [16] is temporarily visualized on the dominant hand (Figures 3b-c) which could be considered a list buoy [Liddell, 2003]. Subsequently, the signer transfers the sum 16 to ‘the intermediate memory’ with a small inward movement to herself. Then the third value [8] is added to the group of two 8s, waiting in the non-dominant hand. Eventually, the final sum [24] is produced and signed with the dominant hand.

As these manual calculations are performed in fragments of seconds, with both hands active individually and simultaneously, the multidimensionality creates problems not only for traditional coding and notation systems used in sign language research but also for interpreting into a spoken or written language (e.g. in Finnish or English). If we consider the coding of multiplications and fractions to glosses, using traditional terms from a spoken/written language is challenging since the objects in the calculation task, e.g. *multiplicand* and *multiplier* or *numerator* and *denominator* are found and manipulated simultaneously in both the dominant and non-dominant hands. Besides, a consecutively progressing (spoken or written) language is not able to give justice to the calculation speed in sign language and neglects how the different locations in space are occupied by the “unseen” numeric values in the ongoing discourse.

When interpreting instances of anchoring numeric values, the target text could be more accurate if the conceptualization used for synesthetic descriptions were applied. Even a multimodal representation of the visual experience could provide a solution, as shown in the experiment by Rainò et al. [2014; see figures 4 and 5]. They produced a surtitled videotape (tinyurl.com/maths-FinSL) attempting to visualise the speed and flow of the mental calculation processes.² In this videoclip the conceptualization of the “empty” spaces occupied with numeric values are shown. They are being marked and memorized, not only by the deaf informants themselves but also by other native users of FinSL monitoring the process. This demonstrates that there is a collective understanding behind the mathematical reasoning among the sign language users.

2. We thank Mr. Mikko Palo from the Mediapalo enterprise for his valuable contribution for the numeric animation of the videoclip.

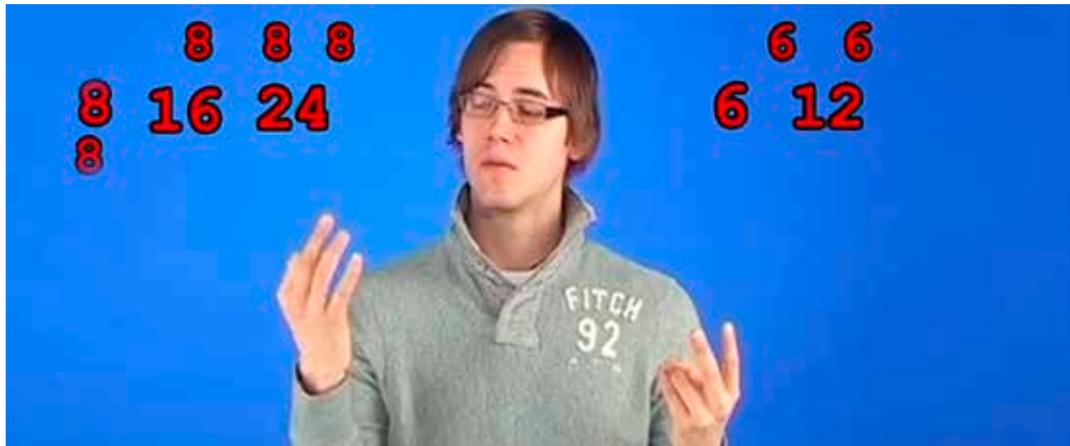


Figure 4. The process of calculating $[8+8+8] + [6+6]$ as visualised in a subtitled videoclip. (Rainö, Huovila and Seilola 2014; tinyurl.com/mathsfinsl)

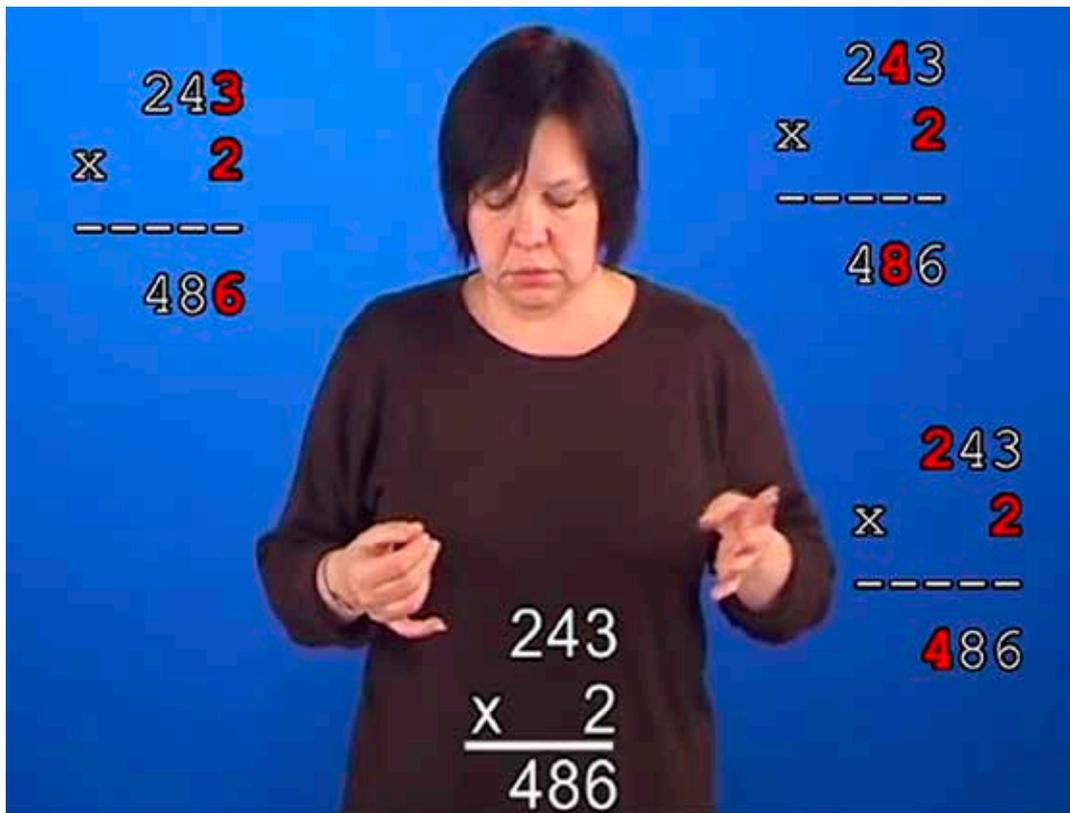


Figure 5. Intermediary phases of the task 2×243 as visualised in a subtitled videoclip. (Rainö, Huovila and Seilola, 2014; tinyurl.com/mathsfinsl)

Even though it may be beyond the scope of this paper, we feel obliged to mention that in a similar manner fingers, hands and the body have been used as an abacus in former times, e.g. in Egypt, Persia, Romans and in Europe in the Middle Ages. See an example by Pacioli in Figure 6 reported in Ifrah (1994). Ifrah mentions the Venerable Bede's (ca. 672–735) publication [Tractatus de computo, vel loquela per gestum digitorum] and "the language of numbers" or finger reckoning (Ifrah 1994; cf. Beda Venerabilis [725, 1525]1843).



Figure 6. In his *Summa de arithmetica* Luca Pacioli ([1494] 1523: 36) illustrated how units, tens, hundreds and thousands could be calculated and memorised by using different constellations of fingers in the left and right hand.

3 MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY AND ITS OBJECTIVES

Rainò (2010) and Raino et al. (2013) noticed that hearing teachers (non-native in sign language) teaching mathematical-linguistic operations may have different cognitive premises from those of their deaf students. As mentioned earlier, these differences in mathematical conceptualizations challenge even non-native sign language interpreters (Huovila, 2013). When teachers talk about mathematical operations such as fractions in spoken Finnish and it is consequently interpreted into FinSL, the epistemic knowledge of the concepts 'denominator', 'numerator' and 'fraction' is constantly discussed. This presupposition of the importance of the "ubiquitous terminology" and universal conceptualisations of mathematical entities surfaces clearly in the glossary of mathematics terms published for the use of deaf schools (Rainò, 2010, cf. Figure 7 and 8).

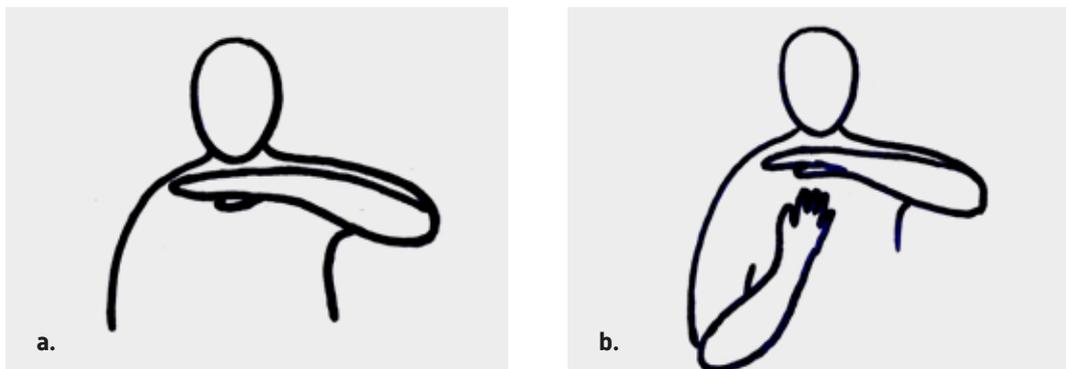


Figure 7. A sign representing 'denominator'. Reproduction of the lexeme is based on the vocabulary for mathematical signs for deaf schools (Varonen, Laaksonen and Hyyppä, 1999).

Deaf people, however, do not use the borrowed conceptualizations and terms when problematizing and tutoring each other in mathematics. Sentences translated from Finnish mathematical discourse such as "What is a nominator?" or "Where is the denominator?" are void of meaning in idiomatic FinSL because the concepts with all their semantic elements are present in one holistic but complex sign. Consequently, if a teacher asks "What is the value of the denominator... if

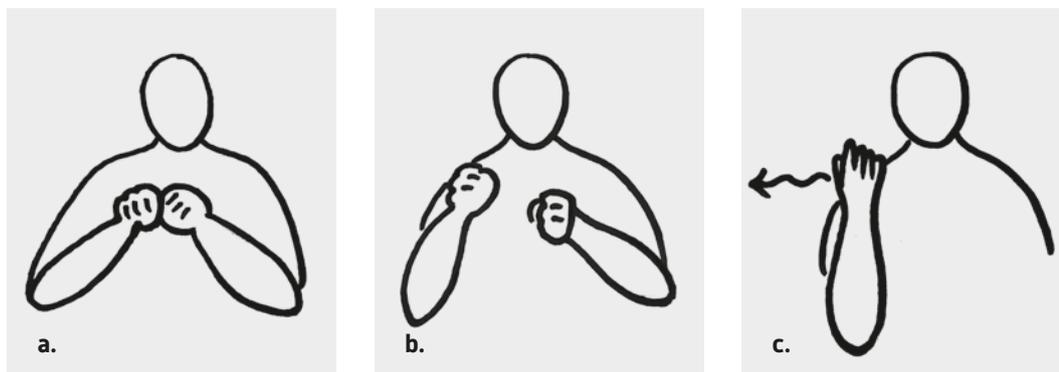


Figure 8. A sign representing 'fraction'. Reproduction of the lexeme is based on the vocabulary for mathematical signs for deaf schools (Varonen, Laaksonen and Hyyppä, 1999). The sign is a direct loan from Finnish, following the original term's semantic and syntactic structure: *murto/luku* [< 'fract, break' + 'number'].

you should cancel the fraction $8/4$?" interpreted into FinSL the task would be incomprehensible and absurd, since the answer (as well as the concepts for "nominator", "denominator" along with the "fraction" and the values 8 and 4) are all present in the signed question – unless the discussion would be conducted using meta-language about written Finnish in a mathematical discourse (see figure 9) (Rainò, 2010; Rainò et al., 2013).



Figure 9. Dialogue in FinSL on cancelling the fraction $8/4$ (Rainò et al. 2013).

4 RESULTS

In this project our intention was to gather further examples of mathematical texts for the use in SLI training that would provide challenges when transliterating and translating and in modalities other than written and spoken Finnish. During a session organised with Viparo enterprise (an employer of deaf translators and interpreters) a collection of mathematical tasks used in adult vocational education were translated into FinSL. Some of the calculations were also spontaneously solved by "signing them aloud" (see tinyurl.com/maths-FinSL-2 for a representation of some of the calculation tasks with English surtitles). Due to the limited space at our disposal, we present here one of the samples where the signer (and author of this article) proceeds towards a solution of the task, calculating the many percentage of four is twenty.

Figure 10 presents the series of images edited from the video with a translation into English. However, the linear translation does not succeed in accurately reproducing the spatial relationship between the entities 4 and 20 in the numeric universe in front of the signer. The still images also flatten the spatial depth so that the differences of "the spatial values" anchored in front of the signer are not readily observable.

So how many percent of four is twenty? [In order to approach 20] you need to take a 4 and add another 4, arriving to 8 ...



... Then you add another 4, you get twelve, another, it's sixteen, and then twenty. So five...



... times you need to approach [the entity of 20] with the 4 and then you get 20. If 4 is 100...



... percent, then five times – right, twenty must be five hundred percent!



Figure 10. Mathematical problem solving in FinSL: thinking aloud “how many percent of four is twenty?” (tinyurl.com/maths-FinSL-2)

In our opinion the clue to the solution [500 %] as seen in Figure 10 and therefore “the deaf way of reasoning” can be found when we look beyond the words and signs and focus on the rhythmically diminishing space “measured by fours” between the initial values of 20 and 4. Without animation and other imagery techniques at our disposal these suprasegmental visual clues in the signed discourse remain, difficult to teach non-native sign language users. And it is precisely on this epistemic grounds where deaf native sign language users; deaf translators and interpreters are needed to shed light on the sophisticated prosodic elements in the flow of information. They are able to pass these unique approaches in solving mathematical (amongst others) to non-native signers so that they can be transferred in their fullness in language in a different modality.

5 DISCUSSION

In collecting multiple instances of mathematical discourse in Finnish Sign Language (FinSL) we aimed to bring the mathematical reasoning conducted by deaf people into the spotlight. This kind of linguistic and intellectual behaviour has to date been ignored by both researchers of sign languages and those evaluating the mathematical skills of deaf people. Although outside the scope of this paper, we assume that the reasons behind the poor performance of deaf examinees in mathematics is the linguistic (and a cultural) glass ceiling created, at least partly, by the lack of knowledge of deaf peoples' mathematical actions and the challenges it poses for translation and interpretation.

As noted above only a few studies can be found where deaf students' visual problem-solving process and mathematical thinking-aloud discourses in sign language are mentioned (Foisack, 2003 for Swedish deaf pupils; Lindahl, 2015 for natural sciences, including chemistry; Pagliaro and Ansell, 2012 for children using American Sign Language). One possible explanation why the calculation methods developed within the deaf community has been overlooked may lie in the fact that the processes are complex to interpret clearly into spoken languages. As a consequence, it is no wonder that hearing students attending sign language interpreter programmes (at least in Finland) are not familiar with a deaf way of conceptualizing mathematical phenomena but are familiar with the glossaries of mathematics terms translated from Finnish to FinSL. In this paper, we have tried to break this glass wall and also presented examples of possible transliterations for mathematics performances produced in FinSL.

6 CONCLUSION

In their study on recall of mathematics terms by deaf students Lang and Pagliaro (2007) invite researchers to explore the potential of sign language to "enhance the visualisation skills". The true challenge, in our opinion, concerns the gulf between the linguistic expression of mathematical thought between hearing and deaf people. This is also where deaf interpreters are needed as intermediators, to guide non-native signers to understand the "deaf way" of verbalising their abstract thinking and to help outsiders become aware, for instance, of the mathematical universe experienced by deaf people.

One cannot avoid thinking that our western culture with its dominant position has made us blind and even incurious to other ways of counting, cultivated by minorities that exist within our society. For some reason, we expect the same theoretical reasoning from their "collective mind", i.e. that their minds and ways of thinking should always follow that of our own. In 1922 Lévy-Bruhl, a French philosopher, sociologist and ethnologist cited in Ifrah's ([1981] 1994) vast ethnographic collection of different numeric and calculation systems, declared:

En fait, les numérations comme les langues, don't on ne doit les séparer, sont des phénomènes sociaux, qui dépendent de la mentalité collective. Dans chaque société, cette mentalité est étroitement solidaire du type de cette société et de ses institutions. (Lévy-Bruhl 1922: Section *Les systèmes de numération*; cf. Ifrah 1994: 116).

In fact, numerals such as languages, which are inseparable, are social phenomena which depend on a collective mind-set. In every society, this mindset is closely linked to the type of society and its institutions (transl. C Stone)

We feel that our scientific obligation is to shed light on the *mentalité collective* of the Finnish deaf people and their collective way of reasoning in mathematical problems. We hope that our article, even in its brevity would also raise interest and curiosity, not only among other sign language researchers but among mathematicians and other scientist to study further the visual counting system of deaf people with different linguistic and educational backgrounds. Augmenting analysis with modern technology with its near to limitless possibilities to display, collect, record, analyse and share signed reasoning would allow us to do this on a global scale.

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From zero to sign: Transferring food safety from Finnish to Finnish Sign Language

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we present how professional food hygiene concepts and established terminology are translated by an experienced professional deaf translator and interpreter from Finnish into Finnish Sign Language (FinSL) where the food safety concepts are in the main not lexicalized in FinSL. The translation task is a model exam of hygiene and food safety standards, providing both information on the format of an examination organized by a national authority and indications about the extent of knowledge required to pass the examination. The signed translation of the Food hygiene proficiency test (Evira 2018a, 2018b) is the first published text on safe food handling in FinSL, providing access to the Finnish deaf. In our case study we have followed Šipka's (2015) practical theory and taxonomic model on lexical anisomorphism (focusing here only on zero equivalences) and classified the signed equivalents covering lexical gaps in three main categories.

At the end of the paper we discuss the possibilities for lexical standards proposed in this kind of publicized translation and for online terminology to be recognized as part of the established lexicon in a small minority language such as FinSL. With this minor contribution we want to support the Finnish deaf community and UNESCO's (2005) actions to promote small minority language access to electronic content in all languages and improve the linguistic capabilities of users. And to create and develop tools for multilingual access to the Internet in conjunction with the development and promotion of multilingual content, domain-specific communication, information and knowledge (UNESCO 2005: v).

Keywords: Finnish Sign Language (FinSL), deaf translators/interpreters (DT/Is), language for special purposes (LSP), lexical asymmetry, contrastive lexical anisomorphism (CLA), zero equivalence, food hygiene

1 INTRODUCTION

In this article we observe some of the strategies used when specific professional concepts and established terminology of food hygiene are translated from Finnish into Finnish Sign Language (FinSL) by an experienced professional deaf translator and interpreter (DT/I). By using the term "deaf translator and interpreter (DT/I)" we adhere to Stone (2009, ix–xiii), who emphasizes the fact that DT/Is are able to linguistically and socially identify themselves members of the sign-language-using community when they present their translations to people like themselves who cannot hear.

In FinSL the (modern) concepts of food safety are typically not lexicalized. Despite this linguistic barrier, these elements need to be understood by deaf people preparing for their examination

on safe food handling in order to obtain a certificate demanded by the National Food Act (23/2006). The model exam includes 40 statements (see Appendix for the parallel translation into English) and, apart from the commentary related to each question, it is similar to the random true-false test, performed under the surveillance of a proficiency examiner (Evira 2018a).¹

The main goal of this Erasmus+ subproject conducted by Humak University of Applied Sciences (Humak UAS) was to provide insights for sign language interpreter (SLI) education on the ways DT/Is use the expressive power of their native language. Within the limited space of this article we concentrate on one revealing aspect that constantly challenges the work of DT/Is in Finland, namely, which strategies are adopted when rendering lexical and conceptual elements from the source language (SL) into FinSL where there are no established correspondence? In this article we also ponder how likely it is that the Finnish deaf community will use the proposed terminology.

In Finland there are 5,5 million people of whom approximately 4,8 million speak Finnish as their mother tongue (Statistics Finland 2017), the deaf population (i.e. those using interpreting and translation services) consists of no more than 3 600 members (Kela 2017a).

There are few fields of specialization with enough deaf people in professional practice to contribute to the emergence of domain specific language that could then stabilize into a set of established, overlapping equivalences between Finnish and FinSL. Of those fields, currently pedagogy and linguistics are the only disciplines that have been taught to several generations of deaf students through FinSL (Takkinen, 2013). However, safe food handling has been taught (although not necessarily in sign language) continuously from 1905 to 1990s in one vocational school for the deaf, and thereafter for (mostly) hearing students with special needs (Ruuskanen, 2005, pp. 43–146; 177; 180). Today, the number of deaf students in the school (known as Bovallius Vocational College (BVC) until 2017) account for only 1 % of the school's population (headmaster Arja Kilpeläinen, personal communication, 23 October 2017). This means that at this moment, among the users of FinSL, there are very few practitioners who could be consulted as experts using the specialized language within food safety (Pokkinen, 1998, pp.23–27).

The hygiene proficiency model exam, accompanied by explanatory commentaries, is designed for everyone aiming to take the exam to demonstrate their practical competence at work handling unpacked, highly perishable food. All candidates who pass the exam receive “a hygiene passport”, required by the National Food Act (23/2006), allowing them to work in food premises in Finland. This certificate may be acquired either by having appropriate education in the food sector or by passing a separate test organized by independent proficiency examiners, approved by the Finnish Food Safety Authority Evira.

Evira does not, however, organize training nor publish any other educational material on hygiene proficiency (abbreviated hereafter as HP), besides providing the model test in Finnish, Swedish and English on its website and now the link to the translation into FinSL (Evira 2016a, 2018a, s.v. Viittomakielellä). There is a large supply of preparatory courses and training opportunities offered online and by private adult education institutions such as the Folk High School for the Deaf. For several years now, many of those attending these courses are, besides native FinSL users, immigrants with varied linguistic and educational backgrounds (Suvi Sjöroos, personal information, August 22, 2017). The preparatory courses are based on a collection of various visual materials where the safety and wholesomeness of food is illustrated visually, alongside written texts in Finnish, adapted and translated by a deaf instructor (having a background in DT/I).

1. The authors want to thank translator and interpreter Tomas Uusimäki and all other DT/Is at the sign language interpreter agency Viparo as well as the Viparo Company together with the Folk High School for the Deaf for their valuable contribution during the whole translation process. We also thank the Finnish Association of the Deaf, the owner of the Sign Language Library, and the Ministry of Culture and Education, both for financing the final production of the signed translation.

In the instructor's experience, the non-lexical visualizations (films, photographs, drawings and animations) are most useful in cases where there are no established lexical expressions in FinSL, e.g. for such central concepts as contamination and cross-contamination. There are, however, concepts for which no effective visualizations cannot be found, as is the case with water activity (controlling microbial growth), for instance. Here the only tool left to clarify the concept is the use of sign language with its spatial metaphors (Taub, 2001). Thus, for instance, the figurative idea behind the concept water-activity has been explained exploiting polymorphic constructions in sign language (Johnston, 2009, p.952). Having a signed translation at her disposal, the teacher may utilize its conceptualisation, terminology and the signed texts on food hygiene as metalinguistic elements, when a concept and other similar concepts are discussed and elaborated during the food safety courses. It is also important that before the HP exam occasional, commissioned interpreters are able to familiarize themselves (at least in part) with the terminology used during the courses and to use it in the test situations (Suvi Sjöroos, personal information, August 22, 2017).

2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As noted above, FinSL lacks most of the special terminology used in the HP field and Finnish text books on food safety cannot be exploited as support material either, since not all students read Finnish. We know that "People whose mother-tongue is not (or not sufficiently) developed from the point of view of terminology and special purpose languages (SPL) or who are denied the use of their mother-tongue in education and training, for accessing information, or interacting in their work places, tend to be disadvantaged" (UNESCO 2005, v). These linguistic obstacles must be circumvented in one way or another, so that deaf students can prepare themselves for the exam and work in their chosen profession.

The term food hygiene conceptualizes "all measures necessary to ensure the safety and wholesomeness of foodstuffs" (Forsythe, 2000, p.368) and is a good example of language for special purposes (LSP, i.e. language used by expert communities) that in popular scientific texts and course books intersects with language for general purposes (everyday language, LGP) (Tarp 1995, 16–19; UNESCO 2005, 3). Since the HP exam text represents the "final stage of knowledge" the two genres (LGP and LSP) are very present also in the model exam along with the terminological density, due to the high level of specialization (Picton and Dury 2017, p. 65 [originally Cabré, 2000]).

As for the relatively small number of deaf people sharing and using their LGP and, inevitably, an even a smaller number of people sharing the same LSP within the same field of specialty, the situation has led us to ponder the following question: which strategies are adopted by mediators between Finnish and FinSL (a native FinSL user and professional DT/I) in order to render the terminological expressions of the ST into a comprehensible target text (TT), when the commonly known equivalents for those expressions are lacking?

When dealing with foreign elements in signed languages, borrowing would be expected, i.e. through fingerspelling or by nativising fingerspelled words into signs (Johnston and Schembri, 2007, p. 176; see also examples from different sign languages in Brentari, 2001). We claim, however, that our research goal is not trivial since the target audience consists of those deaf people who are new learners of the subject and not familiar with the Finnish (or FinSL) LSP in this area. This is why the DT/I translator must find other solutions when trying to render the Finnish LSP concepts in an exam understandable for the general FinSL using public.

Finally, we also try to find an answer to a question that we consider a very crucial one: Is the lexical standardisation possible from publicized translation (or terminology collection) such as this, and will it then be recognized as part of the established lexicon of a small minority language such as FinSL?

3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Temporary vs. stabilized lexicon

Neologisms and loan words have been described extensively in sign languages from Battison (1978) to Mathur and Rathmann (2014) and for FinSL (Rissanen, 1985). As regards to discipline-specific terms, the most expected strategy would be to borrow via fingerspelling or to nativise them in TL via loan translations (Takkinen, 2010 for FinSL). But as in many signed languages (Boyes Braem, 2001; Locker McKee and McKee, 2000; Sutton-Spence and Woll, 1999) as in FinSL there is a tendency to avoid using fingerspelling for loanwords representing nouns or proper names if a signed equivalent can be composed in another way. In these cases signs are often accompanied by spoken language mouthings (Rainö, 2001 and 2004; Hodge et al., 2015; Boyes Braem and Sutton-Spence, 2001.)

Safe food handling is, and must have been, part of everyday discourse ever since the 1850s when the first deaf couples has families using sign language, after attending deaf schools where sign language was the language of instruction (Salmi and Laakso, 2005; Wallvik, 2001). The lexical existence of this semantic field can actually be verified in the first dictionary presenting “the original sign language” cultivated among the first generation of sign language users in Finland [reproduced in the online sign language dictionary Suvi, 2018: Section Hirn341]. In the three booklets of 341 photographs, produced by the deaf couple, professional photographers Fritz and Maria Hirn – contemporaries of the very first signing generation – the signs they wanted to document covered a variety of established lexicon of different semantic fields including gardening, farming, astronomy, meteorology and mineralogy (Hirn, 1910–1916). In this collection there are 47 signs connected to food and cookery some of which (e.g. [TO] CLEAN and DIRT[Y]) can be considered to be on the topic of “hygiene” (Figure 1).

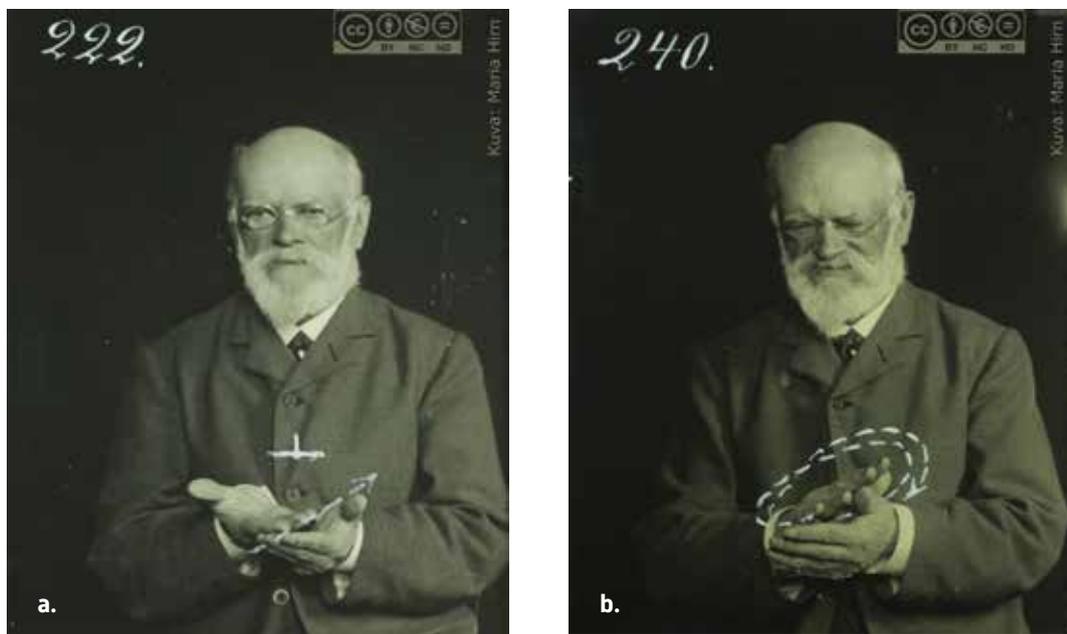


Figure 1: Signs for “[to] clean” [no. 222] on the le and “dirt, dirty” [no. 240], as signed in the 19th century in Finland (Suvi 2018: articles 3683, 3701). Primary source of the photographs: Finnish Labour Museum Werstas, Collection of the Finnish Museum of the Deaf. Photographer: Maria Hirn.

The old signs conserved by Hirn are still in use (with some phonological changes, Jantunen, 2003) in the LGP of FinSL and presented in the online dictionary (see Figure 2).

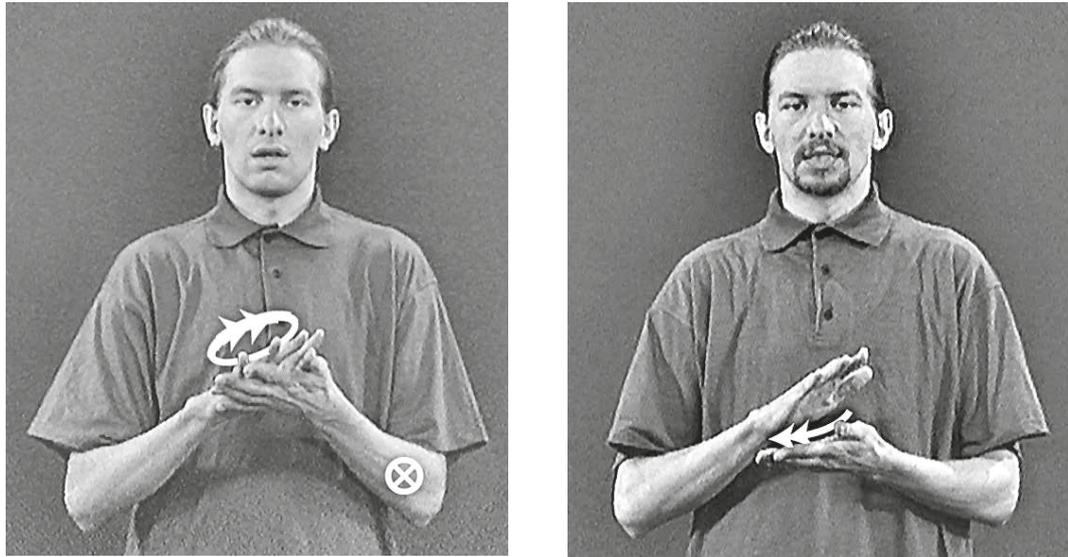


Figure 2. Signs for “to clean” (on the right, with a repetitive movement) and “dirt, dirty; pollution, polluted” on the left (Suvi 2018, articles 111 and 965) in present day FinSL.

Food safety was, undoubtedly, a topic of concern in the oldest vocational institute for deaf women in Finland, the school for cookery and food economy mentioned earlier (Nikkarila Vocational Institution founded in 1905, later Bovallius Vocational College, today working under the name Spesia). The previously mentioned signs of food hygiene must have developed when teaching cookery, dairy production and nutrition (Ruuskanen, 2005), since interaction between the hearing staff and deaf pupils was conducted, at least at times, by “speaking with the hands” (Ruuskanen, 2005, p. 79; p.104). These signs also appear in the vocabulary compiled on the College’s website as equivalents for hygiene (appearing also in the sign for to disinfect) and dirty (in the meaning of “contaminated”). This collection named Professional Signs [Ammattiviittomat] of 350 lexical entries contain 75 expressions regarding food hygiene, and is targeted “for the use of students, teachers, tutors and interpreters” (BVC 2015; Figure 3).²



Figure 3. Signs for hygiene and dirt(y), contaminated (the rightmost image, in which the active hand makes a rotary movement), in the signed online vocabulary by BVI > BVC (2015). 

