



INTERNATIONAL KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER IN TURKEY THE CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETER'S ROLE IN CONTEXT

Seyda Eraslan Gercek

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EYDA ERASLAN

INTERNATIONAL KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER IN TURKEY:
THE CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETER'S ROLE IN CONTEXT

DOCTORAL THESIS

Supervised by Dr Franz Pöchhacker and Dr Ebru Diriker

Intercultural Studies Group



ROVIRA I VIRGILI UNIVERSITY
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Abstract

This thesis aims to explore the complex role of consecutive interpreters in relation to context. According to the theoretical perspective adopted, context shapes how interpreters are positioned and position themselves within an interaction. Context is conceived of as a multi-level framework comprising the textual level (negotiated by all participants throughout the interaction), the interactional level (the event itself), and the institutional level (including institutions as well as the socio-cultural and socio-professional contexts). Linking the interpreter's choices and decisions regarding meaning, translation, and coordination at the utterance level to issues of role and power informed by ethnographic information at the interactional, socio-cultural, and socio-professional levels is fundamental to the present study. The empirical focus is interpreting in seminars run by a Turkish public institution and supported by an international organization in the framework of the country's development towards EU accession. These events, characterized mainly by the interpreters' proximity to the participants and hence greater involvement in the interaction, are analyzed with a view to studying interactional issues arising in face-to-face, dialogic communication based on actual discourse. The case study relies on the triangulation of several sources and types of data and of different research methods and settings in order to provide a deeper understanding and a rich description of the interpreter's role in context. In accordance with the fieldwork strategy, the focus is on real-life contexts and naturally occurring data, including user and interpreter surveys, interviews, and video-recordings of interpreted interactions. The findings of the study reveal that there may be a gap between the general role definitions of interpreters and the strategies they are expected to adopt. User expectations vary depending on situational factors and the role perceptions of interpreters do not necessarily match reality. The analysis of the interpreter's role in two different events exhibiting a varying degree of formality and interactivity but sharing the same institutional context, interpreting mode, and interpreter, demonstrates the influence of context (the nature and the features of the event, including user expectations) on the interpreter's role. It also reveals that contradictions might and do exist between the interpreter's initial or acquired habitus and norms, and his or her interpreting strategies in real-life cross-cultural encounters.



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wien

**Center for Translation Studies
University of Vienna**

Prof. Dr. Franz Pöchhacker
Gymnasiumstraße 50
A- 1190 Wien (Austria)

T +43 1 4277-580 05
F +43 1 4277-580 08
franz.poechhacker@univie.ac.at

Certificate of Supervision

I, Franz Pöchhacker, Associate Professor in the Department of Translation Studies of the University of Vienna,

CERTIFY: That the present study, entitled “International Knowledge Transfer in Turkey: The Consecutive Interpreter’s Role in Context”, presented by Seyda Eraslan for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under my supervision at the Department of Translation and Intercultural Studies of Rovira I Virgili University, and that it fulfils all the requirements to be eligible for the title of European Doctorate.

Vienna, 27 April 2011

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Franz Pöchhacker'.

(Prof. Dr. Franz Pöchhacker)

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies

I, Ebru Diriker, Associate Professor in the Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies of Boğaziçi University,

CERTIFY: That the present study, entitled "International Knowledge Transfer in Turkey: The Consecutive Interpreter's Role in Context", presented by Şeyda Eraslan for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under my supervision at the Department of Translation and Intercultural Studies of Rovira I Virgili University, and that it fulfils all the requirements to be eligible for the title of European Doctorate.

Istanbul, 27 April 2011



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS.....	7
2.1. Interpreting	7
2.2. Conference interpreting	7
2.2.1. Definitions and features.....	7
2.2.2. From conferences to encounters	8
2.3. Simultaneous interpreting.....	9
2.3.1. Definitions and features.....	9
2.3.2. Types, settings and situations	10
2.4. Consecutive interpreting	11
2.4.1. Definitions and features.....	11
2.4.2. Types, settings and situations	12
2.5. Dialogue interpreting vs. consecutive interpreting	14
2.6. Liaison interpreting vs. consecutive interpreting.....	15
2.7. Community interpreting vs. consecutive interpreting.....	17
2.8. Discussion	19
CHAPTER 3: APPROACHES IN INTERPRETING STUDIES AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES.....	21
3.1. Approaches in interpreting studies	21
3.2. Research on consecutive interpreting	22
3.2.1. Consecutive interpreting as a cognitive process	23
3.2.2. Consecutive interpreting as interaction	23
3.2.2.1. Role	24
3.2.2.2. Context.....	27
3.3. Research objectives.....	30
CHAPTER 4: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY.....	35
4.1. Habitus	35
4.2. Context.....	38