However, many of these signs for food safety, especially in the sign language vocabulary produced by the BVC made us ponder their status: do they provide proof that those concepts and terms exist in the FinSL LSP (Šipka, 2015) such that a translator may (or should) adopt them without further consideration? Have they been lexicalized, either through a horizontal transfer, i.e. between people belonging to the same generation (Dahl, 2004), or through a vertical transfer (within different generations) of FinSL users? The idea that the vocabulary and terminology

2. Due to a fusion in 2018 with another vocational school, it is possible that the webpages of BVC and the signed vocabularies presented in this paper will be filed away in the future (BVC 2017; headmaster Arja Kilpeläinen, personal communication, 23 October 2017).

once used and then conserved in a glossary, in order to be reused by “students, teachers, tutors and interpreters” (BVI > BVC 2015) goes against “the dynamic principle of the lexica of linguistic communities” presented by the typologist Wälchli (2005) who says:

The lexicon of a language community is on a scale ranging from the temporary lexica of individual texts and individual conversations to the permanent lexicon as it is presented in dictionaries. The dynamic model of the lexicon leads us also to a new view about lexicalization. A lexeme of a temporary lexicon is not yet lexicalized. ...Temporary lexemes may drift toward the permanent lexicon if they happen to be used increasingly often by ever more speakers (p.115).

It was this dynamic model that led us to unearth documented expressions of food hygiene in FinSL described above, as they should be “used increasingly often by ever more speakers” before being considered permanent lexicon. Despite the fact that some signed food hygiene expressions are documented and, regardless of them being presented and provided by “a native signer who had some work experience in the field” (Lahti, 2010, p.11–12; p.41), this does not seem to imply that other deaf sign-language-users use, or have used, the proposed professional signs. According to Lahti (2010), terminological conflicts arose when the terms were collected, as the deaf informants said the linguistic correctness of the signed equivalents could not be confirmed (Lahti, 2010). Similarly, in our project, the deaf translators were hesitant to adopt them, even if they would have been semantically convenient, claiming they were not familiar enough with the proposed expressions. Notwithstanding the “professional signs” being used at the vocational school when discussing food safety, and even if they had been preserved in a vocabulary list presented by recognized deaf people, the hesitation of the professional DT/Is to accept most of the vocabulary could be explained by acknowledging they belong to a short-term lexicon (see Wälchli, 2005) instead of the long-term lexicon in FinSL. This means, then, that when rendering food hygiene texts into FinSL other strategies must be followed.

3.2 Contrastive lexical anisomorphism as a tool for lexical comparisons

In order to study strategies for translating lexical expressions from Finnish LSP into FinSL we were inclined to move away from the abundantly studied morphophonemic features of the loan signs, etc. towards a broader context, offered by a generic contrastive terminological analysis. As a working tool we chose the contrastive lexical anisomorphism (CLA) (Šipka, 2015) concentrating on lexical asymmetries between languages. CLA is based mainly on the frameworks of contrastive and cross-cultural linguistics, but when describing different categorizations on how lexical gaps are filled, Šipka’s model also draws upon different translation theories. Šipka’s practical theory is based on observations covering over 100 typologically, genetically, culturally and geographically diverse languages. He proposes the following categories to describe lexical asymmetries between two languages:

- Zero equivalence, in which SL has a word for which there is no equivalent in the TL
- Multiple equivalence, in which the SL has one word for which there are two or more equivalents in the TL
- Partial equivalence, in which there is one TL equivalent of a SL word but they differ in some key aspect of their functioning (Šipka 2015, p.50)

Due to the limited space we will focus on zero equivalence for which Šipka (2015) proposes four categories, presented below. Of these we will further observe only those concerning the relationship between terminological content-words in the SL and their equivalences in the TL. Co-referential features and zero equivalence in operators are beyond the scope in this paper. We will now outline Šipka (2015) zero equivalence between content words [and thus also “content signs”].

Entity-related zero equivalence is when one language points to a segment of reality that is not present in the other language. These may be contextually and culturally-bound feasts, historical periods, plants, animals, etc. This kind of asymmetry may also surface when the SL has a rich science and technology background compared to the TL. In our case study relevant example of this would be many of the central concepts in food hygiene, one of which is water activity [see Section 5.1 below]. The asymmetry is often covered by a) borrowing the word from SL and adapting it to the TL phonology; b) coining the expression from existing words in TL (possibly following the model of SL); or c) by giving a totally new meaning to words that exist already in TL.

On the contrary to the entity-related equivalence, concept-related zero equivalence is sense-related and not reference-based. It operates when the entity is clearly present (as is the case with contamination) both in SL and TL, but SL features the concept while TL does not, since it lacks the word [or sign] for it. – In this category the equivalence is normally rendered by a long explanation in TL to describe that special part of reality that has been brought in light by the SL.

Thirdly, hierarchical zero equivalence is a subcategory of concept-based zero equivalence specifically when a concept denoted in SL is missing from TL and, the gap is found within words [signs] that are hierarchically linked. A full hierarchical gap is in place when TL lacks a general term that exists in SL. A partial zero equivalence, on the other hand, leaves some of the space at the hyponym level uncovered, which cannot be fully covered by another hyponym without distorting the meaning. For exemplar, in the LGP of FinSL there is one sign that covers both “virus”, “bacterium/a” and “microbe(s)”; the same sign also denotes “infection, influence” and “transmission”, among other referents (cf. Suvi, 2018, article 1157). This is an example of hierarchical zero equivalence in two directions, as FinSL when compared to Finnish lacks both the hypernym for “microbe” (i.e. full zero equivalence) and the sign for the hyponym “bacteria” (i.e. partial zero equivalence).

It has to be noted, though, that in FinSL at least in part conceptual hypernyms are created by co-compounding (Wälchli, 2005) two or three basic category-level terms. In FinSL for example the meaning vehicle is constructed by coining such signs as CAR^TRAIN^BUS(^AND-SO-ON) into a co-compound while WINTER^SPRING^AUTUMN is equivalent for “season” and MONDAY^TUESDAY^WEDNESDAY for “a[ny] day of the week” (Rainò, 2016 [2010], p.10). This lexical construction is widespread in numerous Eurasian, Finno-Ugric languages and also in American Sign Language (ASL) where it is used to lesser extent (Wälchli, 2005; Klima and Bellugi, 1979). Apart from a few documented observations regarding lexical testing on elderly deaf people (Rainò, 2016 [2010]) and now this case study (see Section 5.3), no further research has been carried out on the lexical status of co-compounds in FinSL.

4 METHODOLOGY

The primary data for this case study is the Finnish HP test translation into FinSL. The final recording of the translation was undertaken by the Sign Language Library of the Finnish Deaf Association, providing also the link to the translation in FinSL to Evira’s website [2018a, s.v. *Viihtomakielellä*].

Before the translation process took place, three preparative workshops were organized by Humak UAS at Viparo. In addition to the translator/presenter and the two authors of this paper, the working groups consisted of three other native signers and professional DT/Is, some from multi-generational deaf families (cf. Stone, 2009). As there is no printed nor signed video texts on food hygiene in FinSL (besides the BVC (2015) vocabulary) both groups were needed as reference and support for the translator, to discuss the existence of the lexical equivalents in the deaf community’s mental lexicon (Aitchison, 2012) and to evaluate the appropriateness of the terminological choices proposed by the translator.

The observations presented are based on the two recorded versions of the initial translation and discussions during the preparative workshops and meetings of the core translation team.³ Additional information was also retrieved from two semi-structured interviews conducted in August and September 2017 with the translator/presenter and the instructor of the courses on food hygiene. Our interests lie in the zero equivalence between Finnish and FinSL. However, when we refer to wordings in the SL LSP, we are obliged to use English as the metalanguage. There are several instances where the term and concept of of interest (e.g. *contamination*) appears in the parallel English translation but not in the Finnish ST where the expression "get dirty/polluted/deteriorated" [saastua] is used more frequently. With this in mind we only describe findings where the lexical features of Finnish and English LSP overlap serving as a tertium comparationis. This avoids lengthy discussions on the typological differences between English vs. Finnish and FinSL and, consequently on the possible interference of Finnish into FinSL.

5 FINDINGS/RESULTS

5.1 Entity-related zero equivalence

Apart from cultural differences (as described in Section 3.2) zero equivalence in the TL is present when the TL does not have the scientific and technological context present in the SL with a developed set of established expressions. In FinSL, there is a total referential gap for specified microbes and certain processes within the field of food safety that lack an established, lexicalized equivalent.

5.1.1 The word referring to the object is borrowed from SL

When Latin names or abbreviations are used in the SL LSP, the expressions are borrowed either: a) letter by letter in their entirety via fingerspelling (e.g. *Listeria monocytogenes*; pH, UHT); or, b) by co-compounding fingerspelling with an existing sign in FinSL LGP, as in "norovirus" > n-o-r-o^VIRUS in question 12 (tinyurl.com/zero-to-sign, p. 5). In addition to proper names (e.g. *Evira*), these types of borrowing are the only occasions when the transliterated calques appear in the target text.

We would argue that in the cases presented above fingerspelling does not underline "knowledge whose centre is outside the deaf community" (Johnston and Schembri, 2007, p.178), nor does it refer to "a discipline-specific term that may have not undergone broad discussion within the Deaf community" (Brentari, 1994, p.105). We consider them simply as scientific expressions that remain, as in Finnish, untranslatable calques where elements of LSP intersect with LGP (Picton and Dury, 2017).

5.1.2 The expression is coined from existing words in TL (possibly following the SL model)

This strategy has also been used very sparingly in the translation of the model exam. One of the few occurrences of this pattern can be found when the complex notion of "water activity" (cf. Forsythe, 2000, pp.71–72) appears in the commentaries to the Questions 3 and 6 (tinyurl.com/zero-to-sign, pp. 2–3). Since both parts of this LSP compound can be coined from existing signs, a neologism WATER^ACTIVE following the morphemic order of the SL Finnish term [*vesi/aktiivisuus*] has been adopted.

Neither the concept "water-activity" nor the signed compound exists as such in FinSL. The translator has used a signed equivalent only when the source text itself provides an explanation for the LSP term, otherwise the neologism would remain an incomprehensible calque for FinSL users.

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3. The core translation team comprised the authors of this paper (PR and OA), the lecturer of food hygiene Suvi Sjöroos and the producer of the signed model test Riitta Vivolin-Karén and the professional DT/I Tomas Uusimäki from Viparo.

5.1.3 Extending the meaning of existing words/signs or introducing completely new meanings

This strategy is also used sparingly and only when the semantic fields of the new concept and the existing sign are similar. For example for the central LSP concept “hygiene” the translator adopted the BVC vocabulary (2015, s.v. *hygienia*) using the LGP expression “to clean” (see also Question 39, tinyurl.com/zero-to-sign, pp. 14). The mouthing used does not follow the equivalent LSP word in spoken Finnish. This makes the expression resemble a nativised loan word in FinSL LGP (not LSP). The new meaning this now covers the “conditions or practices conducive to maintaining health and preventing disease, especially through cleanliness” (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2017 s.v. *hygiene*).

5.2 Concept-related zero equivalence

In our case study both of the terms contamination and cross-contamination represent similar “conceptual niches” indicated in the SL LSP for food hygiene lacking equivalence in TL. During the translation process the recurrent word contamination led to lengthy discussions in workshops and within the translation team. The proposed equivalent in the vocabulary provided by the BVC (2015, s.v. *saastunut*) is the sign DIRTY, accompanied by a Finnish loanword mouthing [*saastu(nut)*]. In the Finnish HP exam ST the word for “dirt/[get] dirty, polluted” [*saastua; saastuminen*] appears more frequently than the loanword *kontaminaatio* in those parts of the text where the term *contamination* is used in the parallel English translation. The high frequency of *saastua* that covers a narrow part of the semantic field of “contamination” may explain why the sign “DIRT/[GET] DIRTY” has been offered as the only entry for this concept in the BVC (2015) vocabulary. In her report Lahti (2010: 46) confirms this simplified view since the word *kontaminaatio* was collocated with *saastuminen* in the conceptual list offered to native informants.

It was not, however, considered sufficiently accurate and precise to denote, not only “the harmful matter” (that admittedly dirt often is), but specifically the semantic dimension of “the presence or addition of unintentional matter”. The vast semantic sphere of the term *contamination* (FAO and WHO 2015 [1995]) explains why the central focus in the translation shifted from “dirt” to “the existence of something unintentional”. As with Šipka (2015, pp. 51–53), “extensive explanatory glosses” have been adopted to “carve out the conceptual niche” of “hazard” and “involuntary, unintentional presence of something”.

Regarding the concept denoted by contamination, “the same segment of reality” (following Šipka, 2015, p.54) where “something involuntarily gets in a wrong place” is clearly present in both Finnish and FinSL. Finnish LSP features the concept with a distinct loanword, while in FinSL the sign referring “to [get] dirty” that has been used in similar contexts covers only a small part of the whole process of contamination. In the HP model exam translation a more complete equivalence is rendered by an explanatory paraphrase where that special part of reality (“something getting in a [wrong] place”) has been highlighted using the abstractions offered by the polymorphemic constructions in FinSL, along with the signs DIRT(y) or IMPURE. See e.g. the commentary for Question 4 (tinyurl.com/zero-to-sign, pp. 2).

SL: [The usual cause of water] being contaminated is contamination [by faeces]

TL: poop / water // [poop as] flat matter₁]-getting-on the surface-of-[water as] flat- matter₂ /turn-into impure //

5.3 Hierarchical zero equivalence

As described in Section 3.2, in FinSL LGP there is only one sign denoting all micro-organisms, i.e. for the hypernym "microbe[s]" and the hyponyms "bacteria" and "virus" with no disambiguating mouthing (Suvi 2018, article 1157). In this translation task both the generalization gap [for microbes] and the specification gap [for bacteria] needed to be solved due to their high frequency in the ST [altogether 95 occurrences of *microbes*, *virus* or *bacteria*]. Some lexical support could be found in the online FinSL dictionary which, besides the LGP sign VIRUS also contains the following LSP lexical variants for *bacteri/um*, *-a* (cf. Suvi 2018, article 3390) in health care:

- 1) the sign VIRUS, with a mouthing imitating the Finnish word [bakteeri]
- 2) a compound DIRT^VIRUS
- 3) a polymorphemic sign denoting "rows-of-small-round-elements-on-flat-surface".

Of these, the polymorphemic sign for bacteria was also recognized by the translation group as a sign for microbe[s]] within the FinSL community. It was chosen to represent this hypernym in the Question 2 (tinyurl.com/zero-to-sign, pp. 2). For bacteria, however, neologism was elected for, a loan-sign construction containing a transliterated letter b and the sign for "virus": b^VIRUS (Question 7 and its commentary, tinyurl.com/zero-to-sign, pp. 3). Similarly, a sign v^VIRUS is used for "virus(es)", to distinguish the nominal sign from the homonymic verb "spread, infect" (tinyurl.com/zero-to-sign, pp. 2). This strategy of combining LGP signs with fingerspelled initials taken from scientific expressions to create LSP signs has been in use in FinSL community continuously since the 19th century as described in the aforementioned dictionary by Hirn (Suvi, 2018, Section Hirn341, art. 3520).

By far the most challenging lexical gap was, however, the term *food premises* that appears constantly in the ST. Evira itself defines "food premises" (i.e. food establishments) as follows, "Food establishments mean any building or premises or part thereof or other outdoor or indoor space in which food meant for sale or conveyance is prepared, stored, transported, marketed, served or otherwise handled" (Evira, 2016b). This type of superordinate conceptual hybrid was new to the DT/I and the translation team, but it was also considered an extremely cumbersome and a complex concept to be incorporated in FinSL into the TT. For instance in the following phrase "The person handling the unpackaged easily perishable food must wear sufficient protective clothing that only is being used in the food premises" the concept could hypothetically be translated as a co-compound RESTAURANT^CAFETERIA^SHOPS^AND-SO-ON. But this kind of a co-compound was felt too limiting to represent the wider concept of establishments covering food warehouses, indoor and outdoor markets and slaughterhouses, for example. (Tomas Uusimäki, personal communication 6 September 2017.) This is why only the loan compound from Finnish LSP FOOD^ROOM was chosen to represent the concept. This is also the only case, besides the transliterated loanwords, where the DT/I left the responsibility of interpretation of the semantic content of the neologistic expression to the viewer.

6 DISCUSSION

This case study focuses on the HP model exam translation into FinSL, completed by a professional DT/I [a native user of FinSL]. In this translation task the LSP lexical asymmetries (anisomorphism) that prevail between Finnish and FinSL are clearly present. In our article we have noted some of the lexical solutions adopted by the DT/I when the TL FinSL lacks the terminology present in the SL Finnish. We have followed Šipka's (2015) practical theory and taxonomic model on lexical anisomorphism (but focusing on zero equivalences) and classified the signed equivalents covering lexical gaps in three main categories.

When translating the model exam, the challenges arise from lexical gaps due to 1) the whole entity being missing from the discourse and language used within the deaf community (e.g. "listeria" or "water activity"); 2) semantic narrowing of the referent in the FinSL (e.g. "contamination"); or, 3) due to differences in the hierarchical organization of the lexicon (e.g. "food establishments"). Even though the strategies adopted by the DT/I are well-known, this case-study provides an insight into what extent those strategies are used by a native signer.

Conceptual gaps filled by neologisms from existing signs following the SL model, extending new meanings to existing signs, or giving them new ones, must be followed by an in-text explanation or a co-compound. But when direct loanwords are transliterated by fingerspelling no additional explanation is provided. The reason may be that these calques are considered part of the professional knowledge the consumers of the text should possess, whichever their linguistic background, which differs from the principles offered by Hodge et al. (2015).

We must bear in mind that the FinSL community is a small linguistic minority when trying to understand the challenges faced by deaf people who “possess the knowledge” of their native language and work using that knowledge when interpreting and translating for their own linguistic group. The community cultivating the expertise in safe food handling and the vocabulary connected to it is extremely small. “The broad discussion” called for by Brentari (1994), in order to stabilize food hygiene LSP equivalents for example is a very farfetched. And the ever-diminishing number of FinSL language users – in the field of food hygiene or any other specialty – does not allow for a critical mass to be formed constraining the persistence and horizontal transmission of signed terminology (see Gialluisi et al., 2013; Senghas, 2005 for further discussion). This is why we assume that proposed terms for non-equivalents remain as isolated single appearances in our small community of FinSL users – or using Šipka’s wording (2015, p.60) they may “remain forever in the relation of zero equivalence”.

Today’s sociolinguistic context of FinSL does not favour vertical transmission to next generations either; the number of users of FinSL in schools has diminished drastically from 2000 onwards (Selin-Grönlund, Rainò and Martikainen, 2014). Thus it seems improbable that the proposed lexemes in this kind of public texts (or online signed vocabularies) would be used “increasingly often by ever more speakers [signers]” (Wälchli, 2005, p.115) and drift toward the permanent lexicon of the sign language community.

The idiomatically appropriate lexical suggestions developed with deaf FinSL users, and further elaborated by the native deaf translator/interpreter, will probably remain as suggestions that can be used sporadically among groups of deaf people studying food safety. As shown by our case study, recording signed vocabulary for the special purposes does not ensure its acceptance and maintenance by FinSL users. Nevertheless, the translation provided in this case study sheds light on strategies that may be adopted to produce neologisms needed when translating LSP texts, for instance, how LSP superordinate concepts can be expressed by co-compounds in FinSL. However, their lexico-semantic position and their lexical status as possible hypernyms equivalents (and not only “a visual list of examples”) should be studied further, to understand which kind of lexico-semantic constraints there are restricting the semantic range they may cover and limits within which they may be used such as in a test situation without revealing crucial information when scrutinizing examinees’ knowledge.

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Deaf Interpreters on TV in Portugal?

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ABSTRACT

This paper focus on deaf interpreters (DIs) on TV in Portugal. We intend to analyse the situation from hearing and deaf interpreters point of view and also by consulting media stakeholders. We discuss interviews aiming to present the state of the art in Portugal with respect to DIs on TV and we also suggest good practices like training and team work.

Key-words: Deaf Interpreters; Hearing Interpreters; TV; Media; Sign Language on TV

1 INTRODUCTION

Our research focuses on why deaf interpreters (DI) are no longer seen on Portuguese television since during the nineties and at the beginning of the 21st century DIs did appear and this has ceased with no apparent reason. The number of hours of in-vision/picture-in-picture TV interpreting has been increasing in Portugal with more and more programmes having hearing interpreters (HIs). Recently, IPC provided training for deaf people who wished to be interpreters and then the reason why they are not on TV arose. In parallel, and maybe because of increased sign language accessibility, the deaf community is questioning the quality of sign language interpreting on TV and its comprehensibility, the use of regional signs and fingerspelling being some of the issues raised.

To better understand whether DIs should be on TV we undertook some open question interviews to trained DIs and a small group of HIs asking them to consider the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threatens (SWOT) of having DIs on TV. Since we are talking about media accessibility we have also interviewed a person from ERC the entity that regulates the public media in Portugal. In our conclusions we present the *status quo* but we also list some good practises for the future presence of DIs on TV.

1.1 Literature Review

As other authors have realized (De Meulder and Heyerick, 2013) the research on deaf¹ interpreters on TV is scarce. The papers focus on questionnaires and interviews to the deaf community that try to figure out if deaf or hearing interpreters should be in-vision. The answers may be surprising but once we understand all the determinants of the studies become clear.

Some of the reasons that support DIs as in-vision interpreters is grounded in a sociological, cultural and linguistic perspective (Stone, 2005; De Meulder and Heyerick 2013; Wermeyer 2015). Thus, Stone (2005) examining deaf and hearing interpreters working to make news accessible to deaf community concludes that deaf communities have been colonized by hearing society (see also Ladd, 2003 and Bauman and Murray, 2014) and this includes in-vision TV interpreting.

1. Denotes those people who have deaf identity and use a sign language. We use lower case d for those who do not share these values and denote an audiological status. For more details see Ladd (2003); Stone (2009)

To redress the oppression of identity, culture, history and language, deaf people may wish to claim space on television, as something they want to have some control in, rather than is controlled by others (Stone, 2005)

Stone (2005) also points out that deaf people have been performing the task of interpreting in deaf community, mainly in deaf clubs, since the 19th century at least with “those who are better reading English supported those who are not” (Stone, 2005, p.10). We can still observe this nowadays mostly in informal situations, since deaf people identify more with another deaf person rather than an HI. However, Stone also says that “professional sign language interpreters emerged in the early 1980s (...) interpreters were expected to follow a Code of Ethics” (Stone, 2005, p.11). This suggests deaf people might prefer HIs as they were expected to act as a conduit and should not be involved in deaf people’s lives unlike others historically, e.g. deaf, social workers, family members, etc.

This Code of Ethics is crucial for the interpreting service. The deaf person feels safer if he/she is with a professional interpreter because he/she knows that the interpreter must follow rules, such as confidentiality (Lei 89/99, 5 de Julho). In Portugal, informal conversations with deaf people and an interview with a professional DI lead us to think that sometimes the deaf person prefers a HI rather than a DI because deaf interpreters are members of the deaf community, the core of the community in Stone’s (2005) words. Deaf people might worry that his/her issues might become “gossip”. So, sometimes the fact that, like Stone (2005) suggested, deaf act as “gatekeepers to information” (Stone, 2005 p.11) might be seen as both a positive and negative thing for DIs.

The previous reflexion coincides with De Meulder and Heyerick (2013) view that “just to be deaf is not the answer. DIs need training in major areas: language (both signed and written) the interpreting process and the code of ethics” (De Meulder and Heyeric, 2013, p.11). We agree with this assumption and we think that the reluctance that the Portuguese deaf community still seems to have related to DIs will reduce when we have more certified and professional DIs².

Stone (2005, p.13) says that “having a deaf person interpreting the news automatically acts as a role model for other deaf people” and we will see below on the interviews we’ve made to Portuguese DIs that this is a reason they want to claim a space on TV. Again these views are related with deaf empowerment but also with language policy. Following Stone (2005) deaf must be the responsible for the development of sign language and thus they should be on TV since them the opportunity to adapt, create and provide a “deaf message”. Stone (2005) also notes that DIs use more facial expressions such as eye-gaze, prosodic features, etc. and they adapt the message in order to reach an heterogeneous deaf audience, i.e. elder people, people with minimal linguistic skills, fluent signers, among others. And by giving a DI the work all the audience, hearing and deaf, can appreciate that deaf can undertake this work.

Stone (2005) states that “only native competences in both languages and cultures might allow you greater accuracy” (Stone, 2005, p.13), which concurs with Meulder and Heyerick (2013) when they say DIs should be certified and trained in both languages. As trained native speakers DIs should have the linguistic plasticity to counter some of the linguistic issues reported in the literature. In fact, in some countries the barriers of dialect and/or different communication systems maybe overcome by having DIs on TV.

For instance, Xiao and Li (2013) surveyed the deaf audience in China and many of them (86%) said they had difficulty understanding the in-vision interpretation. One of the reasons is the fact that in China there are “dozens of indigenous sign language dialects, (...) notoriously unintelligible to people from a different part of the country” (Xiao and Li 2013, p.101) and because of this, many interpreters use signed Chinese on TV, i.e. signing according to spoken language constituent order. The interpreters on Chinese TV are hearing and with no interpreting training

2. In Portugal we have now four certified DIs.

since they are “hearing teachers from deaf schools [...] with little or no training is SLI” (Xiao and Li, 2013, p.108-109). Unsurprisingly, these data agree with Stone’s (2005) view, when he claims that DIs are the best persons to give a comprehensive message to the audience since they are able to adapt the content to a wider audience. However, Xiao and Li (2013) do not consider DIs in their study, they only mention that the majority of the respondents to their questionnaires “supported deaf signing viewers being involved in quality assurance” (p.106). Since in China there are only non-trained HIs, the communication problem seems to be based on two factors: not being a DI fluent native signer, and not being trained.

In Wehrmeyer’s (2015) study of interpreters on TV in South Africa one of the responses that emerged from the questionnaires was that deaf audiences preferred subtitles rather than watching an interpreter (40% said they preferred subtitles and 45% said they would like both, p.208-209). The author states that this percentage may be because on South African TV there are only HIs and may indicate that what respondents really dislike is the use of hearing interpreters, rather than signed communication in itself.

The author continues by saying that some of the respondents suggested that DIs should be employed on TV and that there should be a deaf regulatory committee with a deaf mentor to assist the interpreters on TV. These proposals seem to agree with Stone’s view (2005) when he states that deaf are the gatekeepers of the language and also that they have the ability, because they are deaf native speakers, to provide an interpretation that is optimal and relevant to the deaf audience.

Thus far the literature points to giving DIs the opportunity to be in-vision interpreters. DIs should not only be in the background, feeding hearing interpreters with their cultural and linguistic know-how, but they should be in the foreground too acting as role-models and performing the job. However, we’ve also found some resistance to giving DIs a presence on TV. Meulder and Heyerick (2013) say that people may find it awkward to have a DI on TV because they are used to understand DI’s role as “a deaf person who interprets from a signed language to a signed language, uni-modal” (p.1). This idea is also shared by some deaf people as seen by an interview response in Meulder and Heyerick (2013):

A HI could translate this, she has experience. A DI... I doubt that. Ok, they master VGT as their mother tongue, but if something happens suddenly, how will they be able to translate this? Or if the presenter adds something extra, how can the translator know if she herself is deaf? (p.9)

We’ve quoted the entire answer because we find that it raises very interesting points for our study. This deaf person considers that the work of a DI on TV depends only on the teleprompter and this is common in other studies too (Wehmeyer, 2015; Stone, 2005; Duncan, 1997). In Portugal DIs on TV continues to be based on team work, that is to say, an HI feeds the DI who re-analyses the message, processes it and presents it to the deaf audience. This methodology will be discussed below when we present the Portuguese situation in what concerns DIs on TV.

Stone (2005) mentioned that DIs must be fluent in both languages and Meulder and Heyerick (2013) affirm that training should be effective in both languages. Our experience in Portugal tells us that DIs are not always fluent in written Portuguese because deaf education is still taking its first steps in bilingual education and, specifically, the teaching of Portuguese as a second language. This creates a barrier for DIs, as we will see below when we analyse interviews of DIs and with one Portuguese media stakeholder, however team work on TV is also something to be considered but has not yet been studied.

To conclude this brief literature review we will take a look at one testimony published by producer, Robert Duncan. Duncan (1997) begins his paper by describing a set on a TV channel at Tyne Tees Television, in the UK where the presence of DIs on TV is prevalent and a DI is interpreting the news. He says that though HIs are reliable his experience has taught him that “even the best hearing interpreter, native signer or no, will not achieve the same audience apprecia-

tion as the best Deaf Interpreters” (p.35). Duncan adds that hearing interpreters recognize that a DI is more suitable for the job, which demonstrates that they “are confident enough in their own ability and conscious enough of the debt they owe to Deaf people” (p.36). Stone’s (2005) words echo this when he reports that a DI should be the gatekeeper of the language and he/she is the one able to best perform the message. And that DIs on TV are a way of empowering to deaf people that are becoming more literate – it’s time for them to take centre stage.

2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

After reading about DIs and DIs on TV we aimed to understand their situation in Portugal since currently they are only sporadically inset on the TV³. We wanted to focus not on deaf audience’s view but on HI and DI perspectives on the issue. Thus the research questions were the following:

1. Why DIs are no longer working at the Portuguese TV?
2. What do HI and DI think about the fact of having DIs again on TV?
3. What do the Media Stakeholders think about of hiring DIs to be interpreters?

3 METHODOLOGY

Due to time constraints and considering there are many HIs in Portugal we focused our research on: testimonials on social networks (facebook), focus group of students (10 students, per year, for 10 years), focus groups of professional interpreters during meetings and assemblies of the national association of SLI (about 10-12 associated interpreters), and informal conversations with 3 SLI interpreters who worked in teams with DIs on national television. We interviewed the four certified DIs we have in Portugal. These interviews were in Portuguese Sign Language via skype. We decided to only interview the certified DIs because of time constraints and following De Meulders and Heyrick (2013) view on the need of having deaf trained interpreters. Finally, we’ve made an oral interview to the Media stakeholder.

We will now present our research in three sections: the first HIs, the second the DI interviews, and the third the stakeholder from Portuguese TV. We will be presenting some results at the end of each section but we will also summarize them at the end of the article.

4 HEARING INTERPRETERS VS DEAF INTERPRETERS OR HEARING INTERPRETERS AND DEAF INTERPRETERS?

In Portugal, as is common, the first Sign Language Interpreters (SLI) were hearing CODA, family or friends of deaf people, but they were considered “helpers”, because they did not have an official knowledge of ethics or theoretical information on interpretation or translation techniques (Duarte and Almeida, 2006). Yet, one of those CODA was the first SLI on national Portuguese television, during the 1980s⁴ (Santos, 2006, p.422). In the early 1990s DIs undertook the SL interpretation of some children’s programs and in March of 2011 a DI working in team with a hearing feed was on national broadcasting⁵. On the day the program was transmitted on television, some hearing interpreters used social networks to show that they did not agree with a DI working on television. Most of the HIs showed their dissatisfaction arguing that the DIs wanted to take work that should be done by HIs because of the delay compared with the original voice (from the source language). Some said that it should be the person “who is actually doing the interpretation” (the HIs feed) who should appear in front of the camera, claiming that HI should

3. esectv

4. There was one Program in 1978 “Vida no Silêncio” that was presented by a deaf person who mentioned that he followed the teleprompter. However there were HIs on the program, so he was not clearly a DI meaning that another HI was translating the contents to the general audience.

5. <http://www.rtp.pt/programa/tv/p27198/e9> [accessed on 20/01/2017]

be valued by their work. In De Meulder and Heyerick (2013), we can see this can be related to the labelling of interpreters:

For years people working in or with the Deaf community have been accustomed to the term 'sign language interpreter' or in some cases the more old-fashioned 'interpreter for the Deaf'. These labels imply hearing professionals who are trained to interpret in a bi-modal and bi-directional way: spoken language – signed language." (p.1)

Maybe the label was the main reason why Portuguese HIs did not agree with the idea of having a DI "occupying" the place that "belonged" to the "interpreter for the deaf", so they felt embarrassed about the switch of their public role.

In Portugal DIs are employed when there are MLS⁶ deaf, deaf-blind or foreign interveners that HIs do not feel comfortable interpreting for and then consider DIs necessary. Thus, DIs are "requested when a HI feels they do not have the skills to perform the job by themselves or when a deaf client explicitly asks for a DI" (De Meulder and Heyerick, 2013, p. 3). The idea that a DI is only employed when an HI feels that he/she does not have enough skill to ensure communication between deaf and hearing parts, could give the HI a sense of his/her abilities not being considered good enough to do what he/she has learned and that is his/her task. As seen in Bentley-Sassman and Dawson (2012, p. 25) "some hearing interpreters refuse to work with Deaf interpreters and perceive teaming as insulting to their interpreting abilities" and that may also occur in Portugal despite the lack of information on this subject.

Some HIs, who are associates from the NASLI⁷, during official work meetings and associated general assemblies, mentioned that do not agree to a change of the definition of SLI (by including DI), because they are afraid that by doing so, employers might prefer to hire DIs instead of HIs. This position might suggest that these HIs have not had any experience working with DIs since they not consider team work or even free labor market rules.

However, when HIs do team work with DIs, they readily change their position, because they understand that they can learn more from DIs, that are fluent linguistic members of deaf community, and sometimes "role models for other members of the Deaf community" and they usually "have a better understanding of sign language nuances" (Adam et al., 2014, p.7). In Portugal, this has also happened, HIs that talked to us about their experience team working with a DI during television broadcasts could see that the gains of being a feed to a DI were huge when compared to the interpretation by him/herself. They felt more confident with the final message (with feedback ensured by DI), satisfied with the idea of enlarging their vocabulary and expression of Portuguese Sign Language and received moral support. These benefits were referred by HI as opportunities, also were seen as weaknesses, because it requires more time to prepare the interpretation, explain to the DI some cultural nuances unknown by deaf community and ensure that there are no unclarified expressions or vocabulary. Of course, the HIs would have to prepare for the assignment if they worked by him/herself, but the HIs that had the opportunity to have a preparation meeting with the DI said that this needed more time.

In most countries where the DI job is emerging the training programs provided to DIs and HIs interpreters conclude that it is essential to give practice exercises that can help hearing interpreter students work with deaf interpreter students. This was by attending these sign language interpretation classes HIs will not see DIs as a threat, but an ally on the teamwork interpretation process (Bentley-Sassaman and Dawson, 2012, p.26-29). ESEC is one of the three Portuguese institutions that provides SLI degrees and there are many ESEC students complaining of the

6. Minimal language skills

7. National Association of Sign Language Interpreters – in Portugal, it's Associação Nacional e Profissional da Interpretação – Língua Gestual that is working on Portuguese legislation about SLI and the professionals recognition.

difficulty in understanding different deaf sign users, each one with idiosyncratic language use, so the possibility of working in a team with a DI is a way to minimize those issues and help them overcome those proficiency obstacles. Also, because ESEC accepts deaf students on its SLI degree, when deaf students attend a class, it becomes an enriched experience for both hearing and deaf students, they can share strategies and improve their own working practices. Hearing students can improve their SL proficiency by having contact with deaf SL users and deaf students can become aware of specific strategies that are related to the team interpreting process. And both, together, can develop specific strategies on teamwork.

We believe that NASLI, national deaf associations and institutions that provide SLI programs can work together, to change the way HIs see DIs and understand that the teamwork goal is to make the final message more understandable for deaf community sign members. SLI on Portuguese television is no exception and we believe that if the number of deaf students attending SLI programs increase (for the advantages we've seen before by practicing HI-DI teamwork exercises in SLI classes), then Portugal can also have a significant number of DIs prepared to work in team with a HI (feed), so that mainstream broadcasts can provide SLI models to the deaf Portuguese TV viewers. And those teamwork experiences can provide an opportunity for HIs who can benefit from permanent contact with deaf SL users. So, we think that training and team work are key to having DIs on TV.

4.1 Deaf interpreters on TV: Do they want to be front of stage?

When we talk about sign language interpreters people immediately think of hearing people who translate voice to sign and vice-versa. However, now-a-days there is an increased presence of a new professional: the deaf interpreter (DI). Although, this work is not new, previously DIs were never professionally recognized, this different context and the increasing domains they can work in has made the community look at DIs differently. When a DI is interpreting she/he is dealing with his native language which is a strength, but we cannot underestimate the fact that to be a professional interpreter one is required to acquire specific skills and the flexibility to work in different contexts. With the emergence of deaf interpreters, it is crucial that recognition is made by official institutions such as training programs, because, as we have seen, it is not enough to be deaf and to know the language to be called an interpreter.

As mentioned before, in this article we will only focus on TV domains. According to Wehrmeyer (2015) TV interpretation "constitutes the most visible form of simultaneous signed language interpreting in South Africa" (p.195) and in our opinion, that is true globally. Xiao and Li (2013) also agree, stating that "signing on TV is no doubt the most visible SLI form, potentially with the widest impact on the d/Deaf community's perception of the sign language and their information access" (p.102). Despite the fact that in Portugal we do not have deaf interpreters working on television, we already had some TV interpretation experiences that includes deaf interpreters, namely with two DIs on two TV Programs, one in the nineties and the other one five years ago (2013) and at that time they were not certified. Nowadays, there are no deaf interpreters working on TV⁸ which means that only hearing interpreters work on TV mostly on entertainment, the news and some other sporadic programs.

Due to the recent possibility of deaf people graduating as sign language interpreters, it was possible to ask professional DIs (even though currently there are only four). As we said above, individual interviews were via Skype in sign language and the deaf person was free to answer or not to answer the questions and also to ask for clarification if needed. The questions were identical for the four of them. The inquiry broached different topics related to DIs on TV such as: quality, advantages, what kind of programs should have DIs the delay in interpreting process, the training, among others.

8. We now have the four certified DIs interpreting ESEC's TV program on the National TV. But after completing their degree they found other jobs, for instance, as teachers which they are also certified for, and we have not had that opportunity.

We started by asking if in their opinion a DI on TV provides a better/worse or the same service as an HI. Even though we all know that “quality in interpreting is a complex issue” (Xiao and Li, 2013, p.110), two of them responded that it depends but, generally speaking, a DI is better and they gave different reasons, e.g. because the deaf public identifies with the DI, and DIs are more fluent in sign language. When we asked this question, one DI said that although he did not consider that there was a difference between HI and DI quality, there are specific TV programs that should be interpreted by DIs, such as children’s programs because of the need for appropriate facial and body expression. These reasons are similar to De Meulder and Heyerick (2013, p.3) who state that “with a Deaf relay, the interpreting product seems to be better and less flawed”, and also “the Deaf relay has a linguistically added value”.

The second question asked if DIs think they could interpret from a Portuguese text (teleprompter/autocue or similar) directly to SL. Here the answers were a little more varied. Two of the DIs said that it would be difficult to do this work if they did not have previously access to the subject. In other words, they think they would be able to do it but only if they have some preparation beforehand. One of them said “yes, like other DIs in the world”. Another one said that it is hard to say because that has never been done in Portugal but still, he believes that it would be hard to do.

Those answers might reflect the lack of proficiency of some deaf people in their second language (L2) which maybe because of the educational system not providing effective bilingual education. In Portugal, even in schools for deaf students where they have sign language teachers and interpreters there is still a long way to go before L2 fluency reaches the same level as L1 fluency. In 1989, two teachers of deaf students did an in-depth investigation with a group of one hundred deaf students in order to ascertain their difficulties and the results included “reduced vocabulary and stereotyped; lack of internalisation of Portuguese language structure⁹” (Carvalho, 2007, p. XIII). Thus, this may explain the reason why DIs feel insecure about working directly from a teleprompter. It is true that they had a three-year program but that is clearly not enough to overcome their lack of background in the Portuguese language.

The next subject on our interviews, was about the fact that most of the time interpreting on TV is done with a team (feed-Deaf IS), so we asked if they think the delay could affect the reliability of the translation, for instance in a program like the News. All of the respondents said “no” and they justify their answers with different arguments, moreover they all said the delay is always naturally present in a translation process. Specifically, one said that the time gap would not be a problem to the target message. Another one said that in order to avoid loss in the final message the work has to be done by two interpreters that know each other very well so the interpretation can flow. This was also mentioned by another DI who said that it is very hard to achieve a good work between two interpreters who do not trust each other’s work. The last DI said that the message received is clear when interpreted by a DI which compensates for the little delay that could have happen. It is important to say that, as mentioned by the responses, a good team is the basis for good work and that “DIs and HIs can greatly learn from each other” (De Meulder and Heyerick, 2013, p.11). Adam et al. (2014) supports that idea saying that “[...] the information presented here will foster better working relationship between Deaf and non-DIs, both during and outside of interpreting assignments” (p.1).

The next question was about which TV programs, in their opinion, needed a DI and the reasons for that. One of the DIs said all the TV programs, but the other three emphasized the news, politics and children’s programs. In regards to children’s programs they said that DIs have an innate use of facial and body expression and an ability to adapt their language to make it more visual. Besides that, they also mentioned other programs such as, sports, interviews, entertainment and history programs. One DI said that DIs are capable of interpreting any TV programs but DIs need

9. Original citation: “Vocabulário reduzido e estereotipado; não interiorização da estrutura da língua portuguesa”

to reflect on what kind of program they would feel more comfortable interpreting and which ones will fit them better. Research shows that deaf communities care about having a good interpreter especially on the news and concerned with the “comprehension of interpreted television news” (Wehrmeyer, 2105, p.196).

Another issue was that the portuguese deaf community seems reluctant to accept DIs and we asked the DIs why they think this is. All of them said that that happens because the portuguese deaf community is not used to see a deaf person interpreting and there are many people “who do not understand the work that DIs do” (Adam et al., 2014, p.5). The respondents added that interpreting has always been perceived as a job for hearing interpreters. One of them said that the deaf association have never taken the responsibility to clarify to the community the role of DIs. Their support is crucial and until now, according to that DI, this has been scarce. Nevertheless, there have been some international conferences and seminars where people have had the opportunity to see DIs perform live. Some studies said that when there is a deaf person on TV, deaf consumers are more interested in the information (Campello, 2014), so, maybe, if we have see DIs more in Portugal, the deaf community will be less reluctant to accept DIs. We think currently in Portugal there is a lack of information which “is problematic because” it arises “from insufficient knowledge and understanding of what a DI is and what sort of work a DI does” (Adam et al., 2014, p.1)

The following question was about the advantages of having a DI on TV. One of the DIs said this is a very relevant subject but as this is not a reality in Portugal it is hard to say which the advantages are, for sure. Even so, all of them said that it was important to have DIs on TV before trying to understand what the gains for the deaf community would be. They also said that deaf people would be proud of having a deaf leader interpreting on TV. De Meulder and Heyerick (2013, p.4), quote Stone (2005) saying that “DIs are cultural insiders. Good DIs have the ability to think as other Deaf people think, relying primarily on a visual experience of the world and visual conceptualization of information” and they added that with DIs on TV we truly have an “effective communication”. We think that the advantages are infinite and De Meulder and Heyerick (2013, p.4) supports that idea when they indicate some linguistic characteristics as:

better cohesion, making different use of eye gaze, affirmation, negation and prosodic features, maximize the use of the shared cognitive environment (by incorporating visual information available from the video footage), incorporate enrichments and impoverishments into the target language (TL) to minimize the effort on the Deaf audience, and make use of re-ordering of information to produce an appropriate TL De Meulder and Heyerick (2013, p.4)

Then we asked how can the deaf community understand the advantages of having a DI on TV. All of them stated that deaf association must support the use of DIs and spread awareness of DIs, their role and importance. Besides that, each one of them mentioned specific things such as: bringing DIs closer to the community through real examples of their work; through conferences and workshop about that subject; by providing information sessions about the differences between HI and DI; or swapping TV interpreting between an HI and a DI.

The last question was about their training, asking if they considered that their interpreting degree was useful for their practice or if they think it was too short. All the DIs considered the degree too short – a three-year program – but they emphasized the interpreting strategies they’ve learned and the importance of working with hearing interpreters in pairs. One of them said that the government must have a stronger lead on this because in Portugal, the IPC is the only institution that accepts deaf students on their interpreting program. As we stated before we cannot disregard the role of training because “obviously, it is not sufficient merely to be a

bilingual in order to be considered a good interpreter (De Meulder and Heyerick, 2013, p.2). With that in mind, "interpretation requires training, because it has different subjects such as, differences in language modalities, culture embedded in language and the ways of showing concepts in each of these languages"¹⁰ (Campello, 2014, p.152)

The general opinion seems that DI's role is still not clear to all and awareness and empowerment of DIs and the deaf community is something that needs to be encouraged because, in the interpretation field, "the decision of whether a deaf interpreter is needed still remains for the most part in the hands of hearing interpreters" (De Meulder and Heyerick, 2013, p.10). This reminds us Stone's argument on the fact that DIs feel that TV space is still controlled by others and not deaf people.

After these interviews we noticed the urgent need to start doing research in this area because "media interpreting is a generally under-researched form of interpreting [...]" (Xiao and Li, 2013, p.102). We need to have real experiences of DIs working on TV and then have enough material to verify if it works and how it works because as Wehrmeyer stated (2005, p.201) "there is an evident need for empirical research on sign language interpreting, as a basis for developing interpreting standards". As for us, and also because of what we've learned on this project, we intend to develop the profession of DIs by giving them a space on the TV Program that ESEC produces every week for the National Public Television

5 THE REGULATORY AUTHORITY FOR THE MEDIA (ERC¹¹) AND THE PORTUGUESE SIGN LANGUAGE (PSL¹²) INTERPRETERS ON TELEVISION

The portuguese deaf community has had limited access to information on television for numerous decades. Even though during the 90s, due to pressure from the deaf community, a program existed "that summarised the main information on the Afternoon News, from Channel 1 RTP"¹³ (Duarte and Almeida, 2006, p.234) in portuguese sign language, these broadcasts ended in 2003. One month later, the phenomenon of live PSL interpretation began on the "evening news on Channel 2 RTP"¹⁴. (Duarte and Almeida, 2006, p.234). One of the deaf community's many battles throughout the years has been maintaining pressure for the existence of PSL interpreters on TV, "mainly on informative programs, debates, public discussions and entertainment shows."¹⁵ (Duarte and Almeida, 2006, p.238)

The issue of accessible television content through PSL interpretation became part of the Portuguese Television Law N. 31-A/98, with article 15 expecting "The inclusion of accessible programming to the deaf community, particularly through the translation into Portuguese sign language"¹⁶ (Duarte and Almeida, 2006, p.239). This law has been altered several times; some alterations kept the principle of including programming for the deaf community and others were seen by the deaf community as a step back, particularly Law N. 32/2003 of 22 August "for it does not include a specific reference to the resources of subtitling nor to the translation and interpretation in sign language"¹⁷ (Duarte and Almeida, 2006, p.241).

10. Original citation: "a tradução/interpretação exige formação, pois envolve vários fatores, entre os quais, o fato de estarmos diante de línguas de diferentes modalidades, as culturas que se traduzem nestas línguas; as formas de apresentar os conceitos em cada uma destas línguas."

11. ERC from the original Entidade para a Reguladora para a Comunicação Social.

12. PSL from the original Língua Gestual Portuguesa.

13. Original citation: "que resumia as principais notícias do Jornal da Tarde do Canal 1 da RTP".

14. Original citation: "noticiário da noite do canal 2: da RTP".

15. Original citation: "sobretudo nos programas informativos, debates, discussões públicas e programas de entretenimento."

16. Original citation: "A inclusão de programação acessível à população surda, designadamente através da tradução em língua gestual portuguesa."

17. Original citation: "pois não inclui a referência específica nem ao recurso à legendagem nem à tradução e interpretação em língua gestual."

5.1 ERC's Competencies

The ERC was created in order to regulate and supervise the media regarding the right for accessible information, ensuring “the respect and protection of audiences, particularly the most sensitive and younger citizens”¹⁸ through Law 53/2005, of 8 November, having begun its official work when the Regulating Council took office on February 17th 2006 (<http://www.erc.pt/pt/sobre-a-erc>). The main purpose of the ERC is to regulate and supervise “all entities that sustain media activities in Portugal”¹⁹. It is characterized as a regulating body “with administrative, financial and patrimonial ownership autonomy; in nature, an independent administrative entity”²⁰ (<http://www.erc.pt/pt/sobre-a-erc>).

After having taken up office the ERC released numerous resolutions concerning the number of hours of programming with PSL interpretation, as well as the number of hours with access via subtitling. In such resolutions the ERC included the public television network as well as the private general-interest channels. These decisions took into consideration the National Rehabilitation Institute, entities representing people with disabilities and television operators, among other services.

Based on the N.3 of article 34 of Law N. 27/2007, of 30 July (Law of Television and Audio Visual Services on Request), the ERC defined a set of duties that resulted in Deliberation 5/OUT-TV/2005. In this document, we can see that what was initially anticipated were “eight hours weekly of fictional programs or documentaries with subtitles specifically designed for the hearing impaired, relying on whatever technical means available; three hours weekly of programs of informative, educational, cultural, entertaining or religious nature with interpretation via Portuguese sign language, including the full interpretation of one of the evening news broadcast once a week [Deliberation ERC, 5/ OUT-TV /2005, pp.3]. In this same deliberation, the ERC determined that “the services for informational or current affairs paid television must guarantee, between the hours of 7 pm to midnight, two hours weekly of informative programs with interpretation via Portuguese sign language, including a fully interpreted newscast once a week. [Deliberation ERC, 5/OUT-TV/2005, pp.3].

It is worth noting the multiannual plan for 2017/2020, which came into effect on February 1st 2017. We see that in Deliberation ERC/2016/260 (OUT-TV), the number of hours of sign language interpretation in general-interest programs “shall guarantee, between the hours of 8 am and 2 am, twenty hours weekly of programs of informative or fictional nature, documentaries or cultural shows, with subtitles specifically designed for the hearing impaired relying on whatever technical means available; twelve hours weekly of programs of informative, educational, cultural, entertaining or religious nature with interpretation via Portuguese sign language, including the full interpretation of one of the evening news broadcast once a week.” [Deliberation ERC/2016/260 (OUT-TV), pp.3]. Besides the number of hours stipulated by this deliberation, the ERC also makes some recommendations for general-interest TV channels, namely with the “adoption of less intrusive techniques when inserting the sign language interpretation window, relying on alternative presentations which guarantee a better visual integration of the interpreter’s work in the image, such as having interpreters physically present on the setting, sharing the space with the main anchor or showman”. This instruction had already been recommended by ERC deliberation 5/OUT-TV/2005.

The multiannual plan also contains the instruction that “if the sign language interpreting window is used, a rectangle should be chosen and its height needs to be superior to its width, and particular attention must be given to the quality of lighting, the existence of a clear contrast between the background and the interpreter, and the professional’s formal attire in terms of

18. Original citation: “o respeito e protecção do público, em particular o mais jovem e sensível”

19. Original citation: “todas as entidades que prossigam actividades de comunicação social em Portugal”.

20. Original citation: “dotada de autonomia administrativa e financeira e de património próprio, com natureza de entidade administrativa independente”.

clothing, hair and accessories, so that the interpreting service provided reaches its audience clearly and with no visual interferences; the cooperation between television operators, associations representing people with hearing impairment and technicians of well-known merit has as a main purpose the standardisation of a set of rules and sound practices regarding sign language interpretation on television settings, its possible codification and quality control"²¹. (Deliberation ERC/2016/260 (OUT-TV), pp. 9).

5.2 The opinion of the president of the regulation council of the ERC

It is through the Regulating Council of the ERC that we can access many of the suggestions made by the deaf community regarding the manner in which PSL interpreters should be presented on general-interest television channels. Since the ERC is a reputable entity and has a role in resolving obstacles in Portuguese television broadcasts, we find it crucial to disclose the opinion of the President of the Regulation Council on these matters. We questioned him on the absence of interpreters on every television channel, a fact which leads to the deaf population continuing to have less than full access to broadcast information.

The President of the Regulating Council, despite being unaware of what the main reason for this absence might be, supposes that perhaps "due to financial and technological reasons"²², PSL interpreters might not be present in all television channels. Furthermore, he considers that "watching someone signing on the small square on screen ... sometimes disturbs the aesthetics of the broadcast."²³ This difficulty pointed out by the President of the Regulating Council seems to concur with the statement produced by deaf community experts Duarte and Almeida, where they explain that "these difficulties, in our view, are not to do with technical impossibilities but with internal politics and strategies on the TV image"²⁴ (Duarte and Almeida, 2006, p.239).

The main complaints of the Portuguese deaf community concerning accessibility on TV through sign language are, on the one hand, that interpreted programs are extremely rare and, on the other hand, there is also a heavy and generalized criticism on the quality of many of the interpreting services provided. We questioned the President of the Regulating Council on the role the ERC assumes in controlling the quality of the service provided by PSL interpreters and he feels that "the ERC should have in all spheres of communication a certifying role but cannot interfere with editorial freedom"²⁵. Consequently, the "ERC can and should impose some obligations, namely on public services"²⁶, which gives way to the existence of "some agreements on autoregulation ... and then there must exist a certification of its translators/interpreters."²⁷ Because the ERC is a regulatory entity, its president tells us that the "ERC can help but cannot substitute the relationship between the operators and the different types of spectators".²⁸

As we previously explained, a news program was broadcast in the 90s with interpretation by a deaf interpreter. This experience was duplicated a few years ago, in a cultural show in Portugal only once. However, throughout Europe, having certified deaf interpreters in public televisions

21. Original citation: "se utilizada janela para efeitos de interpretação por meio de língua gestual portuguesa, a escolha de um retângulo em que a altura deverá ser superior à largura, merecendo particular atenção a qualidade da iluminação, a criação de contraste entre o fundo e o intérprete e a apresentação formal deste, em termos do seu vestuário, adereços e cabelos, tendo em conta a finalidade de a interpretação chegar com clareza aos seus destinatários; A cooperação entre operadores de televisão, associações representativas das pessoas com dificuldades auditivas e técnicos de reconhecido mérito com vista à sistematização de regras de boas práticas sobre a interpretação por língua gestual em meio televisivo, a sua possível codificação e o controlo de qualidade da mesma."

22. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

23. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

24. Original citation: "as dificuldades não se prendem, quanto a nós, com impossibilidades técnicas, mas sim com políticas internas e estratégias de imagem televisiva."

25. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

26. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

27. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

28. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

is common practice. At the moment, such dynamics do not exist in Portuguese broadcasts and, when questioned on the matter, the President of the Regulating council commented that he "was unaware of that information but that it is interesting"²⁹. He also added that "there are somethings we should not interfere with and should delegate to those who are knowledgeable on the matter"³⁰, considering that he does not have the "competence nor qualifications, much less the required experience to state an opinion on the matter"³¹. He also guarantees that the ERC will be "particularly vigilant on the subject and open to scientific and technological advances there might be in this field."³²

It is possible that because the Portuguese deaf community is currently resisting the concept of deaf interpreters on television, its members are not exerting the required pressure for these trained professionals to take root in the television setting. Even so, we were interested in ascertaining the position of the President of the Regulating Council on the recruitment of deaf interpreters for televisions. The reply obtained was that "it would be very good because it would provide a practical example of the fact that deaf people are not incapacitated"³³. He also mentioned that "anything that one can do in order to connect technology with linguistic evolution ... is very good and I hope that happens."³⁴, having stated that he was open to "conducting a pioneer experience or to stimulate the occurrence of pioneer experiences."³⁵

When informed that deaf interpreter often work as part of a deaf-hearing interpreting duo³⁶, the President of the Regulating Council said he looks favourably upon the hiring of these interpreting teams, stating that it "makes sense"³⁷, adding that one should "enforce certain types of rules but also maintain a practical and open position"³⁸, and that this is an "excellent idea". He also said that with respect to this issue, "the regulating council or the ERC has the required status to intervene"³⁹ and so it is possible for it to regulate the recruitment of deaf-hearing interpreting teams in order to attain better quality standards in interpreting.

Nevertheless, according to the President of the Regulating Council, in order for that to occur it is necessary that the deaf community and the television operators "begin to work together while maintaining a permanent dialog"⁴⁰. He also reiterates that "it is very important for us to speak to the Chief Information Officers and Programming Directors, but fundamentally with Chief Information Officers"⁴¹, so as to strengthen work bonds and raise awareness of good practices of sign language interpreting on television. Through dialogue one can promote significant improvements on the services provided to the deaf community on TV, granting deaf people full access to information.

29. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

30. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

31. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

32. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

33. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

34. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

35. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

36. Duo in the least, depending on the duration of the assignment.

37. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

38. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

39. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

40. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

41. Quote from the interview conducted by the authors to the President of the Regulation Council, available on audio record.

The very Law of Television, Law N. 32/2003, of 22 August, article 7 provides that:

The State, the public service, licensees and the remaining television operators should collaborate with each other in the pursuit of the values of: human dignity, the rule of law, the democratic society and national cohesion, and in the promotion of the Portuguese language and culture, taking into consideration the special needs of certain categories of spectators.⁴²

"It is also the deaf community's responsibility to exert pressure on the bodies responsible, demanding the necessary changes, and progressively they will be attained."⁴³ (Duarte and Almeida, 2006, p.239). We believe that scientific works of this nature will contribute to the true promotion of deaf interpreters on Portuguese television, an improved access to information for deaf audiences, and ultimately to a clearer and more positive image of the deaf community disseminated throughout the Portuguese society. This Erasmus + Project will definitely contribute to making deaf associations more aware of DIs and their role, and, consequently, they will have scientific studies to show to the Media responsibilities and then DIs will step up frontstage.

6 CONCLUSION

Considering the interviews made and the testimonies that we received we can sum up some important key concepts: DIs need academic certified training; for the moment DIs on TV would perform their functions better if they were in a team (HI/DI); the deaf community and the media are not aware of the positive gains of having DIs on TV. However, both the media and DIs are receptive to working together on TV. We also think that after having this type of team work HIs would be glad with the idea of sharing the stage with their deaf colleagues.

After undertaking this small research project on deaf interpreters on Portuguese television we think that we have managed to answer our research questions. Thus, DIs have previously been on Portuguese TV and this stopped because of internal matters not because of a sociological perspective that intended to discriminate DIs. Looking at the interview to the person from the ERC we clearly see that there was no audism and no intended oppression, at least from the media. We see that there was and still is one thing: lack of awareness.

HIs seem reluctant to having DIs on TV but from their testimonies we see that those who have worked in teams with them found the experience very productive, so this just needs to be repeated often enough in order for DIs to be seen as partners, not threats. Also it is important to state that, for the moment, DIs in Portugal would benefit from team work, like HIs would, since the educational system for deaf people does not result in effective bilingual, or, at least, not all the DIs are bilingual with proficiency in both languages, which Stone (2005) suggested is one of the conditions to be a TV interpreter.

The media is open and receptive to DIs, they just need more information and more dialogue with deaf associations and/or other representatives of deaf community. As for the deaf audience they are still reluctant, as happens in other countries where DIs on TV are emerging as seen in section 2, from the De Meulder and Heyrick (2013) study. Whether deaf interpreters can do TV interpreting is a question for the deaf community, but as Ladd (2003) says colonization transforms mentalities and it is only now deaf communities are beginning to realize that there are gains to be had from deaf interpreters.

42. Original legal citation: "O Estado, os concessionários do serviço público e os restantes operadores de televisão devem colaborar entre si na prossecução dos valores da dignidade humana, do Estado de direito, da sociedade democrática e da coesão nacional e da promoção da língua e da cultura portuguesas, tendo em consideração as necessidades especiais de certas categorias de espectadores."

43. Original citation: "Cabe igualmente à comunidade surda exercer pressão sobre as entidades responsáveis reclamando essas mudanças e a pouco e pouco elas serão alcançadas."

Due to the limitations of this study many questions remain unanswered. We need to continue this research by asking the Portuguese Federation of the deaf about this matter. We must also ask the deaf audience about their opinion on having DIs on TV.

From this current research we have understood that the professionals are open minded and wanting to explore the possibility of having DIs in front of the camera. We think that issues like linguistic quality would be minimized and sociologically the Deaf would be empowered. We aim to teach at our College that DI/Hi teams are good practice on TV, and in other contexts, in order to make TV a stage for everybody.

For the moment DIs feed HIs their language but we are confident that this role can be inverted with HIs feeding DIs in team. Students are very receptive to this issue and maybe along with deaf associations can apply pressure to media outlets so that we can have DIs on TV soon. We are sure that this Project, Developing Deaf Interpreters in Europe, will provide effective answers to those who might feel reluctant or are simply ignore of this possibility. This project will also contribute to the training of future DIs and HIs and will surely ensure that “only to be Deaf is not the answer” (Stone, 2005) but together we can perform language on the TV stage.

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Assessing consumers' needs: a case study

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Abstract

In this case study we explore the linguistic resources that deaf interpreters draw upon to accommodate the needs of their consumer, using communication accommodation theory. We use a case study approach to identify what resources are employed by a deaf interpreter for a client with idiosyncratic communicative needs. By identifying the resources used we also consider how we can ensure these strategies are taught to interpreters in education going forwards.

Keywords: Communication Accommodation Theory, foreigner talk, prosody, coherence and cohesion, shifts in concept levels

1 INTRODUCTION

It is every sign language interpreter's job to interpret in a way that is appropriate for the situation, is adjusted to the consumer's needs and, most importantly, delivers the message of the source text. But sometimes, hearing sign language interpreters fall short; if the consumer in question has limited language skills or special communicative needs, the hearing sign language interpreter may have difficulty in adjusting their sign language to the consumer's linguistic needs. In these situations, the hearing interpreter can benefit from working together with a deaf sign language interpreter (DI) who is more able to accommodate the target text to meet the consumer's needs.

Many challenging interpreting situations have been solved by calling upon a deaf interpreter to "do their thing" which includes sign language modification. But how do the deaf interpreters do this? What specific language modification skills are they using to accommodate the consumer's linguistic needs? These and similar questions have been asked in the sign language interpreting literature for the last 10-20 years (Cokely, 2005; Forestal, 2005) but no research has been conducted to explore this issue further.

Some researchers see the deaf interpreter's special skills in language modification as part of their Deaf Extra-Linguistic Knowledge (called DELK, NCIEC 2010), acquired as they grow up in the deaf community with a sign language as their first language. They have seen greater variation in the use of sign language, they have maybe occasionally interpreted for friends or family members who were not fluent in sign language, they understand what it is like to struggle to communicate with hearing people or to understand hearing interpreters, and they themselves have experienced discrimination and repression. This knowledge, some authors claim, is the foundation of the deaf interpreter's special skills in language modification.

Obviously, all these elements of DELK are contributing to the deaf interpreters' sensitivity to the consumer's needs and enable the DI to interpret in a culturally appropriate way that ensures the consumer feels more comfortable in the situation. But all these factors are, as the name states, *extra*-linguistic. We still need to explore what *intra*-linguistic tools the deaf interpreters use in their accommodation to the consumer's language too. This article will try to solve the mystery

of deaf interpreter's intra-linguistic knowledge and will be conducted following these research questions:

- What linguistic resources do deaf interpreters draw upon in their accommodation to a consumer with special communicative needs?
- How can knowledge of these resources be put into use in the education of future interpreters?

From the linguistic point of view, it is most plausible that, being L1 speakers of sign language, the DIs draw upon some kind of native-speaker intra-linguistic knowledge. This article will therefore primarily be socio- and text linguistic in its approach, but because of the broad research scope of the subject, will also include theories from cognitive semantics, interpreting and communication studies.

2 WHAT WE ALREADY KNOW ABOUT THE INTERPRETING STRATEGIES OF DIS AND COMMUNICATION ACCOMMODATION

2.1 Literature review

As already mentioned, we do not know much about the communication accommodation of DIs or what the DIs actually do to match the needs of the consumer when they are interpreting. Stone (2009) has investigated how the sign language output of DIs and HIs differ. Stone's material was recordings of the translation of the daily news broadcast on regional television, performed by both deaf and hearing interpreters for an audience of native British Sign Language users. In the material, he found both strategic translation and linguistic differences between the output of deaf and hearing interpreters, and on the basis of this, he puts forward a theory of *the deaf translation norm*. The difference between the HIs and DIs was not to be found in their lexical choices. The most striking differences were in their prosody and intonation. The DIs made more, and clearer, boundary markings in the form of head nods and blinking, and through these non-manual movements, a discursial prosodic cohesion was created. The blinking frequency of the DIs in their translation was similar to the frequency of blinking in normal conversation. Also, the DIs used a special set of phrasal head movements nested within the clause. According to Stone, this nesting of phrasal head movements creates a sentence comparable to a relative clause. These are superarticulatory elements that create cohesion in the target text.

Stone finds that these cohesive, prosodic "instruments" facilitate comprehension and ensure greater rapport between interpreter and consumer (Stone 2009). Other than these special linguistic traits, Stone also mentions the use of visual information from the context and greater use of enrichment and impoverishment in the output of the DIs— that is, adding something to, or omitting something from the target text in order to make the message clearer.

According to Stone's findings, one of the linguistic tools DIs use in accommodating the consumer, is a specific prosody that facilitates comprehension. However, Stone's findings cannot on its own fully shed light on the issue of the DIs' language accommodation, which is the topic here. First of all, in Stone's material the consumer is obviously not present and therefore the interpreters are not able to accommodate their language to a specific consumer – instead they interpret for a construed consumer, a kind of "sum of all viewers". Also, the material in question is actually recordings of translations, not interpretations, since the interpreters receive a script of the news broadcast beforehand and they are therefore able to more or less plan how they will interpret before they go live. For these reasons, it is not possible to directly apply Stone's findings to the issue of consumer assessment and language accommodation, that is the topic here. However, Stone's deaf translation norm can give us a hint as to what kind of linguistic tools the DIs use. At least it seems that a specific prosody is one of the tools DIs use to create rapport with the consumer and to facilitate perception.

Forestal (2011) has also investigated the output of DIs and how they work together with hearing interpreters. Via interviews and think aloud protocols (TAPs), Forestal tried to get "into the

minds” of DIs to find out what they do, when they interpret. One of Forestal’s findings was the importance of consumer assessment prior to the interpreting assignment. According to the interviews, the consumer assessment would include information about the consumer’s “age, gender, deaf world experiences, educational background, occupation, world knowledge, related experiences and knowledge of the topics in question” (Forestal, 2011, p.111). In addition to this general information about the consumer, Forestal’s findings state that linguistic assessment is also needed, i.e. the consumer’s sign language, both the discourse organisation and sign vocabulary, but also the consumer’s English level and the “non-linguistic behaviour” (Forestal, 2011). According to Forestal, DIs use both intra- and extra-linguistic knowledge in their linguistic accommodation to the consumer.

Cerney (2004) investigated the target language text of deaf interpreters in a conference setting and compared this to the source language text. Cerney’s analysis shows that the DIs produce “a more culturally appropriate and idiomatic target text” (Cerney, 2004, p.93). What exactly is meant by this, is not completely clear, but one can speculate that “a more idiomatic target text” could mean a more coherent text with lexical choices that match the consumer’s needs. Even so, Cerney’s results indicate that DIs use knowledge of sign language as native speakers to be able to produce a target text that is appropriate for the consumer’s needs.

Summing up, not much has been written about the language accommodation skills of DIs *in situ*, but some findings indicate that DIs use both extra- and intra-linguistic tools. As Forestal shows, it seems that DIs use a [conscious] assessment of the consumer using both intra- and extra-linguistic information. Moreover, according to Cerney, they use native speaker knowledge of idiomatic language use, and, according to Stone, they use prosodic elements to create cohesion in the target text. It is therefore plausible that DIs use intra-linguistic knowledge in their accommodation to the consumer. This knowledge is most likely a knowledge that comes from being a native speaker of sign language. This in many ways concurs with Communication Accommodation Theory.