4.3. Role	41
4.3.1. Social Interaction.....	41
4.3.1.1. Interaction, performance, front, appearance, and manner	42
4.3.1.2. Discrepant roles	43
4.3.1.2.1. The non-person	43
4.3.1.2.2. The mediator or go-between.....	44
4.3.1.3. Social roles and role distance	44
4.3.1.3.1. The normative role	45
4.3.1.3.2. The typical role	45
4.3.1.3.3. Role performance	45
4.3.1.3.4. Role distance.....	45
4.3.2. The participation framework.....	46
4.4. Methodology.....	48
CHAPTER 5: THE TURKISH CONTEXT	51
5.1. The socio-cultural context: Turkey.....	51
5.1.1. A brief description.....	51
5.1.2. EU accession process	52
5.1.2.1. European or not?.....	53
5.1.2.2. Turkey's harmonization process.....	55
5.1.2.3. Implications for translation & interpreting.....	56
5.2. The socio-professional context: interpreting in Turkey	59
5.2.1. The history of conference interpreting in Turkey	59
5.2.2. The Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey	60
5.2.3. Training and research	62
CHAPTER 6: NORMATIVE VS. TYPICAL ROLE: USER PERSPECTIVE.....	65
6.1. Purpose and design of the user surveys.....	65
6.1.1. Survey instrument	65
6.2. User survey: Event 1	66
6.2.1. Description of Event 1	66
6.2.2. Survey administration and participants	67
6.2.3. Analysis	67

6.2.3.1. Normative role	67
6.2.3.2. Typical role.....	72
6.2.3.3. Discussion	75
6.3. User survey: Event 2.....	75
6.3.1. Description of Event 2.....	75
6.3.2. Survey administration and participants	76
6.3.3. Analysis	77
6.3.3.1. Normative role.....	77
6.3.3.2. Typical role.....	81
6.3.3.3. Discussion	84
6.4. Comparison of the findings obtained from two events.....	85
CHAPTER 7: NORMATIVE VS. TYPICAL ROLE: INTERPRETER PERSPECTIVE.....	89
7.1. Interpreter surveys	89
7.1.1. Survey administration and interpreters.....	89
7.1.2. Analysis	90
7.1.2.1. Normative role.....	90
7.1.2.2. Typical role.....	93
7.1.2.3. Discussion	95
7.2. Interviews	96
7.2.1. Purpose and design of the interviews	96
7.2.2. Interpreters.....	98
7.2.3. Analysis	98
7.2.3.1. Role	98
7.2.3.2. Mode	98
7.2.3.3. Quality.....	100
7.2.3.4. User expectations and context.....	101
7.2.3.5. Interpreting strategies.....	102
7.2.3.6. Neutrality.....	103
7.2.3.7. Discussion	106
CHAPTER 8: THE CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETER IN (INTER)ACTION	107
8.1. Purpose of the analysis.....	107

8.2. Data Sources	108
8.2.1. Video recordings	108
8.2.2. Transcripts	108
8.2.3. Unit of analysis	109
8.2.4. The retrospective interview	110
8.3. Description of the events	110
8.3.1. Event 1	110
8.3.1.1. General description	110
8.3.1.2. Conference program.....	112
8.3.1.3. Layout	113
8.3.2. Event 2.....	114
8.3.2.1. General description	114
8.3.2.2. Layout	115
8.4. Analysis of the transcriptions: Event 1	116
8.4.1. Pronoun Use.....	116
8.4.1.1. Interpreter directly addressing/addressed by the primary interlocutors.....	117
8.4.1.1.1. Interpreter establishing direct dialogue with the primary interlocutors	117
8.4.1.1.2. Primary interlocutors referring to the other party in the third person	138
8.4.1.1.3. Interpreter referring to the primary interlocutors in the third person	141
8.4.1.1.4. Discussion.....	147
8.4.1.2. Interpreter consulting/consulted by the primary interlocutors.....	147
8.4.1.2.1. Interpreter consulting the participants.....	148
8.4.1.2.2. Interpreter consulting the speaker	155
8.4.1.2.3. Parties consulting the interpreter.....	157
8.4.1.2.4. Discussion.....	160
8.4.1.3. Interpreter's use of the pronoun "we"	161
8.4.1.3.1. To include everyone in the room	161
8.4.1.3.2. To avoid "I"	164
8.4.1.3.3. To avoid "you"	167

8.4.1.3.4. To repair the impersonal.....	170
8.4.1.3.5. Discussion.....	174
8.4.2. Divergent Renditions.....	175
8.4.2.1. Non-renditions.....	175
8.4.2.2. Zero renditions.....	176
8.4.2.3. Substituted renditions.....	176
8.4.2.4. Reduced renditions.....	176
8.4.2.5. Expanded renditions.....	177
8.4.2.6. Summarized renditions.....	177
8.4.2.7. Discussion.....	177
8.5. Analysis of the transcriptions: Event 2.....	178
8.5.1. Pronoun use.....	178
8.5.2. Divergent renditions.....	179
8.5.2.1. Non-renditions.....	179
8.5.2.2. Zero renditions.....	179
8.5.2.3. Substituted renditions.....	180
8.5.2.4. Expanded renditions.....	180
8.5.2.5. Discussion.....	191
8.6. Comparison of the findings obtained from two events.....	192
CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION.....	195
9.1. Review of research objectives, theoretical approach and methods.....	195
9.2. Summary and discussion of findings.....	196
9.2.1. Conceptual and theoretical foundations.....	196
9.2.2. The socio-cultural and socio-professional contexts.....	197
9.2.3. User perspective.....	199
9.2.4. Interpreter perspective.....	201
9.2.5. The consecutive interpreter in (inter)action.....	201
9.3. Key results.....	205
9.4. Final remarks.....	206
REFERENCES.....	209
APPENDICES.....	219
A. USER EXPECTATIONS SURVEY.....	219

B. TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTION	221
C. TRANSCRIPTS OF SESSION 4, SECTION 2.....	223

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "completeness of information"
- Figure 2. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "correct terminological usage/word choice"
- Figure 3. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "fluent and pleasant delivery"
- Figure 4. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "fidelity to the original speech"
- Figure 5. Question 3, end-users' descriptions of the task of the interpreter
- Figure 6. Question 4, end-users' ratings of the position of the interpreter
- Figure 7. Question 9, end-users' ratings of interpreters' general strategy
- Figure 8. Question 5, end-users' preferences for interpreters to imitate the gestures of the speaker
- Figure 9. Question 7, end-users' preferences for interpreters to correct the speaker if he or she has made a mistake
- Figure 10. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "completeness of information"
- Figure 11. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "correct terminological usage/word choice"
- Figure 12. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "fluent and pleasant delivery"
- Figure 13. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "fidelity to the original speech"
- Figure 14. Question 3, end-users' descriptions of the task of the interpreter
- Figure 15. Question 4, end-users' ratings of the position of the interpreter
- Figure 16. Question 9, end-users' ratings of interpreters' general strategy
- Figure 17. Question 5, end-users' preferences for interpreters to imitate the gestures of the speaker
- Figure 18. Question 7, end-users' preferences for interpreters to correct the speaker if he or she has made a mistake
- Figure 19. Question 1, interpreters' ratings of the criterion of "completeness of information"
- Figure 20. Question 1, interpreters' ratings of the criterion of "correct terminological usage/word choice"
- Figure 21. Question 1, interpreters' ratings of the criterion of "fluent and pleasant delivery"
- Figure 22. Question 1, interpreters' ratings of the criterion of "fidelity to the original speech"
- Figure 23. Question 3, interpreters' descriptions of the task of the interpreter
- Figure 24. Question 4, interpreters' ratings of the position of the interpreter
- Figure 25. Question 9, interpreters' ratings of interpreters' general strategy

Figure 26. Question 5, interpreters' preferences for interpreters to imitate the gestures of the speaker

Figure 27. Question 7, interpreters' preferences of for interpreters to correct the speaker if he or she has made a mistake

Figure 28. Layout during the seminars in Event 1

Figure 29. Layout during group work in Event 1

Figure 30. Layout during the meeting in Event 2

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Question 2, end-users' preferences for interpreters' strategies when they encounter foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in the target language

Table 2. Question 6, end-users' preferences for interpreters to imitate the intonation of the speaker

Table 3. Question 8, end-users' preferences for interpreters to add their explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings

Table 4. Question 2, end-users' preferences for interpreters' strategies when they encounter foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in the target language

Table 5. Question 6, end-users' preferences for interpreters to imitate the intonation of the speaker

Table 6. Question 8, end-users' preferences for interpreters to add explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings

Table 7. Question 2, interpreters' preferences for interpreters' strategies when they encounter foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in the target language

Table 8. Question 6, interpreters' preferences for interpreters to imitate the intonation of the speaker

Table 9. Question 8, interpreters' preferences for interpreters to add their explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings

Table 10. Thematic structure of the training in Event 1

Table 11. Length of the sessions and sections recorded in Event 1

Table 12. Divergent renditions in Event 1

1. Introduction

Thanks to the prominent individual and collective efforts of scholars to establish the study of interpreting as “a *subject* in academia” (Pöchhacker 2004: 34), interpreting studies has gradually become a field in its own right. The increasing academic interest in various types of interpreting, and in particular in interpreting activities that take place in intra-social settings (i.e. community interpreting), has led to an increasing breadth and number of publications on interpreting.

Over the past few decades, a division of the field into the study of interpreting in international conference settings and interpreting in community-based settings appears to have emerged. However, the distinction is not always clear and the present study will help to explain why. With a focus on the consecutive mode of interpreting, it explores the common ground and crossover features of conference and dialogue interpreting by investigating interpreters’ performance in face-to-face interaction in conference-like situations.