2.2 Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is a sociolinguistic theory of L1-speakers and their capacity to accommodate their speech to the interlocutor. The theory was first put forward by Giles (1973) and was an attempt to explain the intrapersonal speech variation in interpersonal encounters, or in Giles’ own words “those speech changes which appear to be instigated by the speaker’s motivation to gain approval of, or dissociate himself from, the listener” (Giles and Powesland, 1975, p. 167). Over time, accommodation theory has been expanded to also cover instances of language accommodation in situation where a high level of communication efficiency is desirable (Coupland, 1984).

CAT is linked to the theories of linguistic indexicality. A linguistic *index* is a structure, such as an interrogative, a diminutive or a special pitch, that through cultural transfer from one generation to the next is associated with a certain social identity or stereotype (Ochs, 1996). By using a certain index in your language, you can signal to others that you are a member of a certain social group (ingroup) or that you most certainly are not (outgroup). According to CAT, these indexes can also be used to accommodate (or converge) to your interlocutor and his or her social group, hereby creating solidarity (Giles, Coupland and Coupland, 2010).

This language accommodation can happen in a variety of ways. Among the documented linguistic tools for accommodation are variations in: word and sentence length (Levin og Lin, 1988; Matarazzo et al., 1968), speech rate (Street, 1983), information density (Aronsson et al., 1987), phonological variation (Coupland, 1984) and temporal variation and code switching (Kontra and Gosy, 1988). The language accommodation happens unconsciously through an assessment of the interlocutor. The native speaker makes an assessment of the social stereotype to which the interlocutor is connected and converges to this in his or her speech (Giles, Coupland and Coupland, 2010). The assessment of the interlocutor is based on general knowledge of the person and the person’s interpretive competence, accent, lexical diversity, etc. (Giles, Coupland and Coupland, 2010).

Accommodation can also be desirable and required in situations where the interlocutor has special linguistic needs. Most people accommodate their language when speaking to a child, a foreigner or a person with cognitive deficits. In these situations our own vernacular is not sufficient if we want the other person to understand the message. The language accommodation in these situations, the literature calls "*foreigner talk*". Many studies have shown how native speakers automatically accommodate their language when speaking to a foreigner (Ellis, 1985; Hatch, 1983; Larsen-Freeman et al., 1985). Among the linguistic tools for accommodation are:

- lower speech rate
- shorter and simpler sentences
- more questions and question tags
- greater pronunciation/articulation
- fewer pronouns
- less use of contractions
- high frequency words (restricted vocabulary) (Zuengler, 2010, p.234)

This kind of language accommodation also happens following an unconscious assessment of the interlocutor at hand. The assessment is an evaluation of the perceived ethnic and/or cultural differences and the non-natives linguistic and communicative behaviour or stereotype (Zuengler, 2010).

In the following study I claim that DIs make use of traits similar to "foreigner talk" in accommodating to the consumer's special linguistic needs. The findings in the literature support this hypothesis; Forestal found that DIs assess the consumer and the consumer's linguistic competences prior to the assignment. The assessment criteria mentioned in Forestal (2011) are very similar to the ones in communication accommodation. Stone's results also support the idea; the DIs specific prosodic cohesive traits had the purpose to facilitate understanding and to connect with the audience – a purpose very similar to that of indexes. And last, Cerney's findings of "a more culturally appropriate and idiomatic target text" can be seen as a native speaker's sense of in- and outgroup indexes and the situations in which they occur.

3. DATA AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

Several things indicate that DIs use intra-linguistic tools similar to the ones in "foreigner talk" in accommodating to the consumer. In this case study I will analyse material from a real interpreting situation limited by the length of this article.

3.1 Data

To get as ecologically valid material as possible, I wanted to record a real interpreting situation. In my experience an authentic consumer with a real need for interpretation provides the best motivation for the interpreters and therefore the best results. But I quickly found this was next to impossible, finding an authentic interpreting situation with a consumer and interpreters who were willing to be recorded. Therefore, I decided to simulate the situation, but to make it as realistic as possible. I came into contact with an elderly gentleman who accepted to participate in this study as the deaf consumer. I arranged a preliminary interview with the consumer and had a deaf interpreter with me. This was to ensure that we understood each other but also to perform a mini-assessment of the consumer to see if he fit the criteria for the study. I also wanted to see if I could see some indications of my hypothesis from the DI's interpretation of the interview. The consumer is in his 60s and originally from Greenland. He has learned Danish Sign Language later in life (in his teens), after the critical period (O'Grady et al., 1996) and thus lacks deeper conceptual understanding. He therefore fits the criteria of a consumer with special linguistic needs.

During our talk we circled in on what his interests are and agreed that he should participate in a first aid course. The interpreting setting was hence a first aid course, arranged by the Danish Red Cross and open to all in return for a small fee. The course lasted 8 hours of presentations and exercises alternately. There were 14 other (hearing) participants in the course. Only the

presentations were recorded. Interpreters were present all day, 4 hearing interpreters (hereafter called HI1, HI2, HI3 and HI4) and 3 deaf interpreters (hereafter called DI1, DI2 and DI3). DI1 was certified as a deaf interpreter in Denmark two years ago, but he has many years of interpreting experience in international settings. DI2 and DI3 were both certified two years ago and have been working as deaf interpreters in Denmark since then, on a freelance basis. DI1, also being a deaf interpreter coordinator in the agency that delivered the interpreters, knew the aim of this study. DI2 and DI3 plus the four hearing interpreters did not know the aim of the study.

Because of the time constraints and practicalities concerning who was available at the particular date and who consented to being recorded, I was not free to choose the interpreters. Therefore, I unfortunately could not get deaf and hearing interpreters who were used to team interpreting together. On this particular point, the data could be seen as not being ecologically valid. This has to be considered when evaluating the results.

I recorded both deaf and hearing interpreters simultaneously. This was to be able to see the linguistic input the DIs were working from, and to be able to pinpoint instances where the DIs deviated greatly from their source text. The DIs and HIs agreed that the HIs should be feeding Danish Sign Language to the interpreters (not signed Danish). The footage totalled approximately 6 hours. There were some technical errors with the recording equipment during the course, so some parts of the interpretation are not included in the data. This should of course be taken into consideration when evaluating the results.

I was present during the whole of the course, taking notes. This triangulation of methods was to ensure there was some data should there be technical issues, but also to facilitate the analysis afterwards identifying times in the footage to look through. It was beyond the time frame of this study to transcribe the full material and so I took notes when something seemed interesting or was noticeable. For this I used my knowledge of interpreting and my own language sense, as an interpreter who works in the deaf community on a daily basis.

There are two reservations to this method: first, the well-known Labovian "Observer's Paradox" (Labov, 1972) which states that the observer of a situation will always have an impact on the situation and the events just by being there. This has to be considered when assessing the validity of the results later on. Second, some may say that as a hearing L2 speaker of sign language I am a poor observer. But one can also argue the opposite, as an outsider to the (language) community; it is *easier* to spot patterns and correlations (Saville-Troike, 1989). This is at least a well-known method in anthropological research and fits this study well.

Summing up, the data material consists of notes from the preliminary interview with the consumer, recordings of the interpreting of the first aid course and the field notes I made during the interpretation. I consider these data sufficient and appropriate for this study.

3.2 Method

In this study, I will investigate the hypothesis that when deaf interpreters accommodate to the consumer's needs they use linguistic tools with similar linguistic traits to "foreigner talk". The method will therefore to some extent be the hypothetical-deductive method, but also explorative because of the broad scope of "looking for what seems immediately noticeable". Being a case study and because of the limited material and extent, this study does not aim to be exhaustive, rather, it aims for laying the grounds for further research on the subject.

I looked through the recordings and my field notes identifying instances where the DI's interpretation differed greatly from the HI's. The null hypothesis being that the DIs and HIs interpretations are completely or almost the same. In these instances, the assumption is that the DIs do not use any specific intra-linguistic tools as L1 speakers to accommodate the consumer. Where examples of differences in HIs' and DIs' interpretations have been identified, I classified the examples linguistically and compared the linguistic traits to the traits of "foreigner talk".

The main focus will be on DI1. Partly because he is the one with the most training and experience in interpretation, but also because of the limitations of this study which do not allow a full analysis of all the DIs. The findings from DI1 will afterwards be compared to DI2 and DI3 to see if they exhibit the same linguistic behaviour or not, as a way to triangulate the plausibility of the traits being real linguistic variables and not just instances of the random personal linguistic choices of DI1. I will, however, also use examples from DI2's and DI3's interpretations as and when relevant.

I transcribe the examples following traditional transcription conventions (Engberg-Pedersen, 1998, see the Appendix for abbreviations and transcription conventions) and as appropriate show stills of the linguistic trait in question.

I will use concepts from CAT mentioned above in Section 2.2 throughout the analysis and compare the findings to findings in the literature mentioned above in Section 2.1. I will also use concepts from translation studies such as Schjoldager (2008) and Napier (2016), in particular the interpreting strategies *explicitation*, *paraphrase*, *condensation*, *omission* and *additions*. Briefly: *explicitation* is when something in the target text is made more explicit or specific; *paraphrase* is when something in the source text is translated quite freely in the target text; *condensation* is when a chunk of information in the source text is condensed into a smaller or less complex chunk in the target text; *addition* is when a piece of information that did not occur in the source text is added to the target text; and *omission* is when a piece of information in the source text is omitted in the target text.

4. RESULTS

I have found several instances where the DI's and the HI's interpretations differed greatly. The variations are prosodic, lexical and morphosyntactic in nature. I have categorised the findings and will present them under the following headlines: Signing rate, articulation and prosody (Section 4.1), Sentence and text structure (Section 4.2) and Concept levels, paraphrases and additions (Section 4.3).

4.1 Signing rate, articulation and prosody

The first noticeable thing was the signing rate of DI1. According to Bellugi and Fisher (1972), the average signing rate is approximately 2,4 signs per second in a usual narrative. Even though this method of counting signs per second seems slightly construed when considering the simultaneity of different articulators in sign language, the method seems to be the simplest way of getting a quick estimate of the signing rate, so I have chosen to follow Bellugi and Fisher, and measure the signing rate this way.

DI1's signing rate was lower average, signing at 1,1 signs per second; HI1's signing rate was also quite low (1,4 signs per second). However, DI1's signing rate was lower than the input and lower than the average in a usual narrative. The lower signing rate of DI1 could be a result of the low signing rate of the HI, since DI2 and DI3 did not have a strikingly lower signing rate than the average, although both DIs signed a little slower than in their normal signing. It is therefore hard to say for certain whether DI1's lower signing rate is a conscious strategy or merely a result of the slower input of HI1. However, if one looks at the numbers alone, a difference of 1,3 signs per second (46%) between the production of a narrative and an interpretation is rather striking. Looking at the interpretations, though, it looks as though the DIs all make an effort to sign in a slower pace than their natural pace, so I think it is safe to say that there actually *is* a consciously lower signing rate going on.

DI1 articulated the signs more clearly, this was reflected partly in the slower signing rate, but also in the lower degree of assimilation of signs. Furthermore, DI1 used a bigger signing space compared to the signing space in normal discourse. Besides the greater articulation of signs and the slower signing rate, DI1 also used a clearer prosody than that found in normal discourse,

with some signs lasting longer accompanied by head nods, blinks and other facial expressions to mark boundaries (Engberg-Pedersen, 1998).

Lower production rate and greater articulation are traits usually connected to “foreigner talk”, so DI1’s greater use of these traits could be an indication of a conscious strategy to accommodate to the consumer’s needs. This finding also correlates to Stone’s findings, As mentioned above, Stone found that the deaf interpreters used special prosodic features to create cohesion in the target text. It may very well be the same thing happening in DI1’s translation. The aim is undoubtedly to facilitate comprehension, and as such this is a way to accommodate to the consumers communicative needs.

4.2 Sentence and text structure

In several ways DI1’s target text showed language accommodation to the consumer in the structuring of sentences and larger parts of the text, which I will now discuss.

4.2.1 Omissions

On several occasions, DI1 omitted parts of the source text in his target text. Some of the omissions may have been unconscious or due to a fault in the team interpreting, but in most instances it seemed omissions were both *conscious* and *strategic* (as Napier classifies omissions when on purpose, Napier, 2016).

Ex.1¹

Speaker: Now, the topic is haemorrhages. We start by looking at the haemorrhages where the blood is oozing slowly, **that is for example if you slice your arm by accident, the blood isn’t actually splashing all over the place, like in the movies.**

Interpretation: NOW WHAT / BLOOD / BLOOD+long (:in a slow manner) / IF LITTLE WOUND BLOOD+long

Here, DI1 is omitting the whole sentence in bold in the source text. Of course, it is always hard to say with certainty whether omissions are made on purpose or not. It could be a conscious, strategic omission, but it could also be an unconscious omission or a conscious unintentional omission (Napier, 2016). This can only be revealed by interviewing the interpreters immediately after the interpretation.

Some points, however, can be made supporting this being a conscious strategic omission: the omitted information is not relevant to the topic; and DI1 may have judged the information to be more confusing than beneficial for the consumer. In general, the introduction of new referents is always a cognitive effort, so accordingly leaving out a referent that most certainly is not to be used later on, would reduce cognitive effort. Hence, leaving it out would make the target text easier to understand. This is also according to Napier the purpose of this kind of omission, to make the target text more comprehensible by leaving out superfluous information.

Also, the recording shows DI1 looking intensely at HI1 while producing BLOOD+long. I see this as a conscious strategy, where DI1 uses BLOOD+long as a filler while receiving more information and then discarding the given information as superfluous.

When something is omitted in the target text, the purpose can be to make the target text less abstract or complex. But omissions can also be made in order to be more “cognitively economic”: If part of the source text is superfluous, it saves mental energy for both interpreter and consumer when left out (Schjoldager, 2008). Finally, omissions can be made to make the target text more idiomatic, following the rules of the target language in question (Schjoldager, 2008). So it is fair to say that DI1’s omissions are part of an interpretation strategy that creates a more relevant, idiomatic and comprehensible target text for the consumer.

1. Translation from Danish

4.2.2. Cohesion and coherence

In some cases, DI1 used the holding of a sign over parts of, or whole sentences, and even over several sentences. These holdings are called *buoys* in the literature (Lidell, 2003). The buoys can have different forms, but they all have the function of creating conceptual landmarks, to keep a referent in the consciousness of the interlocutor. Hence the name buoy: they are reference points in the information stream. In some instances, the buoys were in the form of a numeral in the weak hand as part of a list or enumeration, while the active hand was continuing the interpretation. This kind of buoy is called a *list buoy*:



Ex. 2 STILL OF A LIST BUOY

This holding of the referent(s) in the weak hand can serve as a cognitive strategy for the interpreter to keep track of the information stream in the target text. But it can also have a cognitive function for the interlocutor: It keeps the referents constant in the mind of the recipient (Engberg-Pedersen, 1994) and thereby facilitating comprehension.

Another type of buoy is a *fragment buoy* (Lidell, 2003). This kind of buoy leaves a “fragment” of a sign in the weak hand, while continuing to sign with the active hand. DI1 also uses this kind of buoy:

Ex. 3

Speaker: This is John, he has been stabbed in the stomach, we watch it happen and the persons who did this, take the knife with them as they flee the scene.

Interpretation: ah: STAB Pm: hold-knife _____
wh: RUN GO-AWAY

Here, the fragment buoy is used as a backgrounding of the constituent [KNIFE]. Again, the buoy is used to keep the referent foregrounded for the recipient, which is very important in this case (because there is a difference in treatment whether the knife is left in the stab wound or not). Also noticeable is the omission of the name John, but this will be discussed further in Section 4.2.3. Both examples of buoys represent information structuring and the creation of coherence in a text. When a text is coherent, it is easier to comprehend (Lehmann, 1982 in Engberg-Pedersen, 1994).

DI2 also used buoys and DI3 used slightly more than DI2, but neither DI2 nor DI3 used as many as DI1. HI1, HI2, HI3 and HI4 all used buoys in their interpretations, but primarily list buoys. Both list buoys and fragment buoys are elements that stretch over longer passages of text and their purpose is to make the sentence and text structure simpler (cognitively) and more cohesive, and thereby easier to understand. Simpler sentence and text structure is one of the typical traits of “foreigner talk”, as mentioned above.

4.2.3. Cohesion and reference marking

More cohesion was to be found in DI1's interpretation. He had a very different reference marking than HI1. When referring anaphorically, he used *constructed action*, that is, he took on the role of the referent in question instead of pointing to an assigned place in the signing space. Constructed action is a widely used discourse strategy in sign languages. In constructed action, the signer represents the actions, thoughts, feelings or utterances of the referent in question through face, body, head and hands, as if "taking the role" of the referent (Metzger, 1995).

Ex. 4

Speaker: Maybe now, the neighbour comes to the door, but in the meantime you have passed out so if he looks through the peephole he can't see anyone and you will not be saved.

Interpretation: NEIGHBOUR COME / BUT FAINT FALL / NEIGHBOUR
(CA) ah: Pm: look-through-peephole _____
(CA) wh: : SEE GONE CL: person-lies-on-ground

Here, DI1 constructs the action of the neighbour and "you" (meaning the person who needs to be saved). DI1 combines constructed action and a fragment buoy (holding the hand shape of the verb "looking-through-peephole"), as in ex. 3 that could actually serve as an example of constructed action too.

By using constructed action, instead of abstract pronouns or fingerspelled names, the referents are specified and the target text is lowered in complexity level. Like pronouns in spoken languages, the pointing to an assigned position in the signing space is ambiguous and cognitively complex. When using pronouns, the receiver has to remember what the pronouns refer to and this requires some cognitive effort to process. Constructed action or dialogue is less complex and I suggest takes less cognitive effort to perceive.

In some cases, DI1 also used deictic reference by directly pointing to a physical object or in other ways referring directly to something in the surroundings. Deictic reference is even less cognitively complex than constructed action and again it contributes to lowering of the complexity level. Also, constructed action and dialogue help to create cohesion in the text, making the target text easier to comprehend.

DI2 and DI3 both used constructed action and deictic reference, but not as much as DI1. None of the HIs used deictic reference and only constructed action to a limited extent. The use of constructed action decreases the number of pronouns and creates a simpler sentence structure. Both traits are also traits of "foreigner talk", so again a parallel can be drawn.

4.3 Concept levels, paraphrases and additions

Not only were morphosyntactic differences noticeable in the translations of the DIs, variations on the lexical level were also found. This is in contrast to Stone, who did not find greater differences on the lexical level between hearing and deaf interpreters.

4.3.1. Shifts in concept levels

DI1 chose more than once to shift in concept level from source text to target text. Sometimes he shifted to a concept on a higher level in the concept hierarchy, i.e. from a hyponym to a superordinate:

Ex. 5

Speaker: Maybe you are looking for a Snickers or a Mars in your bag on the flour of the car

Interpretation: SOMETIMES HAVE CHOCOLATE DET+r BAG / WANT CHOCOLATE
Pm: look-through-bag

Here, DI1 chooses to translate 'Snickers' and 'Mars' into the generic term 'chocolate'. In interpretation theory, it is usual to talk about explicitations (Schjoldager, 2008) where something is made more explicit or tangible. But here, it is almost as if the opposite is happening: an element is made less explicit. However, this can be explained in terms of cognitive linguistics: Evidence suggests that the human brain most easily perceives concepts from the middle or *basic* level in the concept hierarchy, in other words concepts such as 'chair', 'dog' or 'car'. These are easier to perceive than the corresponding concepts 'furniture', 'mammal' or 'vehicle' from the superordinate level in the hierarchy or 'Arne Jacobsen's The Egg', 'Cavalier King Charles' or 'Honda' from the subordinate level (Rosch et al., 1976).

Maybe DI1 has chosen the basic level concept CHOCOLATE because he instinctively knew that it would be easier for the consumer to understand the generic term. But the choice could also be for more practical reasons: There is no (widely used) Danish sign for 'Snickers' or 'Mars', so to keep the exact meaning of these words in the target text, DI1 would have been forced to loan the words from English (which are borrowed into Danish) through fingerspelling. DI1 may have found this undesirable, because of the consumer's linguistic needs and limited literacy skills. Furthermore, the sign CHOCOLATE is a high frequency sign², this might also have affected DI1's choice in this situation.

Another example of shifts in concept levels is a shift from a higher to a lower level in the hierarchy. In the source text, the speaker uses the Danish word 'stoffer' (English: drugs), which DI1 interprets into SYRINGE (or NARCOTICS) – although a sign in Danish Sign Language (DTS) for 'drugs' exists. This is an explicitation, since 'syringe' is in a lower level in the concept hierarchy than 'drugs' (although still a superordinate in DTS meaning injectable substances). As mentioned above, according to Rosch et al. (1976) a subordinate category member should be more difficult to perceive than basic level category members. Considering this, it is surprising that DI1 chooses to translate as he does. But DI1's choice may very well be linked to the semantics of the Danish sign DRUGS³. This sign is in no way iconic. It is a homonym (as well as the Danish word 'stoffer') to the sign for 'fabric', also making the sign ambiguous. DI1 may have taken this into account when choosing a lower level concept. Also, SYRINGE is maybe a more frequent sign than DRUGS, which can also have influenced DI1's translation choice.

In general, all three DIs sometimes shifted in concept levels in their translations. They all used less fingerspelling than in normal conversation and their lexical choices were influenced by the frequency and iconicity of the signs. The shifting in concept levels can be paralleled to the traits of "foreigner talk": A typical trait is the use of high frequency words or words from basic level categories.

4.3.2. Paraphrasing

A common interpretation strategy for all kinds of interpreters is paraphrasing. Paraphrasing is used when there is no one-to-one translation in the target language or if the complexity level of the form for some reason needs to be lowered (Schjoldager, 2008). DI1 did in several cases use paraphrasing, possibly to render the target text into something more idiomatic.

Ex. 6

Speaker: I would rather give him the chance to survive, knowing that he may be stuck to a wheelchair for the rest of his life, than, trying to avoid the wheelchair, he goes on and dies.

Interpretation: shakes head

Pm: holding-head ESTIMATE BE-CAREFUL LATER INJURY /
IMPORTANT LIFE BREATHE IMPORTANT

2. I have used the Danish-Danish Sign Language dictionary, tegnsprog.dk for frequency judgements.

3. <http://www.tegnsprog.dk/#%7Csoeg%7C%27tekst%27stoffer%7Cresultat%7C5%7Ctrestjerner%7C0%7Ctegn%7C901>

Ex. 7

Speaker: It cannot be an office chair!

Interpretation: MUST-NOT CHAIR WHEEL

Ex. 8:

Speaker: First aid kit

Interpretation: BOX THAT-IS DIFFERENT PLASTER BANDAGE

In example 6, DI1 may have chosen to focus on the link between the actions of the rescuer and the consequences. The important thing here is not the degree of the injury, but that the rescuer should first and foremost save lives. It could be a cognitive strain for the consumer to understand that injuries in the neck sometimes result in paralysis and therefore a life in a wheelchair – this is a long chain of implicit information for the consumer to take in, so DI1 chose to present a simpler construction both semantically and structurally to lower the complexity level of the target text. One could also argue that the interpretation strategy here is condensation, as a larger chunk of information is made into a rather small chunk in the target text. Both paraphrasing and condensation could be the case here.

In example 7, DI1 may have judged the sign OFFICE^CHAIR to be too ambiguous as any chair that could be placed in an office. The consumer does probably not know the sign OFFICE and therefore will not understand the compound OFFICE^CHAIR. But most importantly, in this situation the connotations of 'office' is not the aim of the speaker. The important thing in this situation was the connotations of a chair having wheels. The subject of this part of the course was the Heimlich manoeuvre and specifically the situation where you need to perform it on yourself. In this case it is important to use a chair that cannot move. This could be the reason for DI1 to choose to explicate by paraphrasing into CHAIR WHEEL [a chair with wheels].

Example 8 is a classic example of paraphrasing and all three DIs used this paraphrase or variations of it. All the DIs used paraphrasing in their interpretations. The goal of paraphrasing is to lower the target text in complexity level. This is also a strategy in "foreigner talk", if the foreign interlocutor does not understand a word, typically the strategies will be to rephrase into a high frequency word or a basic level concept, or to paraphrase. Again, parallels can be drawn to "foreigner talk".

4.3.3. Additions

In translation studies, additions are said to be used as a means for cultural mediation, for example when translating religious texts, notes are added to explain the cultural and historical context of the text (Schjoldager, 2008). An addition can take any linguistic form and it is therefore hard to define it structurally. It can only be found by comparing the meaning of the source text and the target text and looking for instances of "extra" meaning in the target text that is not present in the source text. Even though additions are not a clear linguistic variable, I have chosen to include it here because it is an important interpretation strategy and because additions were immediately noticeable in all the DIs' interpretations.

Sometimes it is difficult to tell the difference between additions and other interpretation strategies such as explicitation and paraphrasing, but in the DIs interpretations I found some instances of additions with a clear cultural mediation purpose, or in some cases to elaborate the message of the source text. For example, at some point in the course, the speaker mentions the importance of telling the emergency service the precise location of the accident, but he does not explain why. DI2 elaborates by adding the 'why', i.e. that the ambulance will spend precious time driving around, searching for the accident if the exact location is not given.

Addition is an interpretation strategy that cannot directly be linked to "foreigner talk" as a linguistic trait, but it is still an important tool for DIs. Additions can help elaborate the message and as such, it is a way to create a more idiomatic target text. Also, when mediating cultural issues, additions can be seen as a means to create greater rapport with the consumer. When taking

these things in to consideration, additions can nevertheless be perceived as a tool in communication accommodation even though it is not a linguistic trait.

4.4. Summing up

In the data I found several strategies, which indicate that DIs are actually using intra-linguistic tools to accommodate their language to the consumer's linguistic needs. The tools are prosodic, morphosyntactic and lexical in nature: I found slower signing rate; clear articulation of signs; and a clear prosody; a more simple sentence structure with omissions of elements from the source text; holdings of constituents (buoys); reduced use of pronouns (and instead use of constructed action); and finally paraphrasing and systematic use of high frequency signs or signs from another concept level were common. All in all, many parallels could be drawn to linguistic traits of "foreigner talk". In the following section I will discuss the validity and implications of these findings.

5. DISCUSSION

First of all it can be stated that there were differences to be found between the interpretations of the DIs and the HIs. Therefore, the null-hypothesis could not be confirmed and it is safe to say that the DIs must be using some intra-linguistic resources in accommodating to the consumer's language.

Looking at the analysis, it seems fair to say that the resources used are very similar to the linguistic traits of "foreigner talk". It is also quite reasonable to say that DIs have native speaker resources and knowledge that they use while interpreting, and that the specific resources for "foreigner talk" are activated when interpreting for a consumer with special linguistic needs. This group of consumers have linguistic needs similar to a foreigner: they either *are* foreigners with a different native sign language than the DI, or they are cognitively impaired, or have been linguistically under-stimulated while growing up, so their linguistic level in the sign language in question is comparable to a non-native speaker. All the DIs in this study used linguistic traits comparable to "foreigner talk".

On the other hand, there were great individual differences in the output of the DIs and in how much the traits were used. However, some things need to be considered as the traits associated with "foreigner talk" are not fixed and universal. The traits listed in Section 2.2 are the most common traits, but the list is by no means exhaustive and there is room for individual variation. The most important thing in accommodating to an interlocutor's language is the assessment of the interlocutor's needs. This implies the traits can differ depending on the assessment made. Also, it must be considered that the DIs have very different educational backgrounds and experiences with interpreting. The greater the experience, the more resources the interpreter can bring to accommodate to the consumer. So the differences in output and the use of the linguistic traits of the DIs suggest experience is at play. It must also be considered that the HIs and DIs were not used to working together. This may have influenced the results.

The material for this study is large with many hours of footage, but it only includes three deaf interpreters. Many small obstacles can cloud the findings of a case study like this such as the interpreters' mental state on that particular day, the setting, the interpreters' knowledge of the subject and of the aim of the research. Similarly, my mere presence can have influenced the results. The results of a case study can therefore not just be stretched out to cover the whole field due to the limits of the data. One can conclude something with respect to the case at hand and can give us an indication for future research. But it cannot tell us anything generalizable with complete certainty. If the hypothesis here were to be tested properly, a different research design should be used.

Another thing to be considered is a general critique of the communication accommodation theory. Some critics say that accommodation theory is too vague and is often used as a catch-all for results that do not fit other analyses (Meyerhoff, 1998). Regarding my hypothesis, it can be claimed that it is a reductive idea that the DIs' special skills merely comes from being native speakers. However, from a linguistic point of view it is not reductive, but simply widely accepted

that L1 speakers have a larger repertoire and a broader knowledge of the language and how it can be used, than L2 speakers do (O'Grady et al 1996).

Many deaf people are brought up as bilinguals. Many DIs will therefore not only be proficient in their native sign language but will also know the written language of the community and be comfortable with idiomatic expression and the general structure of that language. Alongside their L1 and the written language of the community, many deaf people also know a second or third sign language. This is a great advantage when working as an interpreter. We now know that bi- or multi-linguals do not have separate "boxes" of language that they can shift between when code-switching, but rather they have a joint language system where all resources are available to the speaker at the same time (Gregersen and Kristiansen, 2015). This gives the DIs a unique set of linguistic resources to draw upon when interpreting and it makes them capable of adjusting their language in a very fine-grained way. This supports the hypothesis of DIs having linguistic tools at their disposal, tools similar to traits of "foreigner talk".

Further support for the validity of the results comes from the general linguistic theory "The Principle of Cognitive Economy". Several researchers have put forward and proved theories of linguistic economy, which state that the human mind favours language that uses as little cognitive efforts as possible (Evans and Green, 2006). This effect has produced various maxims of efficient language use, such as Grice's (1989) Cooperative Principle maxims "Quantity: give only the necessary amount of information" and "Relation: give only information that is relevant to the situation" or Keller's (1994) maxim: "Talk in such a way that you do not expend superfluous energy". These ideas from communication theory and cognitive linguistics support the hypothesis that DIs are purposefully interpreting in the most efficient and economic way to deliver the message; the most efficient way is by accommodating their language via linguistic elements customised for the consumer. In this way, it takes the least cognitive effort for the consumer to process the message.

There are arguments for and against the validity of the results and thereby confirmation of the hypothesis. All in all, I find that the results support the hypothesis and along with the evidence from the literature I think it is safe to say that the results are valid and the hypothesis confirmed. As mentioned before, the results of a case study cannot be generalized. If a more comprehensive study were to be made, it should include many more DIs and a fully transcribed dataset. This to be able to collect statistical material from the dataset. Method triangulation can also be applied, using think aloud protocols or semi-structured interviews, as Stone and Forestal did, before and after interpreting to catch the interpreters' thoughts on language choice and interpreting strategies.

Even though one should be careful to conclude anything from a case study, I believe that the implications of the findings could be used in the future education of deaf interpreters. When using the linguistic traits of "foreigner talk", the DIs make an assessment of the consumer's linguistic needs. According to the communication accommodation theory, this assessment is made unconsciously. But the findings here and in the literature can help us make the assessment conscious, by making a list of assessment criteria to be used prior to an assignment. The linguistic traits can be taught and adjusted according to the assessment of the consumer and afterwards be put into strategic use in the interpretation. This structuring of the knowledge of consumer assessment and language modification will be beneficial for both interpreters and consumers.

6. CONCLUSION

Traits comparable to the traits of "foreigner talk" were found in the DIs' target texts.

These traits were:

- reduced signing rate,
- clearer articulation of signs and a clearer prosody,
- a simpler sentence and text structure,
- fewer pronouns (and instead increased use of constructed action) and
- use of high frequency signs or shifts in concept level.

All these traits are also found in “foreigner talk”. The linguistic traits aim at lowering the cognitive complexity level of the text to ensure that the consumer understands the message in question.

Some points can be argued against the validity of the results, such as a general critique of the communication accommodation theory and the problems with applying results of a case study to a whole field. Further and more comprehensive research on the matter is desirable. However, several things in the literature on the subject and in communication theory and cognitive linguistics support the results. The assessment criteria and the linguistic traits that have come to light in this study can be formalised into list or taxonomy. This taxonomy would be useful in the future education of deaf interpreters in order to make unconscious assessment conscious and ensure their strategic use.

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APPENDIX – TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

I have transcribed manual signs with English glosses.

A hyphen [-] indicates a single sign with complex meaning [BE-CAREFUL].

A circumflex (^) indicates a compound [OFFICE^CHAIR].

A slash [/] is used to indicate boundaries.

A long underscore [____] is used to mark holdings of signs. In these cases, two lines are needed to show simultaneous, distinct movements of the strong and the weak hand. The underscore shows the duration of the holding.

If the head movements are important for a specific transcription, the head movements are transcribed in their own line above the manual sign-lines.

A plus [+] indicates the addition of a separate morpheme to the root [BLOOD+long].

Loci are indicated as spots in the signing space, ‘l’ and ‘r’ are hence points to the left and right of the signer in the signing space.

Abbreviations:

- Pm: Polymorphemic sign, a sign containing several morphemes, transcribed by their approximate meanings.
- CL: Classifier. A hand shape used to express complex verbs.
- CA: Constructed action.
- ah: Active hand
- wh: Weak hand
- +long: an aspect marker, marking long duration or “in a slow manner”
- DET: Determiner (a pointing sign)
- +r: referent to the right of the signer
- +l: referent to the left of the signer

International Sign Interpreting: a cross-linguistic phenomenon

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to present and analyse two videos that illustrate two different contexts of International Sign Interpreting: two deaf interpreters interpreting an excerpt from a children's book and one TV report, both in Portuguese Sign Language, into International Sign Interpreting. Our study focusses on interpreting technics, cross-linguistic phenomena observed when using contact languages, and also the Interpreter's perspectives on their target language discourse. We intend to provide a didactic material to future Interpreters to be aware of the linguistic and cultural resources they need to interpret from a national sign language into a communication system like International Sign.

Key words: International Sign; National Sign Languages; Interpreting Techniques; Deaf Interpreter.

1 INTRODUCTION

This article intends to analyse interpreting technics used by Deaf Interpreters (DIs) when they are translating from Portuguese Sign Language (PSL) to International Sign System (IS). For that we asked two DIs with a degree in Interpreting to translate two different types of signed texts into IS: the first is a small section of a children's book, signed by a deaf narrator, and the second one is a report on a study visit to Coimbra's Observatory. In this case, the PSL is signed by a hearing interpreter and, in one part of the report, by a deaf person that is being interviewed about her feelings on the visit. This report was broadcast on national TV.

The major aim of this article was to produce didactic material to be used in interpreting classes, and also in IS classes, for the future Interpreters to see the technics used and the fine line that, sometimes, distinguishes International Sign from a natural sign language. The usage of International Sign System by PSL signers is growing within and outside of Portugal, as more international events are held in the country and also, more deaf researchers travel to present their works outside Portugal. We intend that future interpreters can understand the importance of space and non-manual components when interpreting between a sign language and International Sign. We also aim to provide them with two different interpreting examples so they can recognise the technics used and see if they depend more on the context or if there is a *deaf way*¹ of performing interpreting.

1. By deaf way we mean the way deaf people see the world through a visual language that builds a deaf culture. Deaf way also expresses an attitude that is particular to these communities and their way of seeing the world.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW



2.1- The International Sign Phenomenon

Whynot (2016) calls IS a “signed language contact phenomenon” (p. 1) and, in fact, the word phenomenon is definitely a very good choice. Cross-linguistic contact is part of mankind’s history: colonialism, economical trading, social contact, among others existed and still exist making different communication arrangements emerge. Sign languages, traditionally, have been in contact with spoken languages but now that accessibility and deaf communities’ rights are becoming more prevalent, new contexts of communication are emerging. Deaf scholars, deaf travellers, deaf researchers are participating in meetings, events, congresses and other environments that require a “contact system” to make communication possible. So, what started as a list of signs (Whynot, 2016, p.27) is now becoming a phenomenon that is hard to nominate.

Whynot (2016) notes that a kind of “international sign” or at least a gesture or sign communication might have existed in the 1800’s during the banquets held by the deaf in Paris, at the *Institute Nationale des Sourds* only signing was permitted². However, it was with the creation of the *Comité International des Sports des Sourds* (CISS) in 1924 that IS began to grow in Europe (Whynot, 2016, p.27). The summer and winter Deaflympics take place every 2 years consecutively and around currently 77 countries participate at these events thus providing the context for the need of a more formal way of understanding between different persons with distinct sign languages. It is no longer just an informal interaction accommodation between groups of deaf friends that want to communicate but it is also for interaction at an international organizational level.

Furthermore, the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) was created in 1951 and the international stage was not only related for sports but social, political and economic discussions and trading among several deaf persons and organisations. Trying to respond to this growing need of a communicational system, the WFD published in the 70’s a sign glossary named *Gestuno* (Whynot, 2016, p.26) that presented a list of “International Signs” that could be used by signers from different countries when there was no mutually intelligible sign language available. *Gestuno* has had several editions and developments until 1975. It is important to add that the expanded version of *Gestuno* was made by the Unification of Signs Committee from the WFD and the British Deaf Association. This may (or may not) explain why some signers say that IS is now a “version of ASL” since many of those involved in the printing of this glossary studied at Gallaudet University. However, as Rosenstock and Napier (2015) say *Gestuno* was first used in 1976 at a WFD Congress in Bulgaria but the signs were incomprehensible for deaf participants, so, the book was not useful to accomplish the goal of standardizing IS.

Linguists and other scholars began to try to understand what this system was. Supalla and Webb (1995) refer to International Sign as a:

Type of signing used when deaf signers communicate across mutually unintelligible language boundaries. Deaf Individuals use IS primarily to communicate about affairs of concern to them (p.334).

The point is, what can we understand by “type of signing”? Whynot (2016) states that there is not enough research on IS that allows to describe accurately this “complex contact phenomena” (Whynot, 2016, p.28). In fact, Rosenstock and Napier (2015) note that IS is a kind of a melting pot of different languages and semiotic resources because signers use signs, gestures and other elements from their native sign languages (NSL). This usage along with non-manual and other paralinguistic elements makes IS look like a language. As Supalla and Web (1995) have shown, IS sentences contain transitive verbs, Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) order, verb inflection and clause negation structures just like other sign languages. For these authors, IS is not merely a pidgin full

2. Whynot (2016) also mentions a Sign Language contact system during the 1800’s that derived from a variety of North American Native Indian Sign Language (Whynot, 2016, p. 11).

of pantomime but a linguistic system with grammatical rules and structures. Rosenstock (2015) points out that IS has many linguistic resources common to NSL such as depicting constructions, no-manual adverbials, among others. Hiddinga and Crasborn (2011) describe IS not as:

an established contact language, but a mode of communication that arises on the spot, which combines elements of the sign languages of the people involved, elements of shared spoken languages, and the intensified use of iconic or pantomimic structures that are already inherent to various extents in any sign language. (p.484)

What is, then, the source of IS? The answer is complex as the above-mentioned authors have already noted. Rosenstock (2015) considers that many signs that can be seen in IS have both Eastern and Western origins; Whynot (2016) says that many of the signs come from British Sign language (BSL), Auslan Sign Language and *Gestuno*; and Zeshan (2015) says that IS is cross-signing, that is to say a way of "meaning make" between signers of different cultures and backgrounds.

It is complex to determine the linguistic, non-linguist or paralinguistic features of IS because it can change depending on the users and the context. Hansen (2015) has a very interesting approach to IS. The author states that if we look at IS in Humbolt's (Hansen, 2015, p.28) perspective about languages instead of being restricted to Saussure's concept of *langue*, "a system of elements and rules derived from the utterances of a community" (Saussure, 1975, cited in Martje Hansen, 2015, p.21) we can understand better this phenomenon. If we consider the concept of *langage*, the human capacity to communicate by symbolic means, we sure can recognize that IS demonstrates this capacity. Hansen (2015) says:

As linguists, we think mainly on the level of *langues*, language systems. But these language systems are based ontogenetically as well as phylogenetically on our *langage*, human language capacity. Adopting a broader perspective including *langage*, we may discuss IS as a linguistic activity (and its resulting forms) situated between the human language capacity and a language system: it is a communicative resource and it results in highly adaptive forms in relation to very different situations and users. (Hansen, 2015, p.23)

Thus, and still following Martje Hansen (2015) point of view, using IS is a dynamic process that can question the conventional linguistic borders with respect to the value of intentionality when communicating. As we know, the usage of IS depends on the context and it can be relatively stable/conventional when performed at conferences or lectures but can depend much on user's negotiations about lexical forms when it is performed at an informal context.

All the author's we've consulted agree that more research on International Sign is needed in order to understand its nature and sources. It is true that we can find morphological, syntactical and semantic features and rules in IS, especially when it is used in fixed contexts, like conferences, but it is also true that, even at those contexts, lexical negotiation can occur. Interpreters negotiate which sign they should choose in order to convey the message to the deaf audience; lecturers also can contribute to the discussion, clarifying interpreter's choices according to the scientific area of their conference, among other types of linguistic negotiations. Thus, cross-signing seems to be an appropriate label for this communication phenomenon. The interpreters have the challenge to decide how to express the message using this linguistic "melting pot".

2.2 International Sign Interpreting: from a NSL to IS³

Recent studies like Whynot (2016), Rosenstock and Napier (2015), among others, say that International Sign is mostly used as a communication system at conferences, lectures and meetings. Considering message comprehension, Whynot (2016) says that there might be an illusion of comprehension since in IS interpreting the audience tends to understand the global meaning but not the details and, sometimes, even the main points (Whynot, 2016, p. 270). However, as the author states, this global understanding might create an illusion of an understanding which has not occurred, that is to say, the audience assumes that they have understood, but, in fact, much of the information was lost. If the audience has a university education, knowledge of English, and more specifically English lip-reading, knows ASL and has transnational experiences the level of understanding IS will be acceptable (Whynot, 2016, p.271). But it is important to clarify that:

the experience of IS comprehension, with its limits, may only be of value if the information missed is not important to the audience and if the audiences are aware of this and accept the limitations (Whynot, 2016, p.272)

Interpreters, then, must have a set of techniques that allows them to convey information the best possible way. As we've seen previously in this article, IS borrows lexicon from many sign languages, including NSL that are more studied and known in western cultures, such as ASL and Auslan Sign Language. Maya de Wit and Irma Sluis (2016) note that:

There is no formal education program to learn international sign or International Sign Interpreting (...) knowing more than one sign language creates language flexibility and allows the Interpreter to quickly adapt to the language needs of the users (de Wit & Sluis, 2015, p. 109)⁴

The authors point out that when using IS, an interpreter needs to be more than just a "conduit"; he/she needs to know the background and culture of the audience to be able to adapt their discourse to their needs. Thus, more than being concerned with the target language or target audience, the interpreter needs to centre his/her preparation on a solid linguistic background and flexibility to use several interpreting techniques. Even though preparation is considered essential (de Wit and Sluis, 2016), interpreters often complain about lack of materials (from participants, for instance), so the key is, we think, linguistic and paralinguistic plasticity. To achieve effective communication interpreters must focus on: visual thinking; use of space; seeing beyond known lexicon and strategic use of non-manual, and prosodic components.

According to Oyserman (2016) visual thinking is common to deaf people since information is perceived by their eyes and quickly processed in their brains. Interpreters should have the ability to make use of classifier constructions, depicting signs and other features which are highly iconic. If the interpreter is deaf or has strong relations with the deaf community, these skills can be honed so that the message is conveyed properly. All sign languages have these linguistic tools that contribute to, even if using a NSL sign, a good understanding of the message by a mixed audience. As Stone (2009) says, deaf people are language stakeholders, so we think, IS interpreting would be more smooth if the Interpreter's team has deaf professionals.

Following Oyserman's (2016) point of view, interpreters should make good use of space, that is to say, physical and linguistic space. As for the first, the interpreter must adapt

3. Since our study case did not contemplate interpreting from or to an oral language we do not consider this context. To know more on this, see Maya de Wit and Irma Sluis (2015)

4. The authors say that the worldwide associations for deaf people and Interpreters (EFSLI; WASLI; WFD) instigates this formal recognition of the profession (or skill) of IS Interpreter. We would like to add that in our future Interpreters Program at Coimbra's College of Education we have IS formal learning.

his/her signing discourse to the size and conditions of the room, for this is required creative capacity of producing productive signs that can be seen by everybody, that can be adjustable to a narrow space, among others. The second, the linguistic space lays on the interpreter's fluency and knowledge of sign languages. Pointing to identify subjects and objects when linking sentences makes the message fluid and coherent, the interpreter must be very proficient when using these linguistic tools not to make the discourse badly-organized and thus transmit incoherent information.

Gesture and prosodic features are also important as guides to message understanding. As we know, Western cultures share many gestural features, so it is possible that nodding, using the eyebrows, shoulders and other body and face components to express surprise, questions, and others is a good way to catch the audience's interest and also to communicate the appropriate meaning. Other non-manual components, such as facial expressions to convey negation or affirmation, when combined with gesture and prosodic elements may also transmit the adequate message.

Last, but not least we need to be careful with fingerspelling and mouthing (Sutton-Spence and Woll, 1999). As we've stated previously some of the IS audience has university education, knows several sign languages and is fluent in English. However, not all the members of audience have all these characteristics; some may know English, others may not know more than one sign language. So, fingerspelling is useful when the Interpreter uses a sign from their NSL, for instance. Still, if the interpreter can replace fingerspelling by a depicting sign(s) and other visual constructions the interpreter's communication will have more effectiveness since the interpreter is performing is discourse based on visual thinking. The usage of English mouthing is, in our point of her/his view, a crutch that can, at least to some extent, help the comprehension of some of the lost details of the source message for many audience members.

3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of the present study is to verify how DIs work when they are interpreting for international signs and compare the productions made by different DIs. We aim to answer several questions:

- Is the target text perceptible?
- Which interpretation techniques were used?
- Can we see cross-linguistic influence on the signed discourse?
- Are the IS messages significantly different?

At this point, it is important to clarify how the data was collected and the participants selected. In Portugal there are four deaf Interpreters that have a degree. There are also a lot of deaf people that do some DI work without certification. In this study, we were able to work with two of the four qualified DIs. The other two interpreters were contacted, but they were not able to participate, even so, we worked with half of the total number of qualified DIs.

In regard to the characteristics of the two DI we recruited in this study, both DIs have the same degrees (Portuguese SL teacher and SLI), they have the same profession, meaning they both work as PSL teachers and finally both are active members in the deaf community. There are however, some important differences, even though they have the same profession they have a work with different age groups of PSL learners, one of them has been working for years with deaf students from 6 to 12 years old, and the other DI has been working with deaf teenagers and adults, from 15 to 19 years old. The DI who works with young adults has also some unique points which are also important to draw your attention to: this DI does not have PSL as her first SL and knows many other languages; she was already an IS trainer when recruited; she travels more and has already participated in efsli schools. These are important characteristics than can or cannot be relevant and influence the interpretation process.

4 METHODOLOGY

In this study contemplates the interpreters were recorded under the same conditions and environment, both were recorded in the same day, at the same time. The IS interpreters were in the same space, located side by side and they were watching the target text at the same time from the same screen. Our intention was that the DIs produce and record the simultaneous interpretation of two texts from PSL to IS without us needing to consider any additional factors.

The DIs undertook two recordings based on videos with different subjects and the source languages used in the two target texts were produced by different signers. The first one was a children's story produced by a deaf signer with the signer being full size on the screen. The second one was a TV report about a visit study to a place where students can observe the sky, the stars and the constellations. This visit was prepared and done by a group of students which included deaf interpreters. In this video the DIs were seeing a hearing interpreter picture-in-picture, which means that the size of the source language was a lot smaller than the first one.

Both of the DIs had the chance of watching the videos before recording their interpretations, so they were in exactly the same conditions. While the work was being performed the DIs had the possibility of repeating the interpretation if they made any mistake or if, at the end, they felt that something was missing or that they felt they had not done a good job. However, if one of the DI decided to repeat their interpretation then other one had to do it also. Both the DIs repeated their interpretation because they felt that the message was not clear or proficient.

When considering the target audience, it is worth saying that this recording was a simulated interpreting context. As stated before, the DIs were in a TV studio interpreting to a camera without any audience besides the researchers that were recording. The context was also different in that, for the first video we did not intend children to be the target audience since they will not be able to understand neither International Sign nor English mouthing. However, this can be a useful resource to use during interpreters training, namely in interpretation classes as didactic material where it is possible to observe the adaptation in relation to the source language, the speech plasticity as well as the team work regarding the feed interpreter in Portuguese Sign Language to International Sign. On the other hand, the second video was chosen taking in account, not only the subject, but also the target audience. This video was a TV report with cultural information of interest to an adult deaf audience and can also be an opportunity to disseminate a Portuguese project.

After the recording, we interviewed the DIs in order to understand how they felt after doing the work. We asked several questions such as: in which of the domains did they feel more comfortable and the answers were quite similar. One of the DIs said that she did not feel safe doing the TV report because it was more difficult than the other one, not only because of the subject, but also because of the quality of the video, the lack of light and the size of the potential audience. The other DI said that even feeling that the children's story video was easier, she felt that she had needed a little time to prepare the interpretation. Both of the DIs mentioned that this was the first time that they undertook a recorded interpretation and the novelty may have had an effect on the product. Also, the DIs added that they are used to live interpretation, where they have audience feedback so they can judge if they are being clear enough or if they need to change something and adapt the target language, which cannot happen in a record situation without audience. Concerning the children's story, one of the DIs felt that she had a fluid interpretation but generally felt that she needed more international vocabulary and she reinforced the need to get feedback, comments and suggestions from an audience. At the end of the tasks the two DIs said that they have had more practice interpreting from IS to PSL than the reverse and mentioned the need to practice.

Already with the interpretations done the next step was to look at the recordings and analyse the interpretation taking in account the main goals for the study as well as answering to the research questions.

5 VIDEO ANALYSIS

We begin the analysis of the interpretations produced for this study by focusing on the *O Bebé Perfeito* text because it was the first interpretation produced by the interpreters. This excerpt corresponds to the beginning of the story between minutes 00:51 and 01:22 of the original recording in the PSL version. The interpreters have given their consent to be identified, one interpreter will henceforth be referred to as IT (Interpreter Tina), and the other interpreter will henceforth be referred to as IA (Interpreter Alexandra).

After having viewed the recording of the target texts produced by the two Interpreters, we attest that the message is understandable and reaches the receiver properly in both cases. Both interpreters make use of the technique of mouthing some of the words in English, as well as "pointing".

In order to be transparent in terms of our analysis procedures, and for the sake of clarity, in the following paragraphs we will show a few examples of source and target signs, as well as our comments on each of the presented sets.

At minute 00:10 (IT) the mouthing of the word 'PERFECT' is evident. The same process occurs at minute 00:15 (IT) concerning the mouthing of the word 'BLONDE'. Similarly, during the interpretation produced by the Interpreter IA at minute 00:18, the mouthing of the word 'BLUE' occurs together with a manual sign which may have originated in another signed language, most probably ASL.

Throughout the excerpt we also have the phenomenon of semantic repetition for the purpose of reinforcing a certain notion. This technique can be observed at minute 00:38, where the Interpreter IT signs 'LOVE' followed by the sign 'LIKE.VERY.MUCH', occurring at minute 00:40. Such a strategy is frequently used at the end of an interpretation.

Furthermore, we can observe the signs 'LIKE' and 'LIKE.VERY.MUCH', at minute 1:33 and minute 1:35, also by IT. In this case the non-manual markers (NMM) displayed conveys the idea of negation, being a crucial element for correctly delivering the message, considering the source sentence is a negation as well. Moreover, we also consider that here the use of facial expressions as a strategy occurs here as well, since the interpreter makes a cultural facial expression to convey the idea of "don't like".

Another technique used by the interpreters which we were able to identify was pointing to a referent, i.e. the book illustration. The use of this technique is visible when both interpreters spatially locate the character. This resource is utilized several times throughout the interpretation irrespective of the interpreter, an example of which appearing at minute 00:08 in both of the recordings.

We have found a few similarities between the linguistic performances of the two interpreters, namely concerning the equivalent they both produced for the source phrase "rarely misbehaved", which we find at minute 01:20.

As we can see, both interpreters resort to the same sign "DISOBEY+NMM", which occurred at minute 00:33 in both of the recordings. After having identified this occurrence, we came to the conclusion that because this is an iconic sign, both interpreters probably opted for its usage because they deemed it highly understandable by any signer. Therefore, in this specific case, we do not think there is an influence from the contact language and, even if there was any, we still emphasize that this influence would not have harmed perceptibility due to the high level of iconicity of the selected sign. Furthermore, it is important to add that interference of the native sign language of the signer is a frequent phenomenon occurring in the production of IS, as we have mentioned before (also see Whynot, 2016).

Another similarity found was that concerning the use of a NMM together with the production of the sign "RELATIONSHIP", in order to transmit the source phrase "she was nice to everyone" (minute 01:16 - 01:17).

Both interpreters use NMM, IT at minute 00:29 and IA at minute 00:30. In order to convey the phrase “of a statue” from the source text (minute 01:46) both Interpreters produce the same interpreting solution: using the compound sign “ROCK+CARVE” to transmit the idea of “STATUE”. We can see this occurrence from minute 01:04 of the recording of IT and minute 01:03 of IA.

We will now approach some of the differences found between the interpretation solutions each of the interpreters resorted to. One of these distinctions was that regarding the choice for the sign “GIRL”: IT uses the sign “EARRING+CHILD” at minute 00:07, and IA uses the compound sign “EARRING+WOMAN” at minute 00:08. Even though this last one is an iconic sign [+FEMININE], bearing in mind that the referent also has the trait [-ADULT] [+CHILD], the use of the second sign might be considered inadequate for representing a child because of its conflicting iconicity.

For the purpose of representing the issue within the source phrase “was always”, the two interpreters found separate solutions which we would like to highlight in our analysis. On the one hand, IT presents the target expression “TOMORROW+AFTER TOMORROW+AFTER AFTER TOMORROW”, at minute 00:26 of her recording. On the other hand, IA uses the expression “EVERY. DAY”, at minute 00:26 of her recording. We think that the choice made by IT might be the clearer option because she uses signs which commonly appear in IS, such as “TOMORROW+AFTER TOMORROW+AFTER AFTER TOMORROW”. The choice made by IA holds a direct correspondence with the same expression in PSL, since the sign is produced in the same way in this language. Therefore, there might have existed some influence from the source text in the interpretation produced, and/or of the contact language.

Moreover, we have also detected that IT omits the notion of ‘colleagues’, which exists in the source text (minute 01:28) and that IA uses the signs for “FRIENDS” for that correspondence, within her interpretation, as we can see in her recording at minute 00:44.

Consequently, in general, we can then state that the interpretation provided by IT denotes less influence from the contact language than that of IA. This might have occurred due to the fact that IT has a more robust experience as a DI, added to the fact that her personal language background includes more than one language both in the written and signed modalities. Hence, we consider her rendering to have been clearer and more perceptible taking into account the target audience for the interpreted text.

As to the rendering produced by IA, we may not attest to the same level of clarity and perceptibility, since throughout her interpretation we have identified many signs from her contact language, some signs representing a dialect from PSL, and others which even if different were still based on that same language. However, despite these differences identified between the messages produced by both of the interpreters, we can still ascertain that both renderings communicate the message effectively.

It is important to point out that the source text given to the interpreters was in PSL, and that it was signed by a native user of this language whom both DIs knew. We believe that having the source message produced by someone with whom they were familiar with may have benefited the outcomes of the interpretations (Hoza, 2010).

In the following paragraphs, we will now present a set of identified strategies, similarities and differences amidst the interpretations produced in a different setting, that of a television program entitled “Visit to the Astronomical Observatory on the University of Coimbra in PSL”, produced by ESEC TV. This particular broadcast was chosen due to the fact that the interpreters involved in this study, while doing their internship, participated in both the preparation and the interpreting of this visit to the Astronomical Observatory in Coimbra. This text targets an adult audience and, because the story is available online, it can potentially reach a larger audience than the text examined above. Furthermore, the issues approached are far different from those in the previously analysed text, not only in relation to the terms used but also concerning semantic content, context and settings. Within the television program, even though the source text for the DIs is presented in PSL, it is an interpretation produced by a hearing interpreter, whom the deaf interpreters also know. Once again, this factor might have contributed to the

higher performance levels. Please note that the interpreters below are the same individuals as in *O Bebê Perfeito* example and that, thus, we will use the same identification strategies as before when referring to them. Again, the Interpreters resorted to interpreting solutions which were sometimes similar but were often also diverse. Thus, we will present a few examples of each of these situations below.

In this example, the source text states "INTERESTING CHALLENGE", as we can see in Image 1, from minute 00:49 of the source recording. Concerning this notion, both Interpreters present the same interpreting solution (IT minute 00:08, and IA minute 00:04).



Image 1.
Source signs
"INTERESTING
CHALLENGE"

Another similarity identified in terms of the interpretation choice was the one concerning the source phrase "FIRST.TIME", which we can observe in the source text at minute 00:55, and which is shown in Image 2.

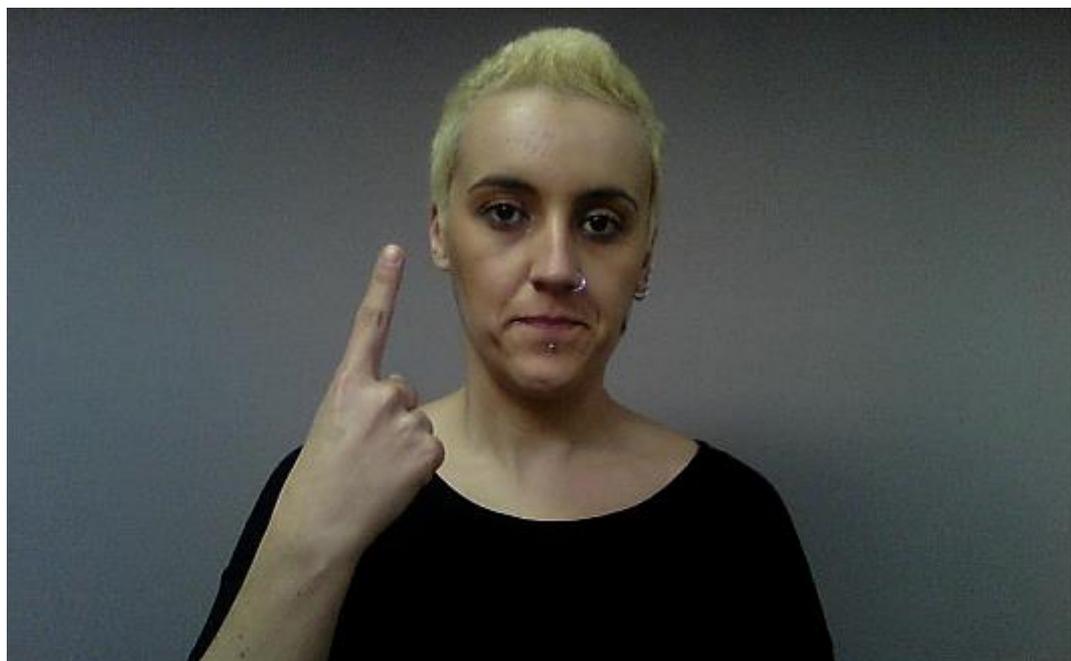


Image 2. Source sign "FIRST.TIME"

Likewise, in the following case, both of the interpreters made a similar choice concerning the source phrase "BEFORE+NEVER", emerging in the source text at minute 00:57, and which we can see in the videos at 00:15 - IT and 00:11 - IA.



*Image 3.
Source signs
"BEFORE+NEVER"*

When observing both Interpreters, we note that there are some differences in their signing performance, such as the fact that IT resorts more frequently and naturally to mouthing in English. One other difference that we can highlight is IA's usage of fingerspelling when she refers to the city of Coimbra. Not only does IA fingerspell the concept but she also produces the sign name 'COIMBRA' immediately after. We can observe the sign name COIMBRA in Image 4.



*Image 4.
Sign "COIMBRA"*

We can perhaps say that IA renders her interpretation guided by a higher level of influence from the contact language, when we observe that she uses the same sign from the source text (minute 01:16) to transmit "AGREEMENT". Images 5 illustrates the source sign in this situation, having the target sign been produced at minute 00:31.



Image 5. Source sign "AGREEMENT"

We wish to highlight another very evident difference between the two Interpreters in their rendering choices concerning the use of NMM in their interpretations. In the following example, we can observe that IT uses NMM as a principal element in her rendering, whereas IA opts for using the same sign used in the source text possibly evidencing influence from her contact language. Image 6 illustrates the phrase "I WAS DELIGHTED" as signed by the original signer, and the corresponding renderings of the interpreters: 01:56 IT; 01:41 IA.



*Image 6.
Sign "I.WAS.DELIGHTED".*

Finally, both interpreters resort to using mimic when conveying meanings such as "looking at the starts": IT 00:17 - 00:18; IA 00:14 - 00:15.

We wish to point out that usage of ASL signs is frequent during the television program, perhaps due to the source text being complex in terms of content and theme, thus urging the interpreters to support their renderings with less iconic and pseudo-iconic signs. Such phenomenon did not happen in the interpreted renderings of *O Bebê Perfeito*, where iconic and pseudo-iconic signs were highly present.

Another conclusion we come to is that for the interpretation of *O Bebê Perfeito*, there was less mouthing of English words than for this text. This probably has to do with the fact that visual usage of the English language is not a viable choice for effective communication practices, since it cannot be used as a *lingua franca* with young children, because they are not skilled in English. Nevertheless, during the interpretations for the television program "Visit to the Observatory of the University of Coimbra in PSL", mouthing as a strategy was often present, which we believe it to be very appropriate and well-suited to the target audience, made of individuals who have some fluency in the English language. Furthermore, in this text mouthing is also a key element in assuring the message is conveyed clearly, in situations where it is used together with very expressive body movements, or even in situations where it appears by itself.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the two interpreters' performance confirms what we've seen from other studies. The interpreter's background influences the discourse, i.e. the one that felt more comfortable while interpreting knows more than one sign language. However, when we look at the signed texts they have produced, we can see the following:

1. the global message is perceptible;
2. they use vocabulary from other sign languages and their sign language;
3. they use depicting signs, space, pointing and non-manual components;
4. they use mouthing.

Both the children's excerpt and the TV's report have the strategies listed above. The main goal of the first text, from a children's book, was to identify the linguistic resources used when interpreting a message that, in the NSL, has children as its target audience. Both interpreters used depicting signs and less mouthing, adapting their interpreting to the source text. They also use these depicting signs and non-manual expression strategies while interpreting a TV report, but combined with more English mouthing. Here we can see the flexibility that the IS interpreter must have not only when in front of an audience but also when having two different language usages. The DIs have made use of linguistic space with proficiency and clarity but according to their point of view they feel the need to have more preparation and more experience in IS interpreting. These comments agree with the need expressed in the literature of having formal IS and IS Interpreting training. The DIs also said that they were used to interpreting conferences and being able to make interpreting choices and change them while interpreting. They felt that recording their interpreting may be stressful and affected their interpreting fluidity. This comment also supports the need for more training and materials to be developed for didactic purposes: interpreter self-awareness, linguistic negotiation for a future event, among others.

In spite of being two different DIs and thus having differences in their interpreting we think that we can conclude that both messages conveyed the source texts. IS is a cross-linguistic phenomenon with the following linguistic features observed: non manual components; syntactical order; inflexions; borrowings from sign languages. A dynamic language that is easily adapted to the target audience even when it is not live. The DIs also illustrate the deaf way of using visual signs, non-manual components, and space. We hope that this article and in particular the videos can be useful for interpreter training in order for the students to understand the importance of flexibility and language plasticity realizing that adopting these strategies and practising with deaf people that we can become more competent in International Sign and International Sign interpreting.

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Interpreting Strategies in mixed Deaf and Hearing and Deaf only teams

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ABSTRACT

The functional roles of interpreters in placements requiring more than one interpreter and more than two languages may vary over the time and demand for effective team working strategies. The following article aims to explain the different roles and ways to cooperate in teams of Deaf and hearing interpreters. Examples from real interpreting situations will illustrate the practicality of a number of strategies.

Key words: Deaf Interpreters, hearing interpreters, evaluation of team work, strategies, evaluation of examples

1 INTRODUCTION

Even though there have always been Deaf people working as interpreters and/or translators within the Deaf community, educated and qualified Deaf Interpreters (DI) are a relatively new phenomenon. The current literature, addressing this subject, still uses a variety of technical terms, describing the work of DIs and their co-operation with hearing interpreters (HI). It therefore is necessary to specify the terminology used below⁵⁶.

1.1 Relay Interpreter

The term "relay interpreter" is not a job description since no interpreter is a relay interpreter by profession. It rather describes a functional role an interpreter finds himself in for a certain period of time. Therefore, it is misleading to call DIs "Relay Interpreters" per se. They may function as relay interpreters, but so may their hearing counterparts:

many people assume that Deaf interpreters can only do specific tasks. This often leads to the misconception that a DI's role is limited. There is a general misunderstanding among members of the Deaf community and many hearing people that the DI's task only involves relaying between a certified hearing interpreter and a Deaf consumer, compensating for differences in language use, given the Deaf consumer's educational and language background [Boudreault, 2005: 327].

It also happens that interpreters are just interpreters and relay interpreters at the same time, for instance, when there is an interpreter working from spoken Danish into spoken English. For the hearing English speaking audience this interpreter is just "the interpreter", whereas for interpreters working from his interpretation into other countries' sign languages, this interpreter functions as a relay interpreter.

1. The term "interpreter" is used when the hearing status is irrelevant. Whenever relevant, the interpreters will be called DI for "Deaf Interpreter" and HI for "hearing interpreter". In any case at least one of the working languages is a signed language, if not stated otherwise.

With regard to team working strategies between Deaf and hearing interpreters, those interpreters working for an audience as well as providing a source for another interpreter will be referred to as “relay interpreters”.

1.2 Feeding Interpreter

According to the definition above, feeding interpreters are also relay interpreters. The term will be used to describe the work of interpreters working exclusively for another DI or HI, without, at the same time, addressing an audience. This is an important distinction, because it enables a range of very unique team working strategies.

1.3 Co-Interpreter

The term “co-interpreter” will be used for an interpreter supporting a colleague, but not providing him with a source for his interpretation. Co-interpreters are there whenever a DI uses written text as a source language, like auto-cues provided by real-time-typists (RTT) at a conference. The task of a co-interpreter is to clarify the text when necessary, to prompt technical terms both interpreters agreed to use and to supply the interpreter with information in case of technical problems such as failures in the text transmission or odd suggestions by the auto-correction function used by many RTTs.

1.4 Mirror Interpreter

One may argue that mirror interpreting is not interpreting in the true sense of the meaning because no second language is involved in the process. Since mirror interpreting merely describes a temporarily function, is usually performed by qualified interpreters, and for reasons of coherence, the decision was to leave the term as it is.

Mirror interpreting can almost exclusively be observed in teams of DIs, when one of the interpreters copies what is being signed by a Deaf presenter for her interpreter colleague to be interpreted into another sign language for an audience. As a variant of this it is also possible for the interpreter, who is not visible to the audience, to provide the interpretation, which is then copied (or “mirrored”) by a second interpreter and presented to an audience.

In some cases, mirror interpreting is used during questions and answers for large audiences to spare a person using sign language to come to the front. This mirror interpretation may then be used as a source for a HI interpret into spoken language for the hearing audience as described by Boudreault (2005).