Although consecutive interpreting is the most widely practised type of interpreting, it has received less attention in the literature than simultaneous interpreting in conference settings. Most studies on consecutive interpreting have dealt with it as a processing mode, focusing on “classic consecutive” (Pöchhacker 2004: 19) or “consecutive interpreting proper” (Dam 1993: 311), described as involving note-taking, monologic communication, unidirectionality, and longer speaker turns. Consecutive interpreting characterized by dialogic communication, shorter speaker turns, and (usually) bidirectional mode, on the other hand, has mainly been dealt with in studies on intra-social settings. However, consecutive interpreting in settings such as diplomatic negotiations, business meetings, and training seminars performed in bidirectional mode with or without note-taking has received almost no scholarly attention. The present study aims to fill this gap and discuss interactional issues arising in face-to-face, dialogic communication in consecutive conference interpreting, focusing on interpreting as interaction in “conference-like situations”. Although the scope of the present study is defined as consecutive interpreting, the interactional issues it intends to discuss are more familiar in the study of dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting than in research on consecutive interpreting proper. Therefore, this study does not focus exclusively on consecutive conference interpreting but hopes to encourage reflection on the common core

features and fundamental similarities between certain types of conference interpreting and dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting.

The consecutive interpreter's role will be explored in the specific context of interpreting at events related to Turkey's official EU candidacy. The development that is currently underway in Turkey is far more comprehensive than the objective of full EU membership and has made the role of translators and interpreters central to all political processes. Various institutions, units, and associations have assumed the crucial responsibility of translating, interpreting, and training of translators and interpreters. Interpretation is provided in formal settings such as the negotiations, summits, and meetings attended by the acceding country, the EU, and national governments. A significant amount of interpreting work also takes place at meetings, conferences, and training seminars organized by ministries, public institutions, non-governmental organizations, and universities, and funded by the EU and other international organizations. This study aims to analyze the interpreting activity that takes place in the latter, focusing on the international knowledge transfer or exchange within the overall development that is taking place in Turkey.

Focusing on Turkish pre-accession seminars, this study aims to explore the complex role of the consecutive interpreter in context. This complex role, which is influenced by factors such as user expectations, context, role perceptions, and the presence and performance of interpreters, is analyzed with a view to interactional issues arising in face-to-face, dialogic communication. To this end, the difference, if any, between the normative role (the general role definitions of interpreters) and the typical role (specific strategies interpreters adopt) is explored through user surveys applied in two events with varying degrees of formality and interactivity within the same macro-context.

In addition to empirically exploring the difference between the normative and the typical role of the interpreter, we compare the findings obtained from the two events to offer another significant dimension of the survey data. The user perspective is complemented with the interpreter perspective obtained from surveys and interviews that aim to explore the role perceptions of interpreters who have experience in the types of events under study. Through surveys and interviews, this study aims to examine how interpreters perceive their own role and how they actually position themselves in relation to the other interlocutors in the interactions. Whereas quantitative data yielded by the surveys provide a general overview of expectations and role perceptions, qualitative data obtained from the interviews provide the opportunity to add depth to the overall evaluation, making triangulation of various types and sources of data possible. Moreover, the user perspective and the interpreter perspective are

compared and contrasted with real-life interpreting data in order to shed light on the divergences and convergences between what is said and what is done. To this end, the performance of the same interpreter in two video-recorded events with different levels of formality and interactivity within the same macro-context is analyzed in order to gain insight into the effect of context on the interpreter's role performance.

This study approaches context as a dynamic, multi-level framework that forms and is formed by the interactions between the interlocutors. The macro-context consists of the socio-cultural and socio-professional contexts, whereas the micro-context is constantly negotiated and re-negotiated between the parties in the interaction through the way they address each other. The event or the interaction itself constitutes the third level, which is located between the macro- and micro-contexts. All contextual levels shaping the interpreter's role are analyzed in order to provide a rich description of the interpreter's role in context. In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the interpreter's role, the contradictions between the interpreter's initial or acquired habitus and his or her interpreting strategies in real-life are explored. Habitus, which was theoretically discussed by Inghilleri (2003, 2005a, 2005b), therefore, forms the overall theoretical framework for the analysis of role. Context constitutes another key concept of the theoretical framework, whereas the conceptual framework consists of Goffman's social interaction model, brought into interpreting research by Wadensjö (1998) but not empirically explored as in the present study. Participation framework is also referred to and production roles by Merlini & Favaron (2003, 2005) are used as practical tools for analyzing footing traced to the choice of address and pronoun use by the interlocutors in the interaction.

Chapter 2 lays the conceptual foundations of the study, discussing the position adopted towards the most important concepts that will be used. This chapter describes types of interpreting based on various definitions and criteria. Consecutive interpreting in conference settings and conference-like situations (or encounters) is compared with dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting and fundamental similarities and differences are discussed. It is shown that the factors that are assumed to distinguish dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting from consecutive interpreting in conference settings and conference-like situations are not always sufficient, leaving the borders between them somewhat fuzzy.