2 THE IDEA BEHIND TEAM WORKING

Interpreting is the rendition of a service enabling individuals, not sharing a common language, to interact with each other. It should always be consumer-focused, striving to provide them with the information they wish to obtain and to empower them to act in an independent and self-determined manner. In order to achieve this, it is important to choose the right interpreter(s) for each and every setting to ensure the interpretation is of the highest possible quality. The responsibility for this lies with all members of the team, not just with the one currently providing the actual interpretation for the consumer. Therefore, the question whether to use Deaf and/or hearing interpreters should not be a question of principle, but rather of who is able to provide the best service in a certain situation and RID “believes that through teaming all consumers can receive optimum communication because each team member can function at their best” (RID, 2007, p.2). According to Schwab and Schweizer (2014) many DIs being interviewed stated they would prefer not to be called *Deaf* Interpreters, but would instead like to see their working languages added to the term “interpreter”. Hearing interpreters have, until the advent of qualified DIs, never been called *hearing* interpreters and it can be assumed that most of them are equally unhappy with being called such. The hearing status itself is not a qualification of its own but knowing about it does help to identify additional qualities of an interpreter, which are important with regard to team working strategies and the provision of a good service. And Schwab and Schweizer stressed:

that establishing a mixed team can be useful in many situations and increase consumer satisfaction. However, hiring a mixed team should not be motivated by political reasons, but rather by considering the language combinations required and by contemplating how the best possible quality of an interpretation can be achieved with the least number of links in the "interpreting chain". Everyone involved in this research stated that working in a mixed team is very enjoyable and truly enriching. The researchers are therefore convinced that working in mixed teams has great potential. Recruiting DIs should not lead to the conclusion that HIs are incapable of interpreting, it in fact reflects their ethical consciousness (2014, p.142 [transl. S. Scholl]).

Teams working on an interpretation between two sign languages or International Signs, are likely to be "Deaf only" teams. Dialogues or situations in which a hearing speaker is present and no auto-cue is being provided do require a hearing team member, since there has to be a spoken language interpretation in order not to exclude a hearing person from communication. Also, the source language is likely to be a spoken language if hearing consumers are involved. Co-interpreting may be done by either a HI or a DI.

And even if an HI can communicate with and interpret for any Deaf consumer, in an intimate or difficult personal situation (asylum-seekers, court room interpreting, medical care, etc.) the presence of a DI is crucial because of: cultural background, further communication strategies and the sense of identification for the consumer. Most of them are visibly put at ease when there is someone "Deaf like me!". This does not only apply to situations in which the Deaf consumer does not (yet) know the sign language of the country or in any kind of international settings, but also in situations necessitating an intra-lingual interpretation for various reasons as:

There are linguistic as well as cultural reasons for the use of DIs whenever an intra-lingual interpretation is needed. As a rule, interpreters work between their A-language and their B-language. Since Sign Language is a DI's A-language, but most HI's B-language, DIs obviously show a higher competence in Sign Language (cf. Stone 2002, p.27). It is characterised by a larger repertoire of language registers, including confidence in dealing with language variants due to minimal language skills or regional differences. (cf. Ressler, 1999, p.73) Interpreting for consumers with minimal language skills or using home signs, deaf-blind individuals or those with different regional or ethnical backgrounds, as well as for people of specific age groups, can be linguistically challenging. Because DIs range within their A-language while producing an intra-lingual interpretation, the assignment of DIs for these kinds of settings deems a sensitive solution (Schwab and Schweizer, 2014, p.7–8 [transl. S. Scholl])

3. THE STAGES OF TEAM WORK

3.1 Finding a Team

Prior to an assignment it is important to identify the most suitable interpreters for a certain setting. Some settings require particular working languages, such as International Signs, knowledge in two specific sign languages, English as a second language in either speech or writing, tactile communication systems for deaf-blind consumers and so on. Other situations may require knowledge in certain domains, such as health care, court, linguistics or politics. Also, the general outline of the setting (court room, conference, meeting, etc.) and the characteristics of the consumers involved are relevant for the choice of team members.

3.2 Preparing for an assignment

Once a team is established and preparation material is available (which is more often not the case), team members will have to discuss who will be working in which functional role throughout or at particular points in the setting. It is also necessary to contact organisers of bigger events to ensure essential technology is provided, such as additional monitors for the auto-cue, cameras and monitors for relay interpretation, microphones, etc. If an auto-cue is provided, the DIs involved may choose to work from written text. If there is none, there will have to be a feeding interpreter or the technical facilities for the DI to watch the presenter or interpreter signing for the audience.

3.3 During the assignment

All interpreting teams ought to be present at the venue in enough time to arrange their positioning for their own and their consumers comfort. If needed, the technical equipment has to be checked. Everyone involved in the interpreting process needs to be flexible enough to change roles within the team. No matter how carefully the preparation was carried out, there will always be changes to the programme or the agenda, changes of speakers and other challenges to be dealt with on the spot.

3.4 After the assignment/during breaks

Team meetings either after the assignment or even during breaks are helpful to avoid mistakes or miscommunication. A thorough analysis of what happened will help to improve the quality of a team. Fairly often and in accordance with the adage "Never change a winning team", this kind of co-operation leads to established teams who aim to be appointed for further events.

4 TEAM WORKING STRATEGIES

In order to find out more about strategies at all stages of the team work, suggested strategies described in current literature addressing this subject have been collected and will be discussed below. Whether or not these strategies are being used in team interpreting can only be discovered while observing interpreters at work. So far, the following situations involving interpreter teams have been analysed:

The first setting was a preparation meeting of the interpreting team and the presenter. The presenter was invited for three presentations, which all had some information in common, but were designed for different audiences. The interpreting team of two hearing and two deaf interpreters had the chance to meet the presenter about two hours prior to the first presentation to discuss and explain aspects of the Power Point presentation or communication issues that might arise during the presentation. That one preparation meeting covered all three lectures. The second setting was lectures 1 and 3, which can be included under one setting, because apart from the audience and the room, the interpreting team was consistent.

The third setting was lecture 2 where the interpreting team was supplied with a third DI, interpreting from IS to German Sign language, thus giving the DI next to him the opportunity to monitor the process and to actively assist the hearing interpreters work into spoken German.

4.1 Team strategies used in the preparation process

Depending on the setting, interpreting teams will use different means to familiarize themselves with the topic(s). One possibility is to use public information via libraries, the internet, material from previous assignments, leaflets, etc. For conferences and meetings there is usually a programme or an agenda, giving insights into the subjects to be addressed. Usually one of the team members takes responsibility to ask for preparation materials, Power Point presentations or even scripts provided by lecturers.

Nowadays Deaf and hearing interpreters may also benefit from the many videos in sign language available on the internet. Especially when the speaker for whom the team will be interpreting is well-known within the Deaf community it is very likely that footage of that person can be found. Studying these materials will help the team to become familiar with the particular style and language use to be expected. More and more often Deaf presenters are also willing to videotape at least a summary of what they are going to present. This is usually helpful to detect specific technical terms the presenter will be using.

Some parts of the preparation can be done individually, such as looking up terminology or getting familiar with the topic in general. Other parts are more effectively dealt with when the team meets up. Typically, this is the case when decisions about language use have to be drawn and team working strategies have to be negotiated with regard to preferences and dislikes of individual team members:

Because individual team members have their own experiences and expectations about how to manage the interpreted interaction, team interpreters typically have one or more preparation sessions before the event to facilitate the process. The interpreters may talk about an array of topics in their preparation session, but Hoza (2010) identifies five items that are typically discussed: (1) who will interpret for which participants, (2) how to produce an equivalent target language message during the event, (3) when and how to relay ("feed") information to one another, (4) how to process information, and (5) how to negotiate the physical setup of the assignment (Nicodemus and Taylor, 2014, p.91).

The five items as suggested by Hoza (2010) can be of more or less relevance, depending on the setting. Negotiating the physical setup of the assignment, for instance, is relatively easy when there are just two people involved in a meeting and no more than two interpreters are present. The physical setup requires a far more extended discussion when preparing for a large conference, involving several interpreter teams and several languages. Working in mixed teams means team members have to keep in mind that the team language will inevitably be a sign language, i.e. a visual language. Two HIs can whisper information to each other or make written notes to be read by their colleague; as soon as a DI joins the team all team members must be able to see each other and to establish eye contact when necessary. Finding the right location for each of the team members and getting the lighting set up in way which is comfortable for all interpreters, as well as the audience, takes time and is essential.

Given that there is preparation material in writing, the team will meet to clarify the content and to agree on signs for technical terms noting that the "best resources with regard to language usage and correct terminology are native speakers of the language who are also knowledgeable of the topic" (Demers, 2005, p.216). This applies to all languages, spoken or signed, and their native speakers. DIs may find it useful, if their hearing colleagues can clarify what exactly is being written in a text, whereas HIs greatly benefit from a DI's suggestions with regard to terminology and/or structure of a signed target language. One of the HIs, being interviewed by Schwab and Schweizer put it this way:

What I really find extremely pleasant when working with Deaf Interpreters is that, with regard to language issues, the preparation is much more creative. (HI14) [2014, p.66 [transl. S.Scholl]].

Part of this creative process is dealing with terminology, finding out what is actually said or intended by a speaker if a manuscript is available and anticipating what the speaker is likely to say when the only source of information is a Power Point presentation, sometimes just featuring a few graphics and a couple of keywords. The final step in the preparation process is the negotiation of how to sign or say technical terms, as well as the agreement on "feeding" techniques, always focusing on the preferences of the active interpreter.

Depending on the composition of the team, its members will have to face different challenges. Deaf only teams will be confronted with preparation material in their second language (the writ-

ten version of the spoken language used in their home country) or even a third (written) language, if conference materials are available in English only. Therefore, it might be a good idea to ask a hearing colleague for clarification, if necessary. But they will have to interpret into a sign language (probably their native language) or another signed language or International Signs, commonly regarded as their "A" language. A hearing only team faces the challenge vice versa. The preparation material is available in the written form of their native language or at least in the written form of English, whereas they will have to interpret into a signed language, which is not likely to be their native language ("B" language). Therefore, it is always advisable to bring in a Deaf colleague in order to discuss possible interpretations into the target language, as well as culturally appropriate approaches to convey the meaning.

In mixed teams, one should assume that everything works out for the best, because all the knowledge is available right at hand. However:

The manner in which the preparation session unfolds has social and professional consequences for interpreters; the discussion may enhance the likelihood of a successful team experience, or it may result in feelings of tension - even hostility - between team members. Inevitably, challenges, both linguistic and interpersonal, arise during the interpreting process, and, if the conditions for effective team interpreting have not been established in advance, the interpretation may be negatively affected (Nicodemus and Taylor, 2014, p.91).

Tensions can occur in any team, regardless of the hearing status of its members and tensions in mixed teams probably are an exception to the rule, but it would be unrealistic to pretend they do not exist. Part of the problem is that mixed teams are not as yet the default and working together is a new experience to everyone. For decades hearing interpreters viewed Deaf people as consumers of their services. For just as long hearing interpreters used to be viewed by Deaf people as providers of a service they depended on but were not always happy with. Hearing interpreters, no matter how well established their bonds with the Deaf community are, still remain members of the hearing majority. Opportunities to work together with Deaf people as colleagues on a daily basis are rare, not to mention working in the same profession. Deaf interpreters quite simply and rightfully just embrace this new job opportunity, offering a high-quality service to their very own community, thus leaving some hearing interpreters feeling deprived of opportunities, worried about being demoted to an assistant of the Deaf interpreter, so much respected by his peers.

This may lead to one or the other interpreter taking over a leading role in preparation meetings, because their first language is regarded as "more important" or because of a longer job experience or the impression of being more bilingual and/or bicultural than their counterparts.

Historically:

It is possible that hearing people have dominated the profession of interpreting simply because of their ability to hear. As we have explained, neither Deaf nor hearing interpreters can achieve "perfect" bilingualism and biculturalism" (Collins and Walker, 2006, p.78).

It is therefore important to find a way of communicating with each other in the sense of members of the same profession working together to provide a good service. Team members are first of all interpreters and hired as such because of their working languages which are needed to keep a conversation going.

If not discussed and solved beforehand the language choice within the team can lead to conflicts. Very often part of the preparation process is a meeting with the speakers. DIs and HIs approaching the speaker will have to decide how to communicate during the conversation and the roles in which every team member wishes to be viewed by the speaker. Depending on the hearing status of the speaker and in case of him being Deaf and using a sign language the HI

does not understand, both interpreters will inevitably end up acting as an interpreter for their colleague, and thus may not be regarded as a member of the team and find themselves deprived of any chance to ask the speaker anything they would like to clarify. Hearing interpreters are able to ask questions using a sign supported spoken language, but DIs using two different sign languages are unable to do so and have to leave their hearing colleague without an interpretation throughout the conversation but can give a summary or gist interpretation afterwards. There is no single solution to this problem, but team members are well advised to take time thinking through how communication will be managed in these situations without leaving team members feeling uncomfortable or unprepared (Schwab and Schweizer, 2014).

As previously stated, tensions among members of mixed teams may be regarded as “teething problems” and are likely to become irrelevant when team working strategies are addressed in interpreter training programmes. As a result interpreters who are new to the trade will soon regard working alongside Deaf colleagues as the norm. The same applies to Deaf interpreters vice versa, of course. For more information on communication strategies the reader is directed to the work of Nicodemus and Taylor (2014).

The following examples are taken from our data, a preparation meeting with a Deaf lecturer from Australia. All of the participants (presenter, 2 Deaf interpreters, 2 hearing interpreters) sat in a circle to allow eye contact while communicating. The communication was carried out in IS only.

4.1.1 Agreement on time slots for the lecturers

One of the lecturers used IS for his presentation while the other one used German Sign Language (DGS), this was important for the interpreters to know because the change of speakers required a change of the interpreters’ positions. For the first lecture it was expected that some hearing persons would also be greeting the audience or giving short statements so one of the HIs would have to stand next to them to provide the audience with an interpretation into DGS. Both DIs preferred to interpret into IS using that interpretation rather than using the second HI as a separate feeding interpreter.

4.1.2 Questions from the audience:

One of the presentations took place in a lecture hall with theatre seating, making it impossible for deaf participants to come to the front and ask questions. The presenter suggested one of the interpreters be a mirror interpreter. The interpreters agreed and discussed who would be the mirror interpreter for questions from the audience. The interpreters also agreed on how to deal with a rapid change of working languages/interpreting direction in case of a lively discussion among people using different sign languages or spoken German.

4.1.3 The use of Power Point presentations:

The HIs, both sat with their backs towards the screen on all three occasions, suggested using a tablet computer in front of them to see the PPT slides. The DI facing the hearing colleagues and feeding the DI for the audience (also standing with his back towards the screen), could also use the screen for further information and agreed to signal to the HIs whenever the slides would change.

4.1.4 Working with previously received information:

The lecturer provided the team with preparation materials beforehand. The interpreters read the PPT presentations beforehand and had the opportunity to question the presenter, who was happy to clarify here and there what exactly was meant and introduce us to sign name he would be using. He also gave some very useful background information and thus helped the team to feel more confident to undertake the interpreting task.

4.2 Team strategies used during the interpretation process

There are numerous strategies available for an interpreting team to choose from in order to guarantee the best possible service for all consumers present in a certain setting. Not all strate-

gies, however, have proven to be effective in each and every setting. Furthermore, it would be unrealistic to claim that it is always and exclusively the team which decides about the best strategies to use. Often the choice is determined by circumstances. If, for certain strategies, technical equipment is needed, but is unavailable the team will have to use the next best set of strategies. If an ideal solution would be to bring in four or five interpreters but the purchaser or organisers are not willing or able to cover the costs, the team will have to come up with strategies involving fewer interpreters, etc. This does not mean accepting unreasonable working conditions. As soon as the team decides it would be unethical, a health risk, or contrary to the Code of Conduct it is time to withdraw from an assignment or not to accept in the first place.

Having considered all external presuppositions and linguistic preferences of everyone involved in a setting it is time to decide about the roles each of the team members will undertake be those short-term or permanent. Having done so nothing can go wrong, or can it? From the interpreting settings that we have been evaluated it became obvious that even though the team tried to foresee upcoming problems and agreed on possible strategies it is impossible to be prepared for everything. The first lecture, for instance, attracted such a big audience that the room turned out to be too small. The interpreters found themselves surrounded by participants, many of them even sitting on the floor. Even though the working conditions were still sufficient to provide everyone with an appropriate interpretation it turned out to be stressful for the interpreters. The interpreters had to view each other from an uncomfortable angle, the distance between the two DIs was a slightly too far and the HIs often felt distracted by the relatively noisy surroundings. It is important though not to let less than ideal working conditions lead to frustration, which can easily have a significant impact on the quality of the interpretation.

However, there are some issues that we identified. During lectures 1 and 3 with two DIs and two HIs there was surprisingly little communication and support between DIs and HIs. The two HIs used strategies known from teamwork among hearing interpreters, such as pointing on keywords on the tablet and whispering to help the active interpreter doing the voice-over. Also, the two DIs communicated with each other by repeating numbers or putting a stress on certain information. The two DIs had previously decided the interpreter facing the speaker and sitting opposite to the HIs would be the active interpreter, whereas the DI on stage would in principle mirror the production for the audience, but also would alter the text with regard to style or choice of signs now and then. Both DIs used facial expressions and nodding to either confirm to each other that everything went well or to make each other aware of difficulties. Both HIs were familiar with communication strategies among DIs and they did not affect the HIs' performance.

The lack of communication between the hearing and the Deaf team was caused by the fact that both DIs were constantly working and did not have the resources to also watch their hearing colleagues and assist them. The HIs, however, had the chance to take turns and to therefore always have a colleague ready to support, if necessary.

During the lecture 2 there were still two HIs, but three DIs hence the communication between all team members increased significantly. Now the DIs, just like the HIs, could take turns and one of them was always available to support his Deaf but also his hearing colleagues. From our analysis of team working strategies in different settings we can clearly conclude that team communication becomes more meaningful and is only possible if one HI and one DI are ready to support their colleagues. A sufficient number of interpreters (2HIs and 3DIs) is therefore not just something that is nice to have, it significantly enhances the quality of the interpretation.

4.2.1 Working with a relay interpreter

Relay interpreters usually provide an interpretation for the audience as well as for another interpreter. Since the outcome has to be easily understood by the audience and has to keep up with the speaker's speed, there is very little chance for team work in the true sense of the meaning. The relay-team will certainly sit down and get prepared together, but apart from that it is difficult to co-operate during interpretation.

Interpreters working as relay interpreters strive to be as precise as they can in order to make life easier for their colleagues, but since interpreting always means conveying another person's thoughts at another person's speed an interpretation is likely to look like an interpretation here and there, regardless of whether or not the interpreter is working into his native language. Interpreting from a relay interpreter is therefore different from interpreting directly what is being said or signed by a speaker. This applies to both hearing and Deaf interpreters. An interpretation into Sign Language may therefore be understandable for the Deaf audience but may at the same time provide pitfalls for the other interpreter, either a DI or HI.

In many cases both interpreters will have to be located on a stage, meaning they cannot see each other. The relay interpreter will be videotaped and transmitted to a screen in front of the second interpreter. But: DIs will always be nervous about A-V breakdown, the quality of the TV image, or if the camera might generate a blurry or unclear image. These are technical problems that would affect their interpreting performance. In addition, the use of video equipment requires more space to set up without obstructing the audience's view of the stage. This model is often considered the least desirable and should be avoided whenever possible (Boudreault, 2005, p.342).

Another problem when using on-screen interpreters is that a video image is only two dimensional, whereas sign languages are three dimensional. Comprehending what is on the screen is therefore sometimes more difficult and, according to statements from interpreters and students, more exhausting. If relay interpreting using video transmission is the only option, the interpreters should at least have sufficient breaks. The negative aspects of relay interpreting could be attenuated by the recruitment of further interpreters (one for each member of the relay chain), acting as a co-interpreter, helping out with missed numbers or any information which might be unavailable due to the inadequacy of the image on the screen. This does happen from time to time on larger events, but often is not a very realistic request.

4.2.2 Working with a feeding interpreter

A feeding interpreter (DI or HI) is there to provide an optimum interpretation for an interpreter colleague to work from. Feeding interpreters do not interpret for the audience, hence the team working strategies are manifold and more refined in experienced teams. In order to understand the task of a feeding interpreter is different from that of a relay interpreter, it must be recognised that they have additional functions. The first and foremost task of a feeding interpreter is to supply a colleague with a meaningful text to be translated into another language. This is called "feeding". In addition to this the feeding interpreter will also be able to provide "feeds", which are additional information for the colleague, such as corrections of errors, references to what has been said before, the mood or intention of a speaker, prosodic elements, signs/words for specific technical terms, and so on and so forth.

In hearing interpreting teams, when whispering to each other, convey this information using an intonation different from occasional corrections to the colleague's interpretation. Furthermore, feeds are easier to detect because the second hearing interpreters do not constantly provide their active colleagues with the source for their interpretation at the same time.

In mixed or Deaf interpreting teams sign language is used for both the translation of the original message (feeding) and the additional information (feeds), such as correction of numbers or errors in fingerspelling, the speaker's mood (frowning, smiling, contemplating ...) and many more. Facial expressions, such as nodding or smiling also give positive feedback to the active interpreter. With both information, feeding and feeds, presented in the same language, it is important to enable the interpreter on stage to clearly tell them apart. The most common way to achieve this is to leave the signing space used for feeding the translation and to produce feeds in a slightly lower place to the left or the right of the feeding interpreter (Schwab and Schweizer, 2014).

Facial expressions used as feeds still have to be produced on one's face and are therefore placed in between signed utterances in order not to be confused with grammatical functions, such as negotiations, questions or emphasis.

By observing the active interpreter, a feeding interpreter will anticipate how and when to produce additional feeds. The active interpreter may also ask for feeds in case of clarification being needed. According to Schwab and Schweizer (2014) most of the interpreters interviewed stated they preferred to use a signal to tell the feeding interpreter that a feed is needed and what they would like to know. Usually the interpreters agree on secret signals, such as raising eyebrows, blinking, frozen signs or even stepping forward or backwards, in order not to distract the audience too much. But if needed, the interpreter may feel free to openly ask a colleague to repeat something or re-phrase it.

During the preparation meetings and very often also during the assignment, both interpreters have to agree on which feeding technique is the most suitable for them. The DI who signs to the audience may have preferences he ought to let the feeding interpreter know about. Some DIs prefer a straightforward interpretation into sign language, others prefer a style more reflecting the structure of the source language. In Taylor's and Nicodemus' (2014) research the interpreting team agrees on the HI using signed English instead of sign language. It was not explained whether this is a common agreement among American HIs and DIs, but it can be assumed that spoken language-based transliterations as a source for further interpretation are not a very common sight within Europe. In any case this only works if both interpreters share the spoken language (or the written form of it) and know how to produce a signed version of it. At English speaking conferences therefore the majority of European HIs would probably not know how to use "signed English" and it would not help the DI, either.

The two interpreters will also agree on a comfortable speed and a signal, such as a quizzical look or a nod, or instead of that having the feeding interpreter closely monitoring his colleague's signing and pausing for his convenience.

Similarly:

...the length of pauses might depend on the target language. If a target language needs lengthy paraphrases, where the source language does not, pauses between utterances have to be longer, even if that means skipping iterations in the original source language all together. This can especially be observed when interpreting into International Signs [Schwab and Schweizer, 2014, p.69 [transl. S. Scholl]].

Feeding interpreters should therefore have a well-trained memory, as well as sufficient working experience, because they have to be able to monitor their colleague's performance while providing him with an exact interpretation of what is being said. Having an adequate and firm knowledge in at least one sign language helps to draw clues from the colleague's interpretation as to when exactly to pause, even without knowing the particular sign language used by the DI. A variety of grammatical features, for instance Constructed Action, the use of placement or reference mechanisms are shared by most sign languages and help to find out how far a colleague has proceeded in his interpretation.

A hearing interpreter stated in an interview:

For deaf interpreters this is much more important and I believe they are much better prepared to work in a mixed team, including a feeding interpreter, than many hearing interpreters are. And I believe that interpreter training programmes should be paying more attention to this and offer more practice to bring hearing interpreters to the same level. The work is very different from interpreting for an audience. And one cannot just sit down, thinking: "Well, I know how to interpret for an audience and now I will be working for a deaf interpreter, what is all this fuss about?" But it is, I think, completely different. It is like a new working area which deserves a lot more consideration. [Schwab and Schweizer, 2014, p.84 [transl. S. Scholl]]

Just to mention a few examples from our study of how and why feeds are given. For reasons mentioned in chapter 3.2 lecture 2 with five rather than four interpreters showed the most feeds:

- The Deaf supporting interpreter repeated numbers without being asked to do so, because the speaker mentioned a lot of numbers during a very short period of time.
- The supporting HI informed the also non-active Deaf colleague about people in the audience raising their hands in order to let him know there will soon be questions which require a change of the interpreters' working language.
- The HIs got more and more confused when a lot of country names came up in the lecture. The active DI, of course, used the name signs for these countries for his colleague to mirror them. The supporting DI responded to a frown by one of the HIs and started fingerspelling the names, at least the first few letters. At one point the whole team got slightly confused about whether or not Albania was mentioned and if the next country really was Mongolia. From the video footage of the event it was possible to tell that all five interpreters needed just three seconds to clarify the issue. One HI looked at the tablet and nodded for Albania, which was then repeated by the active DI. At the same time the supporting DI nodded and finger-spelled "Mongolia" to the HIs. After that all five of them smiled to signal "Problem solved, we are on track again!"
- One of the HIs missed out a number. Her hearing colleague immediately waved her hand to signal she had not got the number either. Without exactly knowing what the problem was the supporting DI prompted "70%", followed by "thumbs up" and a questioning facial expression to make sure what the HI needed was delivered. While saying "70% of the population..." the HI nodded to signal it had been right the information she needed.
- The active DI used a sign for a certain part of South America, which made the mirroring interpreter frown. The supporting DI suggested a different sign, which seemed to be more to the liking of his colleague.
- The supporting DI asked the HIs if they are still feeling confident and can follow what is being said.
- At certain times, when the active interpreter used strategic pauses in order for the mirroring interpreter to catch up, the supporting DI signalled this to the HIs in order to let them know the interpretation is soon to be continued.
- The non-active HI was focussed on her tablet, obviously seeking information on one of the PPT slides. The supporting DI assumed there was some kind of problem and alongside the interpretation done by his colleague he started explaining what it was all about. Even though there was a slight pause in the HI's voice-over (obviously she needed a second to realise that there was an interpretation as well as an explanation taking place at the same time). The additional information turned out to be useful for the HI.
- The active DI signed "Asia" followed by a sign best to be translated as "whole of it". The supporting DI tapped on his colleague's knee and signed "Eastern Asia, just eastern!" followed by a glance to the HIs to make sure they also got the information and successfully added it to their interpretation.



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- There was also room for positive feedback. More than once the HIs signed a small "Thank you" to their Deaf counterparts, the supporting DI smiled back to the active HI because she looked very relaxed and confident while talking into the microphone. The team even found a few seconds for kidding when one HI finger-spelled a complicated word and one DI responded by signing slightly ironically "Well done, so accurate and just in the right speed – very nice!", which made the whole team smile.
- Lecture 3 provided a good example of how feeds can add relevant information an interpreter misses out because she was unable to see the speaker. The HI looked more and more worried because the DI in front of her got unusually agitated, showing an angry facial expression. The interpreting HI still sounded confident and friendly, but her face told a different story. Obviously, she thought the DI was angry with her, for whatever reasons. The DI noticed that and while providing the mirroring DI with an interpretation he signed to the HI "It is him, it is him" and after that to the supporting HI "Turn around and look", which the HI did. She then whispered something to her colleague, who all of a sudden changed her voice to match the speaker's emotion.

While the provision of an interpretation happens within the normal signing space, feeds seem to be provided in a different space (right side for right hand dominant and left side for left hand dominant interpreters) and at a different level (lower than normal signing space). This is not an agreement but seems to happen just naturally.

3.2.3 Working from auto-cue using a co-interpreter

Any situation in which real-time typists are involved require the use of technology, such as computers, projectors, additional monitors or screens in order for the audience to benefit from their service. It should therefore be possible in almost every case to also provide a DI with an additional monitor in order to interpret from auto-cue.

The usual transcript on a screen usually provides two lines, whereas many DIs feel more confident having a five-line transcript to work from. It is also very convenient to have the Power Point presentation or other visual material, appearing on the screen available in a smaller picture on the DI's monitor.

Interpreting teams should carefully choose the position of the DI's monitor, because many deaf people complain about the missing eye contact between the DI and the audience whenever the monitor is placed on either side of the DI. Having the monitor right in front of the DI is the preferable position.

The co-interpreter can be either a hearing or a Deaf Interpreter. The DI can monitor the active DI's performance and provide feeds, such as corrections of errors, technical terms or general misunderstandings. Agreements on how to actively ask for feeds are similar to those used with a feeding interpreter.

The advantage of having a hearing co-interpreter (or maybe even both) is to have a safety net in case of technical problems, such as a temporary blackout of the transcript, over active auto-correction systems creating strange texts or simply an RTT who is not at his/her best. Since the HIs can hear the speaker, they would then simply become a feeding interpreter.

What many DIs find even more important is the ability of a HI to feed the DI on stage with information about the speaker's intention, emotions, style or any other prosodic means, which cannot be conveyed by written language.

A hearing interpreter who had worked as a co-interpreter describes the function as follows:

The HI was in principle quite content with this kind of teamwork and pointed out that in addition to the traditional tasks of co-interpreters they are requested to check if the transcript matches the source text and, if applicable, to support the DI with feeds. The HI also explained that co-interpreters also function as a memory support for the DI, whenever the speed of the auto-cue is not compatible to the DI's interpreting speed. Without intending to criticise teamwork in general the HI finds working in a mixed deaf hearing team slightly more exhausting than being a co-interpreter in an exclusively hearing team. He claimed that was merely due to the closer monitoring and also to the higher demands on his own memory. The latter resulted from an extended time lag between the source text and the target text, because of the presence of RRTs" [Schwab and Schweizer, 2014, p.52 [transl. S. Scholl]]

3.2.4 Working with a mirror interpreter

Mirror interpreting is almost exclusively used in Deaf only teams. When arranging for a situation including mirror interpreting, the location of the interpreters has to be chosen carefully. Both interpreters must see each other at all times, while one interpreter also has to see the speaker and the other one has to keep eye contact with the audience.

Both interpreters will have to agree who will be the mirror interpreter and who will be the active interpreter. The mirror interpreter can either copy the source language and replicate it to the active interpreter facing the audience, who will then provide an interpretation into another Sign language or International Signs. But very often the team opts for the source language being actively interpreted in the first place with the interpreter facing the audience mirroring the result. Each team will have to decide which of the two methods is the preferable one for them. It is also possible to swap roles halfway during a presentation.

Whenever there is a HI interpreting the target sign language into a spoken language the HI should be watching the interpreter for the audience as a source. This avoids getting puzzled when, halfway through the presentation, the team decides to swap roles.

Having a DI there for the audience also spares Deaf customers from getting to the front in order to ask a question and to be seen by every Deaf viewer. It is first of all a matter of convenience and simply time saving, on the other hand also a matter of equality because hearing people do not have to come to the front to ask a question. The DI will exactly copy the question from wherever in the audience for everyone to see and to understand. This also makes the work of any HI present to do the voice over much easier, because the HI has only to watch the DI replicating the utterance.

This kind of team work is very effective, but does require both interpreters signing all the time, either mirroring or interpreting. This makes it almost impossible to keep eye contact all the time and to monitor the active DI's performance. There is significantly less opportunity to also create feeds or correct errors.

In all of the evaluated settings, the DIs decided to have one Deaf interpreter, who at the same time worked as a feeding interpreter for the second DI and the two HIs. So, one of the DI worked as a mirror interpreter, providing the audience with an interpretation into DGS.

Whenever the source language changed, the working languages and the direction of interpreting changed, but the interpreter "on stage" always remained the mirroring interpreter.

When mirroring questions from the audience that DI tried to mirror the utterance as faithful as possible, using the same signs the actual speaker used in order to make the statement or question look as authentic as possible.

When mirroring the interpretation of the DI, the interpreter felt free to alter the version of his colleague into something he found more suitable or better to understand for the audience. In general, he used more facial expressions, slowed down the fingerspelling, sometimes used different signs and in general was more iconic.

It remained unclear whether or not the two Deaf interpreters had explicitly agreed on that beforehand, but obviously it felt a normal thing to do for both of them.

The mirroring interpreter wanted to provide the audience with an interpretation which suited everyone, whereas the interpreting DI had to make sure that the HI doing voice-over as well as the mirroring interpreter could work easily from what he supplied.

3.2.5. Team strategies used in evaluation meetings

Every meeting, conference, consultation of doctors, employees' meeting, etc. is different and even if the same customer goes to see the same doctor or takes part in a meeting addressing the same subject as the one before, people will conduct themselves differently and say different things. And:

Having interpreted the interaction in its entirety, it is important that the interpreter reflects on her experience. If she does not constantly consider her work and the many factors dealt with, she does not take full advantage of an opportunity to develop professionally. Without reflecting upon the interaction, the interpreter is less likely to be aware of which decisions and corresponding actions enhanced her facilitation of the interaction and why this is the case. (Demers, 2005, p.222)

Hence it is impossible to wait for a "second chance" to interpret an utterance more correctly or to help a colleague with exactly the same problem. The only possibility to learn and to improve are evaluation meetings right after the end of an assignment. Sometimes these meetings will only take a few minutes, but sometimes it is necessary to sit down and discuss what happened for a longer time. Usually the time needed to evaluate the team work tends to be longer the more interpreters are involved and the more technology is being used.

As members of an interpreting team, the interpreters will typically debrief about the team's effectiveness in facilitating the interaction. They may discuss topics such as the efficacy of each team member's technique that could enhance when providing support to the person actively interpreting and determine if there is any change in technique that could enhance the support that is provided. (Demers, 2005, p.222)

The strategies suggested by Nicodemus and Taylor (2014) also apply to evaluation meetings. Even if something went completely wrong, every team member should be treated with respect, always acknowledging that faults and misunderstandings do not occur on purpose. Two of the interpreters being interviewed about team experience by Schwab & Schweizer (2014) stated:

[TS8/Deaf Interpreter]: There is a great demand for feedback and exchange after an assignment. We will evaluate what my colleague thinks worked out well and also what did not work out so well, because I want to know that. His feedback is important to me and vice versa. This is how we can improve when working together as interpreters. When there is no feedback, of course that is difficult to achieve" (Schwab and Schweizer, 2014, p.67 [transl. S. Scholl])

[HI14/Hearing Interpreter]: What I find very exciting is, how different the feedback is. I mean, the feedback is much more related my competence in Sign Language or alterations, alterations in the language that is, and I feel that when working with hearing colleagues we just talk about different issues" (Schwab and Schweizer, 2014, p.68 [transl. S. Scholl])

Compared to evaluation talks among hearing interpreters, evaluation and feedback within mixed teams is, indeed, more focussed on language issues. Hearing interpreters do, of course, evaluate their own performance and discuss alternative working strategies if necessary. But they also, among themselves, “evaluate” the speakers if they are hearing and using the interpreters’ native spoken language. Quite often interpreters are not happy with the style, the speed or other particularities. These complaints are not meant to be feeble excuses for the interpreters’ own faults, but sometimes help to let off steam after a working day.

Deaf interpreters always work from a deaf speaker or a deaf colleague, i.e. members of their own community (even if they do not know the speaker in person). Whereas hearing interpreters do not seem to mind criticising other hearing users of a spoken language in private, Deaf interpreters are more hesitant to criticise the language performance of someone who is a member of the Deaf community and a sign language user.

HIs are often hesitant to discuss the performance of DIs, especially when something “went wrong”. According to Forestal (2011) DIs are often viewed as superior with regard to their competence in Sign Language and their knowledge about Deaf culture. In their evaluation of feedback among DIs and HIs Blahusch and Gloyer (2017) reasoned that job experience, age and familiarity among team members are important factors. One relatively inexperienced young HI gave almost no feedback to her Deaf colleague, whereas he gave much more feedback on her performance. But even in a team of an HI and a DI with similar working experience and of almost the same age, the HI addressed a few issues, but the DI turned out to be the far more active partner. Both evaluation meetings revealed that DIs are more focussed on the positive experiences during the interpreting process.

All interpreters involved stated that evaluation meetings should not be interpreted but conducted in sign language. If team members do not share a common sign language one option may be to use international signs, if all members feel comfortable with it and agree to prearrange who will function as an interpreter within the team. This is also necessary when technicians or RTTs, who might not be able to use a signed language, are to be included.

Interpreting team members have to be included into the evaluation and should be given the opportunity to have their say as well. In practice it is common to swop with colleagues. Evaluation meetings should not only be held to solve problems, but also to discuss less useful team working strategies, to deal with technical problems and consider everything that was not perfect. They are also an opportunity to pay respect to a colleague’s performance and to agree on what went well and how everyone enjoyed working together.

5. CONCLUSION

There have always been Deaf translators and interpreters working within the Deaf community unnoticed. There have also always been hearing interpreters who, now and then were wise enough to “bring in a deaf person” to sort out what they found difficult to do, either with regard to the language used in a certain placement or with regard to the special needs of a deaf client.

Hardly more than a decade ago, deaf interpreters showed up at conferences to interpret from and into international sign. They also worked in teams with hearing interpreters but often teams struggled.

Luckily, in many countries the Deaf interpreters insisted on getting the knowledge they need to be interpreters. In Germany, for instance, that led to the setting up of a two-year educational programme for deaf interpreters. Other countries offered further education classes, the European Forum of Sign Language Interpreters (EFSLI) created a group for Deaf interpreters, who also became members of their countries’ interpreters’ associations.

Now there are quite a number of professional Deaf interpreters and there are more and more mixed teams to be seen in all kind of settings.

Also study programmes for hearing interpreters now include team working strategies within mixed teams in their seminars and the demand is growing.

The aim of every interpretation should be to let all participants (deaf and hearing) in a setting of whatever nature feel included, involved and empowered. Experienced, well-trained and flexible teams of Deaf and hearing interpreters can help to make that happen. All we need is more awareness.

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Becoming conference interpreters: the deaf experience

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ABSTRACT

In this article we consider the experience of two traditional Deaf interpreters working at an international conference within the context of the professionalization of deaf interpreters. We explore the themes raised during interviews of the Deaf and hearing interpreters who worked together at an efsli event. The path to becoming a professional deaf interpreter is often mediated by such capacity building opportunities in countries with limited access to formal training and so we note the dynamics of the teams and the professional reflections of the interpreters. We also draw attention to the attitudinal barriers that deaf interpreters face which can affect the work of deaf interpreters and the ways in which traditional Deaf interpreters adopt strategies of collegiality and resilience to enable their professionalization.

Keywords: professionalization, team working, deaf-hearing interpreting teams, deaf interpreting, collegiality

1 INTRODUCTION

Deaf interpreters and translators have been part of the community, probably since its inception (Adam, Carty and Stone, 2011; Stone and Woll, 2008) and although the first references to a 'sign translator' is in the 17th century (Deusingen, 1660 transl. Sibscota, 1670) we also have reference of deaf interpreters working at that time too (Carty, MacReady & Sayer 2009). It does seem that there have always been deaf bilinguals (and multilinguals) who are chosen to work as interpreters. And that these interpreters often hone their skills and begin to work in different domains as interpreters for: Deaf people with idiosyncratic or specific language needs, Deaf migrants, Deaf international conference goers, Deafblind people, etc. However, opportunities to become a professional interpreter seem to be mediated by the opportunities afforded these interpreters and how they perform in those moments when they can demonstrate their skills.

Globally, much of the interpreting work that gets undertaken by people functioning as interpreters is performed informally and by untrained people, and in that regards the plight of deaf interpreters is not much different. However, with specific institutions such as the EU or the UN we have seen a trained and professional workforce develop over the last 50 years. Sign language interpreting has followed a similar path to that of community interpreters (Mikkelsen, 2004; Pöchhacker, 1999) whereby ad hoc interpreters are engaged to provide interpreting services. In more recent years we have seen a variety of professional and educational pressures to ensure that interpreters are well prepared to undertake interpreting work.

Deaf interpreters are often brought in on an ad hoc basis; even though according to Pöchhacker (1999) sign language interpreting has received ever increasing attention from the 1960s onwards, our deaf colleagues have been late beneficiaries of this attention. The collective pressures of education, interpreter associations and employment opportunities has been slow in coming for deaf interpreters and still varies enormously from country to country and continent to continent. Our study for this project allows us to interview Deaf interpreters who worked

at the efsli AGM and conference in a country with limited access to training and work for deaf interpreters. By exploring their work experiences, we can identify how and when these opportunities, such as this capacity building opportunity offered by efsli, work effectively and how they can be improved.

2 BACKGROUND

As noted by Wadensjö (2004):

Amateurism as related to interpreting can mean both 'not-for-payment' performed interpreting services and interpreting providers having no professional training for the task (p.1)

This is as relevant today as it was when Wadensjö discussed this at the Critical Link 4 conference, or when discussed by other authors (Pöchhacker, 1999, etc.). Deaf interpreters are engaging in profession work on an increasing basis but anecdotally it is frequently reported that deaf interpreters are not paid or are paid less than their 'hearing' colleagues. Deaf colleagues often do not have access to professional training, either because the negotiations to establish professional training with government representatives (often for government funding) or with education/training providers imagine that deaf people are the receivers of interpreting services rather than the providers of interpreting services. Even so for all intents and purposes what Wadensjö describes as amateurism is the traditional role of the Deaf interpreter or 'ghost-writer' (Adam, Carty and Stone, 2011) and so in this context we will consider this the traditional deaf interpreter, being mindful of the structural barriers they face in becoming professionals.

One of the legal instruments that drives the recognition of sign language interpreters in today's professional landscape is the UN convention of the rights of people with disabilities (the UNCPRD). This legal instrument specifically mentions the notion of 'professional' interpreters without specifying what is meant by a professional interpreter. In Stone's (2013) study asking UK interpreters what they deem a professional interpreter to be, those surveyed (which included interpreters within professional associations that included deaf interpreters although none were specifically identified) would judge an interpreter to be professional:

1. By national registration
2. By the interpreter's observed professional behaviour
3. By the interpreter's engagement with CPD (p.93)

This ranked order judgement gives us some indication of the challenges deaf interpreters face when working as interpreters and aiming to be recognised as interpreters who can work at a conference level. If one's professionalism is judged by being on a national register, but one does not have access or is not permitted, for a variety of educational, financial and attitudinal reasons then structurally one is prevented from transitioning from an 'amateur' to a professional interpreter.

It is worth noting that even though some deaf people might not have access to training, across Europe different systems require different levels of educational achievement or assessment to be considered a professional interpreter whomever that interpreter might be. In some countries there are still limited training opportunities and so short courses and assessment provide entry into the profession. In much of Northern Europe a degree equivalent qualification is required and upon passing these further or higher education courses one becomes a member of the profession and must engage in continuing professional development (CPD). This is often dependent on who is paying for interpreting services and if most (if not all) interpreting services are paid for by government budgets then this mandates the completion of training via an approved route.

For deaf interpreters, as noted, they may not have access to these routes and although the work is valuable it is not often recognised such that deaf interpreters are often called DIs or relay interpreters (Collins & Walker, 2006; Stone, Walker & Parsons, 2012). This labelling or mislabelling

does nothing to improve the position of deaf interpreters and yet the label 'Deaf interpreter' is also problematic for many colleagues (deaf and hearing). Within the context of conference interpreting it is not uncommon to name the languages that an interpreter can work between, as modelled by AIIC (2015) with changes to the reporting of language combinations "to make the particulars of a member's language combination as it appears in the AIIC Directory clearer to conference organizers and other users". It is possible that such a move for sign language interpreters would enable deaf and hearing interpreters to be recognised for their competencies and potentially recognise the competencies of each other. That is to say reporting ones working languages, e.g. American Sign Language to Danish Sign Language, or German Sign Language to British Sign Language rather than hearing status, at least for conference interpreters could break down some [attitudinal] employment barriers.

Only last year, esfli (2017) passed a motion at our AGM acknowledging the need for "The inclusive notion of sign language interpreters/translators" with recommendations that, regardless of hearing status, interpreters/translators are afforded access to training, the same status and working conditions and treated on an equal basis professionally. This is quite recent considering that Deaf conference interpreters could have been working at some of the Paris banquets in the mid-19th century, and were consistently working in the US from the 1980s and at the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) congresses from 1987 (Russell & Stone, 2014). There are some contexts where deaf interpreters have professional accreditation and work in conferences, including between national sign languages and International Sign. Although there is analysis of professional interpreters within this domain (Stone & Russell, 2016) little attention has been paid to Deaf interpreters beginning to work in conference settings and that documents their experiences. This is a crucial area as we still see many Deaf interpreters transitioning into professional work via this route and so the importance of these moments for professional recognition cannot be understated. This study will now explore some of their experiences.

3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This case study of four interpreters working at an esfli event looks to explore:

1. What factors, logistical or otherwise, supported the provision of a Deaf-hearing conference interpreting team?
2. How the teams could be supported to provide an improved service?

Let us now move onto how the data was collected and analysed.

4 METHODOLOGY

In this case study we interviewed four interpreters who worked at an esfli AGM and conference. Efsli provides opportunities for deaf interpreters to be employed to work at its conferences both providing International Sign (IS) interpreting and by encouraging the local organising team to also employ deaf interpreters as part of their conference team for their national sign language interpreting service. For this event two teams of deaf-hearing interpreters were recruited to provide an IS interpreting service with the hearing interpreters working from spoken English to the national sign language (NSL) and the deaf interpreters working from the NSL to IS.

The interpreters were recruited and asked to consent to being interviewed to explore the working environment, and to explore what worked well and what could be improved for conference interpreting provision including Deaf interpreters. The interviews were semi-structured (Spradley, 1979; McCurdy, Spradley & Shandy, 2004) with some questions being asked regarding whether or not the interpreters had worked at an esfli AGM and conference, were familiar with esfli, whether the logistics of the conference supported the Deaf-hearing teams and how the situation could be improved.

The two hearing interpreters (HI1 and HI2) were interviewed by one of the Deaf interpreters (DI2) in the NSL and who had also worked at the conference (with the other Deaf interpreter

[DI1] interpreting into IS during the interview). The interpretation into IS gave access to us as researchers in a mutually shared language. The Deaf interpreters then interviewed each other using IS. The goal of the team being interviewed by other team members was to enable an action research methodological approach such that those within the same community of practice could reflect upon the logistics of the event and bring about "an improvement in their own practice" (Birley and Moreland, 1998, p.34) from a participatory research approach (Wurm & Napier, 2017).

Each interview lasted 20-30 minutes, the interviews were video recorded and then thematic analysis was undertaken to understand the differences between more experienced Deaf interpreters (or at least those given a higher professional status as described in Russell & Stone, 2014; Stone & Russell, 2016, 2013) and the experience of these less experienced Deaf conference interpreters. Whilst these interpreters are not amateur with respect to the quality of their work, the respect afforded them in terms of access to training, professional associations and payment could mean that the interpreters fall within Wadensjö's (2004, p.1) definition. For us however, the goal is to describe the transitioning of the traditional Deaf interpreter into the institutional professional space as a conference interpreter.

5 DISCUSSION

The analysis of the interview data revealed several themes, some of which parallel the experiences of experienced Deaf interpreters who have in some ways transcended the structural barriers (albeit in necessarily creative ways) faced by Deaf interpreters and traditional Deaf interpreters navigating those challenges. We shall now present the data and discuss the issues raised.

5.1 Deaf conference interpreters

Both of the Deaf interpreters (DI1 and DI2) had traditional experiences working as interpreters. Although this was the first time they had worked at the efsli AGM and conference they had worked in other conferences and with feeders, i.e. co-interpreters (CI) working from the spoken language of their country to their national sign language, with them working from their national sign language to either, idiosyncratic language use of their national sign language, International Sign (IS) or American Sign Language. As one of the Deaf interpreters says:

at efsli working professionally and being paid that was my first time [at efsli] ... for some time I have worked for example in the courts a hearing [colleague] asked me to attend court as there was a Deaf person with unusual language that the hearing interpreter could not understand the court case was postponed and I was brought in ... I have worked as an interpreter from time to time over the last ten years for example if there is an American visitor [to my country] then I interpret between American Sign Language and XXXX Sign Language ... within Deaf schools if the teacher is not clear then I interpreter for the students ... supporting communication ... [DI1]

However, efsli was the first opportunity for paid work that the Deaf interpreter had undertaken. This is also true of the second Deaf interpreter:

this was the first time in my life I have been paid for my interpreting work [DI2]

And it is clear is that, as is often the case, it is hearing interpreters that act as gatekeepers for Deaf interpreters to work. As this is a country with piecemeal interpreter training and this is not open to Deaf interpreter we also see the professional reflection:

it was at efsli that I learnt the term feeder previously I did not think of the interpreter as a feeder I just rendered the language from the hearing interpreter accommodated for the Deaf person's needs [DI2]

Thus, while working at efsli the Deaf interpreter was engaging in the kinds of professional behaviours and reflections that one would expect of a conference interpreter. However, in most established professions one would expect some level of knowledge to be acquired before working. This seems to be one of the barriers that Deaf interpreters face and is more common than is often reported across Europe, although thankfully this is changing with the Developing Deaf Interpreting project contributing to that change.

5.2 Team preparation

One of the issues raised by all of the interpreters was the logistics. It is normal for interpreters to ask for preparation materials so that they can better understand the materials that are being presented, understand the timetable and when they will be working (efsli, 2012). This also enables further preparation and internet searching to be undertaken to ensure that the background of speakers, the organisation (in this case efsli) and other expectations are understood (Stone & Russell, 2014). All of the interpreters understood this as a given, demonstrating their professionalism (cf. Stone, 2013). However, one of the hearing interpreters mentioned that:

this was the first time in XXXX [their country] that Deaf and hearing interpreters were working together in this way ... and my first time working as a feed interpreter (HI1)

As such, there was a greater need for preparing not only individually but as a Deaf-hearing interpreting team. The hearing interpreter went on to say:

I wanted a week so that we could prepare our co-working strategies, use of eye gaze, speed of sign language delivery so we were well prepared... there was no preparation for co-working strategies between me and the Deaf interpreter (HI1)

This appears to have been further compounded by the interpreting teams not being assigned until the very last minute. This resulted in the hearing interpreter adopting a strategy that she hoped was successful but one which was not necessarily so:

I tried to make sure I signed clearly for the Deaf interpreter but I do not know how good my signing was for her work (HI1)

When exploring the work of professional interpreters Russell & Stone (2014) note that their data from professional Deaf interpreters with at least ten-years' professional experience:

suggest that conference organizers should allow DIs to select their own CI to work with. These DI-CI teams come as a single unit with established practices and should not be arriving at an event and forming a team as they work inasmuch as the novelty of their interaction affects the effectiveness of their work and ultimately the audience's experience in accessing the material via interpretation (p.154)

Clearly the issues experienced by the Deaf-hearing teams from our data is not only something that transitioning Deaf interpreters experience but also something that longstanding professional interpreters experience. This suggests a continued structural barrier for Deaf-hearing interpreters to provide appropriate professional service. If the interpreters are not able to demonstrate the professional behaviour (Stone, 2013) of providing an appropriate interpreting service then this will further compound the professionalization of Deaf interpreters – it is a catch 22 situation possibly established due to attitudinal barriers. The Deaf interpreters need to be able to choose their team so that they can demonstrate their professional expertise as an interpreter and then be welcomed into the profession as a conference interpreter.

The notion of team extended across the Deaf interpreter teams and included issues identified within Deaf-hearing teams that were problematic. Deaf interpreter one said:

the programme of work given to me by the conference coordinator detailed who my feed interpreter would be so I knew I would be working for three days with the same interpreter ... when problems popped up I knew my Deaf interpreter colleague was struggling with their feed interpreter so I unreservedly swapped feed interpreters with them (D11)

This act was both collegial, i.e. to support a struggling colleague so that the interpreting service that was provided was appropriate for the audience, but also served the goal of professional development, as the Deaf interpreter continued:

[I also swapped] because I wanted the experience I knew that I was happy working with my feed I wanted my Deaf colleague to also experience a positive working relationship with a feed interpreter and to see what they had experienced with their feed interpreter it was a good challenge... by having that experience I could then improve my skills

Clearly there is a dual sense of supporting colleagues, sharing experiences and engaging in skills development. These appear to be the learning experiences that traditional Deaf interpreters engage in to transition to conference interpreters. By engaging in collegial behaviour, extending ones experience and improving ones skills the Deaf interpreter was demonstrating the professionalism that should ensure acceptance as a professional conference interpreter.

5.3 Professional reflections on the conference work

The interpreters engaged in several different types of professional reflections: language work and team work which will now be discussed.

5.3.1 Language work

Many of the professional reflections considered the language work of interpreters. The presence of language combinations that were new or unpractised by the hearing interpreters affected the delivery of interpreting services:

In the AGM my problem was having to work directly from English I didn't know if there was interpretation into spoken XXXX ... it was the first time I had worked directly from English... I had not prepared to hear the English vocabulary for an AGM so that was hard for me to understand... this meant that I interpreted a much reduced message which was further reduced by the Deaf interpreter ... so we worked less as a pair during the AGM than a normal work load during the rest of the conference... when I worked directly from my spoken language to my sign language the work our work improved greatly (H12)

Here we see that the logistics were such that, within the team of interpreters working at the AGM, two of the interpreters were experienced working with English as a source language, but the Deaf-hearing team was not. While it might seem that this mean the complete team provided a service and thus this was unproblematic, what we see is that the Deaf interpreter is not given an equal opportunity to work and demonstrate their competence in these moments.

As discussed above, these moments potentially hold more significance for transitioning to be a professional interpreter in countries where interpreter training in general is less codified (see efsli's recommendations 2013a; 2013b). These work opportunities enable Deaf interpreters to either transition as professionals or to be viewed as 'amateur' and then not be deemed appropriate for further professional conference interpreting work. This is often decided by non-Deaf interpreters who also organise conference interpreting, creating systemic barriers for Deaf interpreter professionalization.

The Deaf interpreters also reflect upon the different characteristics of interpreting for the AGM, plenary sessions and workshops. One Deaf interpreter notes:

the AGM, conference plenary and workshops were all difficult all of them but in their own ways (D11)

This also includes some reflection on the language combination as well. In this regard one of the issues is due to international sign itself, where this “communication ... heavily relies on the inferential processes of the watcher to understand the lexical narrowing or broadening of the sign presented. Strings of actions and descriptions are presented from an experiential perspective for interlocutors to understand context-specific meanings” (Stone & Russell, 2016, p.70). The Deaf interpreter observes that:

within the efsli event it is specialist ... my job is to sign International Sign but it is easy to drift to American Sign Language... I aimed to use International Sign and not American Sign Language but to do that well you must be able to take your time as International takes time to produce well and the speaker [speaking English] speeds ahead (D11)

This appears to be an audience accommodation issue. By trying to engage in audience design (Bell, 1984, 2001) and establishing that the audience requires something (International Sign) which is very much a facet of Deaf communities’ and networks’ in-group communication this places a level of pressure on the (audience facing) Deaf interpreter and consequently their feed interpreter. By not having the opportunity to establish clear team-working strategies this does appear to be a compounding factor in providing an effective interpretation.

There is also the issue of specialist terminology although for the Deaf interpreter this is less to do with understanding the source language terms (as seen above by the HI2) and more to do with presenting them in International Sign in a way that is understood by the audience. As the Deaf interpreter says:

the AGM is specialist and one should investigate how Deaf people talk about efsli AGM specific things ... it was my first time at the efsli AGM I would feel more confident if I had attended several efsli AGMs but as it was my first time that added to the difficulty (D11)

Even though IS is something that often constitutes ad hoc *in situ* translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), the “organizational use of an established lexicon and international signing strategies differs from [this] gesture-rich interaction” (Stone & Russell, 2016, p.66). Again, we see sophisticated professional level reflections demonstrated by the traditional Deaf interpreters understanding that the language accommodation one might engage with for the audience attending efsli differs from that of “migrants refugees” (D11), etc.

5.3.2 Team work

An issue identified by the Deaf and hearing interpreters was the division in the larger team. Those interpreters working with Deaf interpreters had a strong sense of collegiality while those interpreters not working with Deaf interpreters separated themselves from this team. As one of the hearing interpreters said:

Five of us worked very closely together as a team but the other two distanced themselves (HI2)

This is the most striking example of a structural barrier for the transitioning tradition to professional Deaf interpreters. Without interviewing the other interpreters in the team we can only speculate on the motivations for this apparent split in the team. Even so the symbolic nature of this acts calls in to question whether the other interpreters accept the role of the Deaf interpreters in the team.

We also see that the experience of team working and looking to the future:

some feeders did not know how to feed (DI1)

this was the first time I had worked with a feeder ... this was not someone I had worked with before ... the feeder was very half-hearted (DI2)

future goals a workshop here so that we can discuss how we work together (HI1)

Both Deaf and hearing colleagues see feeding as an issue. The experience of working together highlights the strengths and weaknesses and that within this context where Deaf interpreters do not have formal training this does appear to be a positive one. It also highlights that within interpreter training this issue is not addressed currently and so this gap also institutes the different statuses of Deaf and hearing interpreters. By adding this to training it will ensure that Deaf interpreters are seen as part of the professional landscape.

5.4 Attitude

As noted above some of the larger team members did not engage with the Deaf-hearing teams at all. This attitude expressed by distance was noted by all of the interviewees and unfortunately establishes the feeling of first and second-class interpreters within the larger team. But there were also issues for the Deaf interpreters and hearing interpreters:

some feeders did not know how to feed ... I knew their work ... I was surprised they we chosen to work in efsli (DI1)

I felt lost and my feeder do not reach out to me before the event ... so that we could build rapport (DI2)

The feeders need to be willing to work with Deaf interpreters and in this case it does seem some of the feeders were disingenuous. One of the issues for Deaf interpreter performance is related to working with a feed interpreter who is willing and able to ensure that the Deaf-hearing team can provide a good service. This was noted by the Deaf interpreters:

the quality of my work went downhill [because of no rapport with my feed] and the audience noticed I feel ... the other hearing interpreter [in the team] seated next to my feed was not happy to support me either (DI2)

Within the conference setting typically the hearing 'feed' interpreter (or co-interpreter) tailors their interpretation for the Deaf interpreter in a variety of ways (Russell & Stone, 2014). And it is normal for a working interpreter in the team to support their colleagues (Hoza, 2010). However, in this instance we see that neither the feed interpreter nor the co-worker actively engaged in supporting their Deaf colleague. Nor did the feed interpreter seem to feel they had any agency:

when I asked the feed if they did not like working with my they shrugged their shoulders and said it's best you talk with the coordinator not taking responsibility ... I felt subjugated (DI2)

The lack of agency by the hearing feed interpreter thus removed some of the agency that the Deaf interpreter had. If interpreters are supposed to show professional behaviour (Stone, 2013) and one of these traits is collegiality then this lack of solidarity causes mistrust in the team. The Deaf interpreter was aware that she had less experience than the hearing feed and was expecting support from her more experience/senior colleagues to her a junior colleague, but this was not her experience. Again, it was felt that better logistics and a pre-meeting would have remedied this.

Lack of flexibility was also seen as an attitudinal barrier to produce good work:

bad attitude like the feeder not making eye contact maybe they were not trained well ... missing Deaf culture ... not accepting me as a colleague ... the good feeder has good attitude accepted me as a colleague made good eye contact and was supportive was well prepared and chunked the information well ... with commas pauses clear introduction of new topics ... the feed meant I could use my eye gaze [peripheral vision] well (D11)

Some of this attitude manifests in the way that the language is created, with inappropriate prosodic marking (i.e. the commas, etc.). Some of this attitude was also in respect to enabling the Deaf interpreters to use their enhanced peripheral vision (Codina, et al., 2011) to create an appropriate target language text where their eye-gaze was used appropriately in a linguistic sense in the IS whilst also glancing at the feed interpreter to ensure that the source language was comprehended.

In one of the interviews a follow-up question was asked regarding how attitudes could be changed or at least improved. The suggestion made was:

I think it would be best to meet before [the event] ... for example if we all fly in ... and meet as a group have discussions introducing who we are who is a feeder who we are to each other then we can build rapport (D12)

And in many ways, this was echoed in a comment made by one of the hearing interpreters:

Deaf and hearing interpreters must work on an equal footing (H12)

Although one of the Deaf interpreters reflecting on the experience observed that:

as an interpreter you must self-reflect and know that you can work and are ready for conference interpreting... roll-up your sleeves [get stuck in] engage with your feed interpreter ... if the feed it not appropriate then you need to be adaptable and resilient ... I think experience is important ... (D12)

Here we see that as a tradition interpreter transitioning to become a professional conference interpreter there is also the need to understand that the conference setting will be taxing. As an interpreter one's experience prepares you for the trials and tribulations of the conference environment and the attitudinal barriers you as a Deaf interpreter might face. Experience will give you strategies to cope with these barriers. Even so there is a need for fairness and equality or non-discrimination within the conference interpreting team and the experiences here highlight that for some Deaf interpreters in some contexts this is not the case.

6 CONCLUSION

Deaf interpreters are part of the interpreting landscape and have always been so but in recent years there have been greater opportunities for traditional Deaf interpreters to transition to professional community and professional conference interpreters. This professionalization includes being paid and being treated as part of the interpreting team, as well as an expectation that they will demonstrate appropriate professional behaviour.

In this qualitative case study, we adopted a participatory action research approach to ensure that answers could be provided from those undertaking the work. We have seen in the interviews of the Deaf and hearing interpreters that often traditional interpreters bring a depth of experience to their first paid conference interpreting job as they have a variety of experiences working with different sectors of their Deaf communities as well as with other signed languages.

We have also seen that Deaf interpreters understand the need to prepare for the job but one of these aspects is structurally overlooked. The Deaf interpreters in this case were not given the opportunity to select their co-interpreter (see recommendations in Stone & Russell, 2013) and this affected the quality of work that the team was able to produce. Furthermore, this appears to highlight an underlying attitudinal barrier that Deaf interpreters face and begs the question of whether transitioning traditional Deaf interpreters are set-up to fail. We clearly see that Deaf interpreters aim to engage in collegial professional behaviour both with their feed interpreters, with each other and with the wider team but that this is not always received in the spirit that it is meant.

The experiences that the transitioning traditional Deaf interpreters bring to bear enable a detailed reflection on the language work required for conference interpreting and for appropriate preparation work and team work. This experience also gives the Deaf interpreters the resilience to provide an appropriate service in sub-optimal circumstances and find appropriate solutions to serve the interpreting needs of their audience. However, it also highlights that for traditional Deaf interpreters to transition to professional conference interpreters some work is needed to be done by the interpreting profession to ensure that attitudinal barriers, be they direct or indirect discrimination, are addressed.

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Ethical challenges among deaf and hearing interpreters

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ABSTRACT

In this qualitative study we have compared the reflections and decisions of two groups of interpreters on ethical dilemmas: one group of deaf interpreters (DIs) and one of hearing interpreters (HIs). We wanted to explore how DIs and HIs reacted when confronted with the same ethical dilemmas, and to investigate if there were differences between them. The survey is not representative of the interpreting community in Denmark, and can therefore only be used for creating hypotheses, which would have to be validated through quantitative survey(s).

The study showed that there were detectable differences between the two groups, most notably that DIs more often seemed to take on responsibility for more than just a linguistic interpretation: They tended to act more as Bilingual-Bicultural Mediators, whereas the HIs generally adhered more to the role of the Conduit Interpreter. Furthermore, the specific position of the DIs in a deaf-hearing-interpreter-team (DHI-team) seemed to push the traditional boundaries between neutrality and responsibility.

Keywords Sign language Interpreting, Ethics, Values, Code of Professional Conduct, Deaf Sign Language Interpreters

1 INTRODUCTION

DIs' recent entry into the interpreting community in Denmark appears to have revived discussions of ethics in sign language interpreting. HIs question the ethical decision-making of DIs, and vice-versa, and disagreements between DIs and HIs often seem to revolve around ethical issues.¹ This is compounded by the fact that Denmark does not have any common code of professional conduct (CPC) or even written values for the profession. The discussions have entailed an initiative by The Danish Deaf Association (DDA) and the two Danish NASLI's², exploring if it is possible to develop a common set of ethical guidelines or values for the profession.

An extensive literature already exists on sign language interpreting and ethics, with interesting studies into interpreters' decision-making processes and reflections. (Mendoza 2010; Dean 2015; Sheneman 2016.) However, deaf interpreting is still a relatively new profession, and there is limited research that deals specifically with DIs and ethics. We have not found any published studies comparing DIs' and HIs' reflections in ethical decision-making processes.

1. Compliance with HIs' ethics was raised as a specific point of concern by HIs when discussing whether DIs should be allowed into the Danish Association of Sign Language Interpreters, ethics have repeatedly been discussed by the DI's in Denmark, and a complaint has been made by a HI about a DI's ethical conduct during an interpreting assignment.

2. National Associations of Sign Language Interpreters: FTT and SKOPOS.

With this study, we wanted to explore if there were differences between the DIs and the HIs in Denmark when it came to ethical decision making, and – if found – what the underlying reasons behind those differences were. We anticipated that the findings in our study could be beneficial when developing new ethical guidelines or values for the profession.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Training

All sign language interpreters in Denmark must have graduated from the official 3,5 year BA sign language interpreter (SLI) education.³ This SLI education was first established in 1986 in a collaboration between DDA and KC, a private sign language research and training institution, and started as a 2-year training program. KC was approved by Ministry of Education to train and examine sign language interpreters, but still maintained an independent status with its own board and the competence to decide the content of the training. In 1997 the training was extended to 3,5 years.⁴

In 2008, KC was closed and the SLI training was moved to University College Copenhagen (UCC) and subsequently transformed to a professional bachelor program in 'Danish Sign Language and Interpreting'⁵. This meant that the close connection to the deaf community (up until then DDA had been represented on the board) came to an end. The transition meant mainstreaming the education with other professional bachelor programmes. Even though DDA still had a seat in a committee discussing the content of the training, influence was reduced, compared to the time when DDA was *the* major stakeholder.

Because the consolidated act of the BA education states that interpreting into spoken Danish is one of the core graduate competences, deaf people cannot become sign language interpreters through the formal Danish educational system.⁶ In 2012, DDA started a 3-year project, funded by the Ministry of Social Affairs, training 12 DIs through a series of theoretical modules and practical work experience. The interpreters had to complete 8 theoretical modules, totalling 172 hours, and work on various interpreting assignments in between the modules. Upon completion the DIs were granted a certificate from the National Interpreting Authority (DNTM), allowing them to interpret only in specific situations and for certain target groups. Apart from interpreting between different sign languages (and/or International Signs) DIs only interpret for consumers who need language adaptation. In these cases DIs work together with HIs in relay teams.

1.1.2 Ethics

In the 80's Denmark had its first CPC for Sign Language Interpreters, which was developed in cooperation between the DDA and the sign language interpreters. The CPC was rule-oriented, and with inspiration from the US, the ideal behind the CPC was the Conduit Model,⁷ which emphasised that the interpreter should be neutral (especially concerning political and religious issues), invisible, and not allowed to interact with clients during interpreting assignments. The interpreter should 'just interpret' – nothing else.