Chapter 3 reviews the existing literature on interpreting, taking as a basis different approaches with a focus on consecutive. Relevant studies on consecutive interpreting are reviewed in two sections, one on consecutive interpreting as a cognitive process and one on consecutive interpreting as interaction. The latter, which reflects the perspective of this study,

consists of the review of two fundamental concepts, role and context, that form the main pillars of this study. The research objectives discussed at length at the end of this chapter are based on the desire to link broader situational and contextual concerns with the micro-analysis of interaction, with a focus on the choices and decisions of the interpreter. Taking role in context as the focal point, the research questions are aimed at exploring user expectations in two events and role perceptions of interpreters. Differences between the normative and typical role of the interpreter and the effect of context on the interpreter's role performance are explored by analyzing interpreting data obtained from two events. The overall research objective is to examine whether and how the interpreter's role differs from his or her predefined role by analyzing interpreting in relation to several layers of context.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the grounding theories and the methodology adopted. The concepts of habitus—and its use by translation (and interpreting) scholars—and context constitute the overarching theoretical framework. The concept of role, which is encompassed by the interpreter's habitus, forms a more concrete reference point. This chapter also outlines the methodology adopted in this study, which can be characterized as a case study, and the approach to data collection and analysis, which consists of a fieldwork strategy using mixed methods, that is, relying on both quantitative and qualitative data.

Following the theoretical foundations, the Turkish context is presented in Chapter 5. In accordance with the multi-layer approach, the macro-context consisting of the socio-cultural context (Turkey in an overall development process) and the socio-professional context (interpreting in Turkey) is analyzed. To this end, the implications of the development process for translation and interpreting are discussed, and the latter is described in terms of the key actors and developments in the institutionalization and practice of interpreting as well as in interpreter training and research in Turkey.

Within this macro-context, the analysis is narrowed down, in Chapters 6 and 7, to the event level or the interaction level. Following a detailed description of the events under study, user and interpreter perspectives regarding the interpreter's role are explored respectively through surveys and interviews. Besides combining user and interpreter perspectives on the consecutive interpreter's role, the survey sets out to explore empirically the difference between the general role definition of the interpreter and the specific strategies interpreters are expected to apply. In addition to revealing this difference between the normative role and typical role of the interpreter as perceived by users and interpreters themselves, the results of the user surveys obtained from two events with different features within the same macro-context are compared in order to determine whether user expectations vary depending on the

group and the event (interactional context) within the same institutional context. Interviews with interpreters supply a deeper understanding of the interpreter's role in context, complementing the findings of the user expectations survey. Four interpreters who had experience in both types of events under study were interviewed for the triangulation of data and a richer discussion of findings, revealing the influence of a variety of factors—ranging from mode and user profiles to expectations and features of the event—on the active role and involvement of interpreters.

Ultimately, an understanding of the interpreter's role in context requires an analysis of interpreting performance in real-life encounters, which is the focus of Chapter 8. The transcriptions, videos, and field notes obtained from two different events are analyzed with the purpose of exploring the degree of involvement of the interpreter, reflected in various patterns and strategies at the utterance level. The macro-context of consecutive conference interpreting in Turkey was the same in both events under study, as was the institution and the interpreter. Through close observation of the transcripts of video-recorded interactions, pronoun use and divergent renditions are the main categories of analysis used to find evidence of the active role and involvement of the interpreter. The findings are enriched and corroborated by data from a retrospective interview with the interpreter whose performance is analyzed.

This study on the interpreter's role and the complex, intertwined contextual factors shaping that role is designed to contribute a new theoretical perspective and empirical findings to the ongoing debate on the ambivalent role of interpreter. The study of user expectations, interpreters' role perceptions and actual interpreting performance reflects the gaps between what is said on a normative level and what is actually done in a particular instance of interpreting in context.

2. Conceptual Foundations

This chapter defines the concepts relevant to studying the role of the consecutive interpreter in context and discusses the position adopted towards these concepts in the present study.

2.1. Interpreting

Interpreting is usually defined with reference to its most obvious difference from other types of translation: the fact that it is more instantaneous than translation (Seleskovitch 1978: 2). Otto Kade (1968) defined interpreting as a form of translation in the broadest sense which is characterized by the features of immediacy and irreversibility. Pöchhacker summarizes Kade's definitional approach as follows, "interpreting is a form of translation in which a *first and final rendition in another language* is produced on the basis of a *one-time presentation* of an utterance in a source language" (Pöchhacker 2004: 11). This definition does not emphasize orality but includes both spoken and signed language interpreting, in addition to sight translation, which is relevant to the present study.

2.2. Conference interpreting

2.2.1. Definitions and features

In its most widely used sense, the term conference interpreting refers to "the use of consecutive or simultaneous interpreting at a conference or a meeting" (Phelan 2001: 6). Whether it is simultaneous or consecutive depends on factors such as the availability of equipment, the nature of the event (whether it is multilateral, interactive, etc.), the needs of the participants and the funding available. Though there is high demand for both types in today's globalized world, simultaneous interpreting in the booth is the predominant mode in multilateral communication events involving various languages. However, it is important to note that simultaneous interpreting does not necessarily require the use of equipment (see 2.3. on simultaneous interpreting).

2.2.2. From conferences to encounters

According to a working definition that emerged from an AIIC meeting in the 1980s:

A Conference Interpreter is a person who by profession acts as a responsible linguistic intermediary (alone or more often as a member of a team) *in a formal or informal conference or conference-like situation*, thanks to his or her ability to provide simultaneous or consecutive oral interpretation of participants' speeches, regardless of their length and complexity (AIIC Bulletin 1984: 21, emphasis added).