One tenet required interpreters 'to adapt to the environment'. Thus, interpreters should try to fit into the setting as well as they could by behaving and dressing in accordance with the surroundings (Bergmann 2016: 212).

3. Interpreters graduated during earlier training programs can be granted exemption.

4. The consolidated Act no. 683. 1997

5. In Denmark there is a distinction between a professional bachelor, which qualifies for a specific profession, and a university bachelor, which tends to be more theoretical.

6. Several deaf persons applied for exemption from the Ministry of Research and Education but were declined.

7. The 'Conduit Model' is one of four models that Gish (1990) identifies in the development of interpreting ethics in the US. We will go over these four models in Section 2.

A couple of tenets revolved around neutrality, one of them explicitly reminding interpreters that they were interpreting for *both* parts in the communication – also for the hearing counterpart. Finally, a few tenets addressed the skills and competences of the interpreter. Lifelong learning and further training were encouraged, and the importance of being aware of one’s own competences and limitations was stressed.

As time went by, the CPC became obsolete, but it has never been updated or replaced. Today there is no written understanding or agreement on how sign language interpreters should conduct themselves or which values are important for their work. One of the reasons why the CPC has not been updated can undoubtedly be found in the changes that the market has undergone in the intermediate period. Since the CPC was developed, the interpreting scene in Denmark has changed drastically. There used to be only one institution that employed all interpreters: *The Institution for the Deaf*.⁸ The DDA was on the chair of the board for many years, and FTT was the only organisation for Sign Language interpreters. Thus, it was very easy to impose the CPC on all working interpreters.

Today we have a much more diverse scene, the market has been taken over by private companies, and sign language interpreters today are either self-employed or employed by small or medium-sized companies. It is a highly competitive market, and even if several attempts to establish a trade association have been made, they have all failed. No attempts have been made to renew the CPC until the current initiative mentioned above.

When looking at the differences in ethical decision-making, differences in training backgrounds are important and influential factors. Thus, it is important to note that DIs received different training than HIs, and even all HIs did not receive identical training. At KC the training in ethics was practically based and (at least in the beginning) based upon the CPC of the 80’s. At UCC the training has become more theoretical and aims at providing the students with academic competences such as “insight into ethical theory and various models of reflection as a tool to analyse complex interactions between consumers” “and thereby enabling them to reflect upon dilemmas that can arise in practice” (Curriculum 2017: 6).

In the training of the DIs, although shorter, ethics played a major part. The NAD-RID Code of ethics (2005) was highlighted as an example of CoE that could serve as ethical guidelines for their work, but DIs were generally taught a critical approach to rigid rule-based CPC’s. Apart from the tenet of confidentiality, which was stressed, DIs were taught to assess and analyse situations and making decisions based upon values rather than following rules.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Gish (1990) has described how interpreting in the USA has transformed over time and identifies four distinct models in this development. The first model is called the Helper Model, which dates back to the time when sign language interpreting had not yet been established as a profession, and when interpreting was done primarily by families and friend. With the establishment of the RID (Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf) in 1964 the Helper Model was no longer deemed an appropriate model for interpreters.

In the 70s came the Conduit Model, which in many ways was the opposite of the Helper Model. The Conduit Model regarded the interpreter as a professional, and deaf consumers as equal, autonomous citizens, capable of making their own decisions. The model conceived interpreters as ‘invisible’, not allowing them to interact with consumers, even if questions were posed directly to them. Their task was ‘just interpreting’. In the 80’s, the model changed to the Communication Facilitator, which allowed the interpreter to have interactions with the consumers. The focus on interpreting was still – as with the Conduit Model – solely on the linguistic aspect, and the Com-

8. Later the institution changed its name to Center for the Deaf, and later again to CFD.

munication Facilitator was not allowed to incorporate cultural mediation in the interpreting. The current model, the Bicultural/Bilingual Model, allows interpreters to interact with clients and to add cultural adjustments to the interpretation to enhance understanding between the consumers. The development in Denmark has obviously not been the same as in the US, although we are indirectly influenced by it. But we will use Gish's terminology to frame the various perceptions of how to conduct oneself as a professional interpreter, when we analyse the reflections of the interpreters.

Newer theories have pointed out that all models are inadequate, and suggests the interpreter should not have a fixed, predefined role, dictated by rules, but instead be able to take on different roles depending on the situation (Llewellyn-Jones and Lee. 2014) and that interpreters must be guided by values rather than rules. (Meckler. 2014)

Mindess (2014) emphasizes that sign language interpreters must culturally mediate. The interpreter must understand cultural differences to be able to render the intended meaning of the source message. Mindess stresses that interpreters must study not only deaf culture, but also be aware of the hearing culture: "In order to successfully function as bicultural mediators, not only must we be familiar with the elements of deaf culture, but also we must pay equal, if not greater attention to the other half of the bilingual-bicultural seesaw" (Mindess 2014: 4).

For decades the concept of deaf culture has been explored (Padden 1990; Ladd 2003; Mindess 2014) and deaf culture has become recognised as a concept used worldwide. Most commonly deaf culture is characterized as *collectivistic* as opposed to *individualistic*. In a collectivistic culture the individuals subordinate their personal goals to the goals of the group, as opposed to a culture, where each individual follows his or her own personal goals. Mindess (2014) lists a number of characteristics of deaf culture such as group decision making, information sharing, pooling resources, and reciprocity.

Some researchers have pointed out, that DIs make use of 'extra linguistic knowledge' when interpreting. As deaf persons and members of the deaf community DIs have extensive knowledge of the deaf community. The term DELK (Deaf Extra Linguistic Knowledge) is commonly used to describe this and refers to the knowledge "gained first-hand from these first-hand deaf world experiences" (Adam et al, 2014: 8). It has also been described how DIs through their deaf experiences can identify with deaf consumers, and how they are able to connect with them in a way that HIs cannot (Sheneman 2016; Stone 2009) and as Boudreault (2005) says "They share the same Deaf experience with the Deaf Consumer, this sameness is an important factor in establishing rapport and communicating effectively" (Boudreault 2005: 335). Mindess (2014) lists several areas, where DIs have competences, techniques, or abilities, that are superior to those of their hearing colleagues, such as being able to make more adequate cultural adjustments, have a more direct approach to the consumers, enlarge the perspective for the consumer through empathy, have the ability to put the deaf consumer at ease, and have a deeper understanding (of the language and the culture). In our analysis we investigate if these abilities are being used by the interpreters in our survey, and if they are: which part they play in their reflections and ethical decision-making processes.

In recent years, the concept of deaf culture has been questioned and challenged, as studies from researchers such as Friedner and Kusters (2015) have pointed out, that in a world where opportunities, economic and social context differ, deaf people differ too. Kusters, De Meulder and O' Brien (2017) discuss how deaf people's positionalities and ontologies change with more variation in educational and socio-economic backgrounds, where conditions such as gender, ethnicity, age, and added disabilities also are determinative and influential factors. They question the concepts: Deaf Culture, Deaf identity, and Deaf Community, which often have been used in singular forms. They argue there is not just one way of being deaf, instead they introduce the concepts of 'sameness and differences'. 'Sameness' that represents some shared experiences of being deaf, and 'differences' which emphasizes the diversity in the deaf worlds (Kusters and Friedner 2015). We will have these reflections in mind, when we discuss how/if DIs are influenced by their deaf-world background(s).

Dean and Pollard (2013) have adapted Karasek's (1979) demand–control theory to examine the complex profession of sign language interpreting, and they have developed a system to help identify, categorize and prioritize all salient factors (called demands) that affect the work of the interpreter. Dean and Pollard divide the demands into four main categories: environmental, interpersonal, paralinguistic, and intrapersonal. Environmental demands are those that originate from surroundings or the setting where the interpreting takes place; interpersonal demands are those demands that have to do with relations between persons; paralinguistic demand are factors that affect the language, the way it is being signed/spoken or the way it is being perceived; and intrapersonal demands are demands within the interpreter him- or herself. The methodology likewise focusses on the corresponding controls (i.e. the various resources the interpreters use as responses to the demands). We have used Dean and Pollard's (2013) terminology in our focus group interviews as well as in discussions with interpreters about ethical reflections and decision-making.

Sheneman (2016) focusses on DIs' ethics, while not comparing DIs' and HIs' reflections, she states that her "results indicate that information sharing, providing optimal services to Deaf Consumers, and cultural mediation are all common ethical choices that DIs make" (Sheneman 2016: 2). In the discussion we compare our findings to those of Sheneman.

3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Our research questions are:

1. How do the participating DIs and HIs react when confronted with the same ethical dilemmas?
2. Are there any differences between them when it comes to their decisions?
3. Do they undergo the same thought processes and reflections – or are there any differences between the two groups at this level?

Furthermore: What explanations or values underlie their decisions and to what extent will it be possible to detect causal links to the interpreters' various backgrounds?

4 METHODOLOGY

Our study is based upon two focus groups with 16 (eight deaf and eight hearing) Danish SLIs. One focus group for HIs and one for DIs. Afterwards, we conducted a joint session for all participants where the preliminary findings were disclosed and discussed. As a focus group study the goal is not to be generalizable.⁹ Our research is qualitative and explorative, to know more about the interpreters' reflections, their explanations and possible causal links. Findings of this qualitative survey could enable hypotheses generation which could in turn be investigated further in a larger scale representative (quantitative) survey.

The participating interpreters were recruited by advertising at the Danish Deaf Association's website and facebook page. It was ensured that the two groups each consisted of both new and experienced interpreters.¹⁰ Both groups included self-employed or freelance interpreters as well as those employed by companies of different sizes. In the group of HIs, one interpreter was deaf parented, and one interpreter had a deaf spouse. In the group of DIs, there were both deaf parented and hearing parented interpreters.¹¹

9. Although 8 DIs is a representative sample of the DIs in DK, (there are 12 DIs in DK) 8 HIs are not representative of the approximate 300 HIs in DK. The concern was to have a sufficient number of interpreters in each group to encompass contrasting in opinions. (Krueger and Casey 2015)

10. Although the group of DIs – for obvious reasons – did not have the same diversity in this area. The HIs had an average of 10 years of work experience, while the DIs only had 2,5 years. DIs had all completed their training at the same time, but since then, some had worked part time, while others had worked full time.

11. Deaf parented: when we use this term, we mean a person that has been brought up by at least one deaf parent.

We used DCS (Dean and Pollard 2013) to ensure a common frame of reference for the discussions. Prior to the focus group, a moderator gave the interpreters a 'crash course' in the DCS approach and an introduction to the concept of ethics. We found the DCS approach suited the purpose of providing interpreters with tools to analyse a situation and to make conscious choices when deciding which 'controls' to use in response to certain 'demands'. Furthermore, the DCS approach proved useful not only for the participants to frame their thought, but also for us to structure the discussion.

We presented the interpreters with 19 different case scenarios - each representing a unique ethical dilemma. Some of the cases were inspired by Dean and Pollard's textbook (2013), while others were taken from the moderator's own experience as a SLI. Each time a case was presented, the participants were told to write down how they would respond if faced with this specific dilemma. They were asked to take their decisions instantly, as in real life, and write it down. Afterwards, a discussion took place where participants elaborated on their decisions and the reflections that led to them. All responses and the following discussion were recorded on video and later transcribed.

The final session was a joint workshop for both groups where the preliminary findings were disclosed and discussed. This session proved particularly interesting, since participants actively debated the different responses among them. The purpose was not to determine if responses were 'right' or 'wrong', but to have an open discussion and exchange of viewpoints, which was not only suitable for the exploration of different reflections in our study, but also seemed to be rewarding for the participants.

After analysing responses and reflections concerning all 19 case scenarios, we have chosen to focus on six in the following analysis. The six scenarios, that we have chosen to go over in this article, all show considerable differences between HIs and DIs, and they explore different angles and aspects of the topic. The 13 other cases were left out of this study; some because the findings were similar to the ones in the chosen six cases, and some because they did not show any clear differences between the two groups.

5 FINDINGS

We found that in these six cases, there were detectable differences between how the two groups of interpreters would (re-)act, when facing the same ethical dilemmas. The differences are nuanced; not all 8 DIs choose different options than all 8 HIs. There are also similarities; some DIs choose the same controls as the HIs and have similar reflections.

When describing the responses to the six case scenarios, we go over the points we found most interesting, so this is not an exhaustive analysis of all components in the study. Instead we have chosen to highlight those points that contribute to the overall scope of exploring the differences.

5.1 Findings from case scenario 1

Scenario # 1

Your co-worker is sick, and you are asked to take her interpreting assignment. You are told to interpret at 'a small event'. You arrive at the place wearing jeans and a shirt. You notice that others are very formally dressed wearing suits and gowns.

All eight HIs and five DIs choose not to mention or make excuses for how they are dressed. Three of eight DIs would apologize and explain the reason by mentioning they had taken over somebody else's assignment. From the reflections we can see that most of the interpreters –both deaf and hearing – consider the Conduit Value of 'just interpreting' (e.g. not interacting with the consumers) to be very important, and for most interpreters it overrules other considerations. Interpreters (both deaf and hearing) who choose to ignore the fact that they did not fit into the setting all explained that they do not want to attract attention to themselves by making excuses.

By these interpreters, apologizing or explaining the wrong dress code, is considered less important than the tenet of 'just interpreting'. One of the DIs explicitly equals this with professionalism:

I want to be professional. Attract as little attention to myself as possible. [DI]

It is worth noticing that all of the three interpreters who choose to apologize for how they are dressed, are deaf. One of them explicitly states that 'fitting into the setting' overrules other considerations for him/her: "I prioritize fitting into the setting higher than other concerns." [DI]

Interestingly, 'fitting into the setting' can also be identified as derived from the old CPC (the tenet of 'adopting to the situation'). Among the interpreters who choose to apologize, their reflections reveal that they use their own experiences as deaf consumers in their decision-making process:

I recognize the situation from my own experience. How I have been embarrassed by an interpreter's inappropriate dress. [DI]

As mentioned previously, the use of DELK (Adam et al. 2014) by DIs has been described by several researchers. In this case at least one DI brings up specific experiences that (s)he has had with interpreters that (s)he found embarrassing, for not fitting into the setting.

Another reflection in favour of apologizing is the urge to 'defend the interpreting service'. One of the DIs wanted to make sure the consumer was aware that there were specific reasons for the mishap (i.e. a sick co-worker) and that it was not due to indifference or negligence on the part of the interpreting firm or the interpreter. This argument seems to relate more to an urge to defend oneself (or the interpreting firm) against possible criticism from the consumer and may arise in part from labour market-oriented reasons. Further on in the analysis we will point out how other reflections from the DIs seem to point in the same direction.

5.2 Findings from case scenario 2

Scenario # 2

You are interpreting in a class room in college. During the lesson the deaf person is sitting in the front row and he is asking untimely questions without putting his hand up.

The picture from scenario 2 is a little more diverse and complex than from scenario 1, but there is still a visible difference between the two groups. The majority of the HIs (6/8) would interpret the questions, whereas the responses from the group of DIs, as in the first scenario, is more diverse. Three agree with the majority of the HIs and choose to interpret the questions, three would (like one of the HIs) ask the deaf student if his questions should be interpreted. One interpreter from each group would ignore the deaf consumer's questions, and one of the DIs would take it up with him during the break.

Looking at the reflections from the three DIs and the six HIs who choose to interpret the questions, they all seem to favour the Conduit Model, where the emphasis is on 'just interpreting' and not to deviate from this task.

It's the interpreter's task to translate everything [HI]

The responsibility is with the deaf person and the teachers [DI]

Just as in the first scenario, most HIs choose to act in accordance with the Conduit Model. The values of the Conduit Model are to regard the consumer as an autonomous, capable person who is responsible for his/her own actions. We see these values explicitly expressed in the reflections of both DIs and HIs who choose this option.

However, like in the first scenario more DIs (4) than HIs (1) would choose to communicate directly with the consumer, either during or after class. Apparently, identification - constructing sameness (Kusters and Friedner 2015) - with the consumer and DELK play an important part for the DIs who would address the issue directly. As one of the DIs states: "I identify with the deaf person and recognise the situation from my own experience as a deaf person". The other reflections further reveal two reasons for asking the consumer directly if he wants to be interpreted. One reason is asking for clarification (I am not really sure if he wants me to interpret or if he is just 'talking to himself') and the other one is that the interpreter indirectly wishes to let the deaf student know that he is breaking the norms in the classroom. Some of the DIs argue that it is part of the interpreter's role to act as a mediator of culture:

It's a joint responsibility to make the deaf person aware of teaching culture (DI)

Mediation of culture is the same as joint responsibility (DI)

These arguments are in line with the understanding of the interpreter's role, such as it is expressed in the Bicultural/Bilingual Model. Witter-Merithew (2014) gives an example from a courtroom where the deaf consumer is signing while the judge is speaking. Instead of telling the deaf person to hold those remarks, the DI asks: "The judge is talking now, do you want to interrupt him?" Witter-Merithew notes that it might be tricky for a HI to be as distinctive without appearing condescending. Although not verbalised by the HI, this may also be one of the reasons why only one HI gives this information to the consumer.

The reflections of the HI, who chooses to ignore the questions, show that this is done out of consideration for the hearing consumers:

I have experience with same kind of deaf person. It disturbs too much in the class. Therefore, I would not interpret what he's saying. I prioritize the class situation higher. (HI)

The DI who chooses to ignore the questions, explains that [s]he "would leave it to the HI to decide if the questions should be voiced or not." (DI) The reflection shows, that being part of an interpreting team, presents other options and challenges: The DI is not working alone and a decision to voice needs to be accepted by the co-interpreter. We note a shift in position as compared to the, for lack of better term, 'traditional' interpreter position, who interprets directly between two consumers¹², and who must balance the consideration for the deaf consumer with the hearing consumers. We will return to this issue later, as more responses seem to point in this direction.

5.3 Findings from case scenario 3

Scenario # 3

During class, students are working on their own and you are just waiting for when you are needed. The deaf person is asking you some personal questions like: Do you have children? Do they have the same father? Where is he living? Are you married?

12. The shift in position is only present when the DI interprets together with a HI as part of a deaf-hearing-interpreting team (DHI-team)

In this case there is quite a distinct difference between the two groups. While most DIs (5) (and no HIs) would ask the consumer to wait, the majority of the HIs (5) (and no DIs) would answer the questions without reservation. Three DIs and two HIs would answer briefly, and one HI would not answer but divert the conversation to other topics.

The reflections from the five DIs, who will ask the consumer to wait, show that they do not want to small-talk because it might be regarded as unprofessional behaviour.

Small-talk can injure the perception of the interpreter's professional role. (DI)

Attention to other's perception is important. (DI)

The emphasis is on appearing professional and protecting oneself (and the profession) against possible allegations of being unprofessional. Thus, the reasons for choosing to decline small-talk appears to be labour market-related concerns, similar to what we saw in case scenario 1.

It is interesting to note that the HI who agrees with this option (of not answering the questions) but who chooses a slightly different approach (e.g. to divert), has very different reasons for not wanting to answer. For him/her it is not fear of appearing unprofessional, but instead a concern for protecting his/her boundaries. It is not the small-talk in itself that causes the problem, it is the fact that it is of such a personal nature.

To divert the conversation is an indirect way of declining, as opposed to the five DIs, who tell the consumer directly that they do not want to answer his questions. As in case 2, this may reflect the differences in communication style, where DIs – as Witter-Merithew (2014) shows – are able to be much more direct than HIs. This would explain the different approaches.

The reflections of the three DIs and the two HIs who choose to answer briefly, show that they balance their consideration for the deaf student against other considerations. For the DIs it is primarily a concern of not appearing professional, but for the HIs it is a consideration for the rest of the students, since the small-talk might disturb them.

From the DIs' reflections, we see that they prioritize having a good rapport with the consumer, and (for some of them) use their sense of sameness with the consumer:

I prioritize the good relationship – created by small-talk. (DI)

Deafhood-feeling, part of deaf culture. (DI)

One of the DIs explicitly states that (s)he feels responsible for the deaf consumer, because he does not have the same options of small-talking or socializing as his hearing classmates have:

I feel socially responsible for the deaf person. The hearing students have multiple options to small-talk. A deaf student does not have that. (DI)

Interestingly, the HIs who choose to answer the question, do so for other reasons.

As an interpreter you get a lot more information about the deaf person than the other way around. So, it's only fair to answer his questions about me. (HI)

They do not regard the consumer as someone with limited access to small-talk, (at least this does not play any part in their decision-making process) and they do not feel socially responsible for him. Instead they seem to regard him as an equal, and they choose to answer from a reciprocity point of view.

5.4 Findings from case scenario 4

Scenario # 4

Later the hearing students noticed that the deaf person is making a grunting sound. They are making fun of him by copying the sound

DIs' and HIs' choices are quite different in this case scenario. Six DIs choose not to do anything, and only one of them would explain that the hearing students make fun of him. The HIs react differently: six of them chooses to let the deaf student know about the situation around him, while only one would ignore it.

Looking at the reflections for not interpreting, some of the DIs seem to be taken aback by the awkwardness of the situation. As one of them puts it:

I would be paralysed – and simply don't know what to do [DI]

Limited experience is obviously a factor for the DIs who do not seem to have come across a similar episode before, and they do not know how to [re-]act. Reflections show that other reasons for not interpreting are wanting to avoid the awkward situation, and/or to spare the consumer the embarrassment.

This is the same argument the HI uses:

I want to avoid hurting the deaf person. [HI]

The reflections from several interpreters [HI and DIs] show that they want to protect the consumer, and therefore says nothing. There is no doubt from the reflections of these interpreters, that they leave out the information due to the empathy they feel with the consumer. Interestingly, choosing to leave this information out of the interpretation is in accordance with the Helper Model, when the interpreter decided what to interpret (and what to leave out) without consulting the deaf consumer.

The only DI who would convey this information to the consumer, states that (s)he will do it 'in a nice and discreet way' which shows that (s)he balances the empathy with the obligation to 'interpret everything'. In contrast, the reflections from the HIs who choose to interpret, all point to the same reasoning: I am the 'invisible', neutral interpreter who does not interfere: I interpret everything, I respect the deaf consumer's autonomy: He is a capable individual who has the right to know what is going on around him:

By interpreting for him, he gets the possibility of doing something about it. [HI]

These are all notions from the Conduit Model. When choosing how to react in this situation, working in a DHI-team may also play an important part. Some DIs use the strategy of double-checking with the HI, both to make sure what is going on, and at the same time (indirectly) letting the deaf consumer know that an awkward situation has arisen, as opposed to interpreting it directly to him.

5.5 Findings from case scenario 5

Scenario # 5

You are interpreting at a business meeting where most participants are men in suits. You have been introduced to the deaf person and the chairman. You're standing next to the chairman and his PowerPoints and you are about to start interpreting, when the chairman says to you: The deaf person is sitting there in the back. Please go and sit with him.

In this case there is also a distinct difference between the two groups. Most HIs (6/8) would stop interpreting and speak directly to the chairman, only one of the DIs would do this. Three DIs and no HIs would go and sit with the deaf consumer. Four DIs and two HIs would choose to interpret what the chairman says and thereby leaving it to the consumer to decide.

When we look at the reflections, it seems that the three DIs, who would do as the chairman says, seem a little less assertive than the others. They would simply trust others to know better:

I would accept what the chairman says, and trust that he knows what works best.
(DI)

This could be regarded as a sign of less experience in the field. However, other reflections show that some DIs choose to do as the chairman says, because of their past experiences, feeling embarrassed when an interpreter made a 'fuss' about the working conditions, thereby attracting everyone's attention to him/her. Such experiences seem to make DIs more flexible in terms of their requirements, when on the job.

Interestingly, this is the only case where most HIs would abandon the act of interpreting and answer directly; and their reflections show that they would not trust the consumer(s) with the decision. As interpreters, they themselves know what the best working position is. This is something they have been taught during their training, and furthermore they feel that it is their own responsibility - not the consumer's.

It's my responsibility how I can interpret in the best possible way. (HI)

The DIs and HIs who choose to interpret the question to the deaf consumers all give the same reasons: They trust the consumer to know what works best in the situation. It does not mean that they would always leave such a decision to the consumer, but in this case they would, since he is a capable person, who is expected to know what is best, and can balance the consideration for an optimal interpreting position against a possible dispute with the chairman. They also state that deaf consumers are a heterogeneous group and therefore there is no 'one size fits all' solution.

5.6 Findings from case scenario 6

Scenario # 6

You are called to interpret for a deaf adult who is terminally ill and his family members at a meeting with the doctors and the health-care workers. You have never seen them before. When you start interpreting you notice that the deaf consumer has difficulties in understanding you. You find out that his little sister (15 yrs. old) who is also attending the meeting, knows some homemade signs which the deaf person understands.

The reactions here are interesting, because there is a stark difference between the two groups. All eight DIs would choose to continue interpreting, incorporating the sister's homemade signs, only one of the HIs would do this. The reaction that three HIs would choose, is to continue interpreting although the consumer does not seem to understand. Two HIs would let the sister add or adjust signs, and one would let the sister interpret to the degree that is necessary.

That all DIs choose to adapt their language to the deaf consumer, is no surprise, considering that this is what DIs do. It's part of their job description and it lies well within their competences; being native signers with a higher command of the language, they are more able to adjust it to fit the needs of consumers with various language codes. Being trained in this field of work DIs will be constantly evaluating if the consumer understands. HIs do this as well, but with a higher command of the language, the ability to read the signals from the consumer will be more advanced (or as Mindess (2014) puts it: "DIs are much more sensitive to subtler signs demonstrated by facial expressions and body language (or lack thereof)" (Mindess 2014:293)) and they are trained to modify their language to the specific language code required in various situations.

What is surprising, though, is that the reflections show that one of the DIs does not regard this modification of the language code as proper professional conduct:

I would rely more on personal ethics than professional ethics in this situation. [DI]

Other reflections from the DIs are similar to those that we have seen in the previous cases: They empathize with the consumer, use their own personal experiences, and give priority to getting the message through:

The most important is the deaf person getting the message. [DI]

I had a similar experience myself. [DI]

Putting the deaf person at ease is important. [DI]

The majority of the HIs, regardless of choosing to continue interpreting without any help or letting the sister add signs, give priority to their role as 'professional interpreters'. Reflections show that even if they are aware that they do not possess adequate competences for the assignment, none of them chooses to convey this in the situation and ask for another interpreter. Instead the decision is left to the consumers:

They have to order another interpreter, if it doesn't work. [HI]

Even if the consumer does not seem to understand, the HIs would still try undertaking the assignment, rather than opting out.

One of the HIs chooses to let the 15-year old sister interpret, arguing that the sister is 'old enough' to take on the responsibility of interpreting for her brother. This interpreter also gives priority to 'getting the message through', but obviously in a different way than the interpreters who choose to adopt their language to the consumer.

6 DISCUSSION

Generally, we found that DIs adhered more to the Bicultural/Bilingual Model than the HIs. DIs would assess if a deaf consumer needed certain information regarding norms and rules in the hearing context in order to conform, and they would tend to offer that information (directly or indirectly) during the interpreting. DIs' reflections show that they consider this 'information sharing' to be cultural mediation and part of the interpreter's role.

Their reflections revealed that they often experienced identification and empathy with the deaf consumer and used their own experiences [DELK] in their decision-making processes. In contrast, some of the HIs sometimes expressed a need to distance themselves from the deaf consumer, protecting their own boundaries.

DIs seemed to be more attentive to the deaf consumers' well-being and would place more emphasis on establishing a good rapport with the consumer, putting him/her at ease, and in one instant some DIs would omit environmental information in the interpretation to spare the feelings of the consumer.

DIs also used their own consumer experiences to determine how to (re-)act in certain situations. A general concern that was verbalised several times was prioritising 'to blend in' or 'not making a fuss'. Negative experiences as a consumer seem to influence some DIs to be more flexible, and to prioritize adapting to the environment - in some cases to the point where it might affect the quality of the interpreting.

HIs seemed to adhere more to the Conduit Model and their reflections showed that they often equalized neutrality and 'just interpreting' with professionalism. Furthermore, their reflections show that they generally considered the consumer to be an equal, with no need for special con-

siderations. When choosing to small-talk with deaf consumers this was done based on reciprocity, and not because they felt responsible for their social well-being.

The different perceptions of the interpreter's role, might stem from differences in educational backgrounds. At least some HIs were trained when the Conduit Model of interpreting was still favoured at KC, whereas in the training of the DIs, the Bicultural/Bilingual Model was favoured. We have gone over the explicit differences in training backgrounds earlier in this article, but from an 'outside point of view' is impossible to know exactly what the training at KC and UCC have encompassed, so this causal link remains a hypothesis. The fact is, however, that many of the tenets from the old CPC are still verbalised by the HIs and identified as being 'professional'.

Another influential factor might be different interpreting experiences. Because of the specific conditions for DIs in Denmark, they interpret almost exclusively for particularly vulnerable consumers, who generally need more cultural mediation. HIs, on the other hand, interpret for a wide variety of deaf consumers, and not all of them need the same degree of cultural mediation.

In some of the reflections, we have seen that the specific position of the DIs in the DHI-team plays an important part in the decision-making process of the DIs. In the DHI-team the DIs interpret between the HI and the deaf consumer(s), and this specific position in 'the interpreting chain' seems to cause the DIs to feel greater responsibility towards the deaf consumer(s). This is perhaps no surprise, considering the tasks that DIs are supposed to undertake in the interpreting. It lies in the job description of the DIs, that they are supposed to adapt their linguistic code to that of the deaf consumer. As there is no standard language, the DIs can rely on, the nature of the job is to be adaptable, flexible and attentive to the needs of the deaf consumers. In the study we have noted how this position influences the DI's perception of neutrality and responsibility. In many cases, considerations for the deaf consumer played a major part in the decision-making processes of the DIs, while considerations for the hearing consumers played a much smaller part among the DIs than among the HIs.

Another difference found between the two groups, was that DIs – in some cases – tended to be less assertive and confident in their role as interpreters compared to their hearing colleagues. We noted in the analysis that DIs were more concerned with defending the interpreting service, with not appearing unprofessional, and would tend to make excuses for themselves. HIs generally seemed to rely more on their own knowledge of knowing best, when it came to picking the best suitable working position, while some of the DIs trusted others to know best. This may stem from the fact that DIs had shorter training and less work experience than the HIs, who participated in the survey. Several studies show differences between interpreters with a greater experience and newly educated interpreters, so-called expert and novice interpreters (Mendoza 2014; Sheneman 2016).

In some of the scenarios we found that DIs chose certain options which seemed to relate to their own or the interpreting company's insecure position in the market, and we did not find similar concerns in the reflections of the HIs. That deaf interpreting is a new profession in Denmark, and that it has not yet been fully recognized (by authorities, consumers, or HIs) are also factors that might contribute to this insecurity.

As mentioned earlier, Mindess (2014) highlights several areas where DIs have superior competences and abilities. In our study we have seen differences between HIs and DIs occur in all the areas that she lists: DI's tend to use more cultural mediation, they are more direct in their approach, they do empathise more with the deaf consumer, and they do prioritize putting the deaf consumer(s) at ease. Our study confirms that DIs do this (more often than HIs).

Sheneman (2016) found that cultural mediation characterises the work of DIs, which our study confirms. Her notion of 'giving optimal service to deaf consumers' likewise concurs with our findings. Giving optimal service to the deaf consumer might be regarded as juxtaposed to giving optimal service to *all* consumers (regardless of their hearing status). Like Sheneman we found that the deaf consumer is the first priority for the DIs.

The third characteristic that Sheneman points out is 'information sharing' and in our analysis we have shown that this is certainly something DIs do. However, when analysing the reflections of the DIs, we have seen that 'information sharing' is not linked to 'Deafhood feelings', but considered to be cultural mediation and part of a professional interpreter's role.

6.1 Limitations of the study

As mentioned earlier, this study cannot be used to generalize the differences found between DIs and HIs in ethical decision-making, neither has this been the intention. This is a 'snapshot' from a specific time and place context, where 16 Danish interpreters (8 deaf and 8 hearing) have shared their reflections with us, but who are not necessarily representative of the entire interpreting community in Denmark.

All interpreters are influenced by various factors: their upbringing, their educational background, their interpreting experience, and in this light specific 'deaf experiences' are only part of it. Besides, these deaf experiences are diverse, and prioritized and used in different ways, as this study indicates.

So even though we found some differences between the two groups, they must be treated cautiously, and one should bear in mind that in almost every dilemma, we found similarities among some DIs and HIs, as well as differences. (And in some of the cases, that we chose not to include here, there were no clear differences between the two groups.) The findings from this study could be used as hypotheses, and in order to assess if (or to what extent) the differences that we found are representative of the entire group of DIs vs. HIs, a larger quantitative survey must be undertaken.

7 CONCLUSION

The study showed that there were detectable differences between the groups of DIs and HIs, when facing some of the dilemmas, we presented. The most notable difference, was a difference in how the two groups prioritized responsibility versus neutrality in the interpreter role. DIs seemed (in more situations than HIs) to take on the responsibility for other aspects of the situation besides interpreting, along the lines of the Bicultural-Bilingual Model. HIs generally seemed to stick to a narrower definition of the interpreter's role, often emphasizing that the task is "just interpreting", along the lines of the Conduit Model.

As shown above, some of the differences between HIs and DIs might stem from different training backgrounds, and/or different interpreting experiences, and this only underlines the importance of dialogue and discussion of ethics in the interpreting community in Denmark - such as has been initiated recently.

The study also highlights some areas that need to be investigated further. One of the hypotheses derived from the findings of this study, is that working as a DI in a DHI-team, affects the role of the DI in such a way that it influences his/her sense of responsibility and neutrality in relation to the consumers. A more largescale survey should be conducted to validate this hypothesis.

Based on our findings we recommend that the different positions in the DHI-team must be debated among interpreters and consumers as part of the current process in Denmark, and that it be considered when the new CPC/CoE is being developed.

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