This definition indicates that interpreters work not only at conferences but also at the types of meetings subsumed under the expression “conference-like situations”, a term that is not explicitly defined. However, as conference interpreting covers both the simultaneous and consecutive modes, this term might imply a wide range of situations varying in the level of interactivity and formality, the number of participants, and the features of the overall event. With regard to the work of the interpreters, other factors that may vary are the specific setting, the directionality, the mode of production, and the user expectations. In one way or another all these factors can be said to influence the way conference interpreting is perceived, defined, and performed. However, distinctions such as setting, monologic vs. dialogic communication, interactivity or directionality are not always sufficient to categorize interpreting situations as conference or non-conference interpreting (Kalina 2002: 173). Kalina considers that conference interpreting does not take place only “at large international conferences but also in settings where dialogic communication takes place” and adds that “the trend is from ‘conference’ to ‘event’ and this is bound to have an impact on the character of interpreting” (2002: 173). An interpreter-mediated event is not necessarily small and could also involve media participation, though Kalina seems to associate the term “event” with a smaller number of participants and hence a more personal and informal atmosphere. In fact, the term “encounter” (Wadensjö 1998, Angelelli 2004) might be more appropriate for this type of situation and brings the notion of interpreter-mediated events closer to liaison or dialogue interpreting (see 2.5. and 2.6. on dialogue and liaison interpreting). These forms of interpreting usually have an interpersonal nature and the participants of the encounter interchangeably assume the roles of speaker and addressee. The exchange between the parties in the interaction might also imply more involvement on the interpreter’s part, either in the simultaneous or the consecutive mode of production.

Daniel Gile made an attempt to differentiate the types of encounters handled by conference interpreters. Among the types of interpreter-mediated events he categorized according to the information flows in meetings and conferences, the events analyzed in the present study correspond to “seminars and technical courses” (Gile 1989). This type of interpreter-mediated event involves an intensive information flow, as do large scientific and technical conferences and official dinners (Gile 1989: 656). According to Gile (1989: 656), the information flow at these meetings is usually unilateral, unlike the information flow at meetings of international organizations, ministerial meetings, negotiations, and debates. However, this does not necessarily mean that these meetings are not interactive. If the knowledge of one party is greater than that of the other, the information flow will be unilateral but bilateral discussion may take place in the form of questions and answers. This is the case of seminars, technical courses, and scientific and technical conferences (Gile 1989). On the other hand, if the two parties are equally knowledgeable in a field, the discussions may involve an information flow in both directions.

In addition to the direction of the information flow, the features of the information—i.e. whether it is technical or quantitative and given before, during or after the meeting—have an influence on the role and performance of the interpreters. Gile (1989) also stresses that interpreting is a social and organizational activity and that psychological and social parameters have a determining effect on user expectations and on the real-life performance of interpreters.

The present study adopts this broad perspective on conference interpreting, involving simultaneous interpreting (with or without equipment) and consecutive interpreting, and including conference-like situations or encounters.

2.3. Simultaneous interpreting

2.3.1. Definitions and features

Simultaneous interpreting is defined in a professional rather than scholarly manner by AIIC, referring specifically to interpreting in the booth:

In simultaneous mode, the interpreter sits in a booth with a clear view of the meeting room and the speaker and listens to and simultaneously interprets the speech into a target language. Simultaneous interpreting requires a booth (fixed or mobile) that meets ISO standards of acoustic isolation, dimensions, air quality and accessibility as well as appropriate equipment (headphones, microphones) (AIIC 2010).

This narrow definition refers to the prototypical, most widely practised use of simultaneous interpreting, in which the interpreter is isolated from the setting in a booth and is not in direct contact with the participants. This definition does not include whispered interpreting (see 2.3.2 below), which also takes place simultaneously, with the interpreter in close contact with the participant(s)—usually even closer than in consecutive interpreting. In sight translation (see 2.3.2 below) there may also be situations in which the interpreter interprets simultaneously, without the use of equipment and therefore not at a distance from the participants.

Broadly speaking, simultaneous interpreting is the type of interpretation provided as the source-language text is being presented or perceived (cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 18). This definition includes whispered interpreting and sight translation and does not limit simultaneous interpreting to working in a booth using technical equipment. According to this definition, simultaneous interpreting is related to the simultaneity of the original speech and the target speech rather than the means used and the setting in which it is done. Simultaneous interpreting can also be practised in dialogue, liaison and/or community interpreting. This broader definition is the one adopted in the present study.

2.3.2. Types, settings, and situations

Simultaneous interpreting without the use of equipment is the standard mode in signed-language interpreting and is also possible in spoken-language interpreting through whispering, or chuchotage. Whispered interpreting is used in circumstances in which the majority of a group speaks the source language and a minority do not. According to AIIC, whispered interpreting “is an interpreting mode whereby the interpreter is seated next to one or two meeting participants and whispers the interpretation of the speech” (AIIC 2010). In whispered mode, the interpreter interprets simultaneously without using equipment. It can take place in a variety of settings and situations into both A and B languages, ranging from the courtroom to

bilateral business or diplomatic negotiations. Whispering may be preferred in both conference and non-conference interpreting, either within a small group or between two interlocutors.

In sight translation, a written text is rendered in real-time. Like whispered interpreting, sight translation is embedded in a variety of conference and non-conference settings. An interpreter may need to do sight translation while interpreting simultaneously, through the use of texts or PowerPoint presentations and/or graphs on screen, inside and outside the booth. The situations that require sight translating and whispered interpreting are highly diverse.

Simultaneous interpreters might be expected to work in both directions, not only in the booth but also in whispered mode and during sight translation. The need to work in two directions (A to B and B to A), i.e. bilateral interpreting, might indicate that the communication that takes place is dialogic rather than monologic. Dialogic communication might be in the form of questions from one party and answers from the other or comments by both. But the interpreter might also be working in two directions even though the communication that takes place is not necessarily dialogic, so there may not be a one-to-one communication between the parties. Bilateral interpreting can take place in both monologic and dialogic communication situations involving simultaneous interpreting in the broader sense, and refers to directionality rather than interactivity.

2.4 Consecutive interpreting

2.4.1. Definitions and features

Consecutive interpreting as defined by AIIC refers specifically to interpreting for delegates at conferences and meetings:

The interpreter providing consecutive interpretation sits at the same table with the delegates or at the speaker's platform and interprets a speech into the target language after the speaker speaks. The length of the speeches varies. For this purpose the interpreter may take notes (AIIC 2010).

Though consecutive interpreting is typically associated with conference interpreting, it is also closely related to dialogue and liaison interpreting. In the broader sense, consecutive

interpreting is the type of interpreting in which the interpreter renders the speech “after the source-language utterance” (Pöchhacker 2004: 18). Unlike simultaneous interpreting, in consecutive interpreting the interpreter does not start translating before the speaker stops talking. The term consecutive interpreting “covers a broad conceptual spectrum, from sentence-by-sentence or short consecutive to the rendering of dense, long speeches on the basis of notes” (Pöchhacker 2011: 305). As discussed above with respect to simultaneous interpreting, consecutive interpreters might and do work from A to B language and from B to A language in both monologic and dialogic communication in a number of situations and settings. Thus, bidirectionality, i.e. working into both languages, is acceptable and required in consecutive interpreting.

2.4.2. Types, settings, and situations

Consecutive interpreting is usually taken to refer to “classic consecutive” (Pöchhacker 2004: 19) or “consecutive interpreting proper” (Dam 1993: 311). It involves note-taking and speaker turns are longer. In short consecutive, as its name suggests, shorter turns are taken in the interaction and the interpreter renders the original speech consecutively without taking notes and usually in a bidirectional mode. Although consecutive interpreting involves direct communication, the interpreter’s proximity to the speakers and/or participants varies depending on the situation of interaction, affecting his or her role and involvement in the interaction. A consecutive interpreter can be at a greater distance from the participants at large meetings or rallies, where a microphone is usually needed (Alexieva 1997: 159). At meetings and conferences with fewer participants, on the other hand, the interpreter is physically closer to the participants. In such situations the interpreter is right there in the midst of the interaction. The participants and the interpreter are in direct eye contact with each other, which could make it easier for the interpreter to intervene and be more active in the interaction.

In addition to the physical situation, another factor that affects the consecutive interpreter’s role and involvement is the formality of the event. Consecutive interpreting is performed in a variety of settings and situations differing in formality and interactivity. According to Do an (2000: 65), meetings held in the consecutive mode can be categorized into three groups. The first category refers to meetings involving more than 20 participants, where PowerPoint presentations are commonly used. The speaker is on a platform and the

interpreter stands next to the speaker taking notes in order to translate a speech of 5 to 10 minutes. The communication between the speaker and the interpreter is rather limited (Do an 2000: 65-66). This type of consecutive interpreting can be understood as “classic consecutive” or “consecutive interpreting proper”. However, the features described seem to be too specific: the number of participants may be higher and the speech may be longer. The use of a microphone could be a more obvious indicator for defining this type of meeting than the use of a platform.

The second category includes meetings with 15 to 20 participants. In this format, the interpreter is sitting at the table together with the parties. The interpreter can easily communicate with the parties and speaker turns are shorter than in the first category. Workshops, training seminars, executive board meetings and briefings are examples of this type of meeting.

The third category consists of bilateral communication, which involves liaison or escort interpreting (Do an 2000: 66).

These categories may be valid and acceptable for a number of situations, but it is not always that easy to say where one ends and the other starts. Shorter speaker turns take place in the second category, but there is no reference to a very determining factor of an interpreter-mediated event: directionality. Directionality is mentioned only in relation to the third type, namely liaison and escort interpreting. Consecutive interpreters might and usually do work in two directions at events that correspond to the second category. The interpreter can also stand next to the speaker, e.g., at a training seminar, rather than sitting at the table together with the participants. Indeed, Do an (personal interview, November 2010) mentions that these features categorizing how consecutive interpreters work do not apply strictly to every situation. They might vary from context to context, depending on many factors such as the nature of the event, expectations, and physical conditions. Interpreting situations are as diverse as communication situations. Therefore, interpreting behavior should be analyzed in relation to the multi-level context in which it is rooted, as it is meaningful within the specific situation, the overall event, and the broader socio-cultural and socio-professional context. The present study, which attempts to discuss interactional issues in dialogic communication, focuses on consecutive interpreting in context.

2.5. Dialogue interpreting vs. consecutive interpreting

Pöchhacker defines the prototypical dialogue interpreting situation as a “three-party interaction, with a (bilingual) interpreter assuming the pivotal mediating role between two (monolingual) clients” (2004: 16). This definition of dialogue interpreting coincides with the notion of bilateral interpreting in terms of the bidirectionality of the interaction but in the former “the mode of communicative exchange” (Pöchhacker 2004: 16) or “the type of discourse involved” (Hertog & Reunbrouck 1999: 264) is emphasized.

Likewise, Mason (2001, 2009) considers “dialogue interpreting” as “a particular mode of interaction” (Mason 2009: 81), a description that transcends the boundaries of setting. Mason (2009: 81) defines the characteristics of dialogue interpreting as face-to-face, three-way exchange, which he also refers to as “triadic exchange”, spontaneous speech, and (usually) consecutive mode. The notion of triadic exchange, which implies the involvement of three people in the interaction including the interpreter, is also worth discussing, because the encounter might involve more than three people. A three-party exchange (Wadensjö 1998, Angelelli 2003) could be a more appropriate way of defining this form of interpreting. Mason describes the distinctions between dialogue and conference interpreting as follows:

Dialogue interpreting is thus to be distinguished from Conference Interpreting (both simultaneous and consecutive), which is typically monologic and does not involve face-to-face interaction (although dialogue encounters do take place on the fringe of conference activity) (Mason 1999: 147-148).

Interestingly enough, most of the characteristics of dialogue interpreting seem to apply to consecutive interpreting in conference settings and conference-like situations. And even simultaneous interpreting is not necessarily monologic. Moreover, both simultaneous and consecutive interpreting might involve face-to-face interaction especially in conference-like situations or encounters.

In another study, Mason defines several features of dialogue interpreting: three-way exchange, shifts of footing, power differentials, and competing discourses (2001: *ii*). These features characterizing dialogue interpreting are not limited to community interpreting settings but are also applicable to business negotiations, diplomatic interpreting, and even some types of media interpreting (Mason 2001: *iii*). This broad perspective of dialogue interpreting involving a variety of settings and both inter-social and intra-social situations

(Pöchhacker 2004) reflects the stance taken by this study towards the term. In comparison, consecutive interpreting might be conducted in a dialogic encounter in which the interpreter works in both directions. The interaction is inevitably face-to-face in consecutive interpreting, with the exception of telephone interpreting. Also, shifts in footing, i.e. the speaking subject, might and do occur and power differentials between the interlocutors can be said to have an influence on the interaction as well as on the interpreter's role in some consecutive interpreting situations. Competing discourses which are defined as "ways of saying and expressing that typify social groups and institutions" (Mason 2001: *ii*) are relevant to international constellations of interaction as much as they are to intra-social settings. As mentioned above, the three-way exchange might include a group of participants rather than two interlocutors. Therefore, none of these features are capable of marking clear differences between dialogue interpreting and consecutive interpreting.

Though Mason mentions the tensions that may arise in dialogue interpreting situations, tensions may also occur in consecutive interpreting in conference settings and conference-like situations and the interpreter may be under just as much pressure, depending on the importance of the event. In fact, it is true that conference interpreters "find themselves facing many of the interactional issues that are familiar within dialogue interpreting" (Mason 2009: 81). Conference-like situations—which can be characterized by short speaker turns, lack of formality, high interactivity, and bidirectionality—can be said to have more in common with dialogue interpreting than "consecutive interpreting proper" (Dam 1993: 311), which is characterized by longer speaker turns, formality, lack of interactivity, and unidirectionality. The present study hopes to focus attention on exactly these features of dialogic interaction in consecutive interpreting.

2.6. Liaison interpreting vs. consecutive interpreting

Another concept that is closely associated with dialogue interpreting is liaison interpreting, which, according to Gentile et. al. (1996: 17), "is the name given to the genre of interpreting where the interpreting is performed in two language directions by the same person". Among the skills needed for liaison interpreting, Hertog & Reunbrouck (1999: 274) mention "the ability to work in face-to-face situations with a small number of participants", without specifying what they consider to be a small number of participants. These explanations, which

emphasize directionality, face-to-face interaction, and the number of participants involved, fail to distinguish between liaison interpreting and consecutive interpreting in conference settings and conference-like situations, leaving the borders between them somewhat fuzzy.

Although setting is another factor that is assumed to define the type of interpreting activity, liaison interpreting takes place in both inter-social and intra-social settings ranging from business and commercial negotiations to medical interpreting. Gentile et al. (1996: ix) refer to “liaison interpreting in non-conference settings”, implying that liaison interpreting also takes place in conference settings. Likewise, according to Hertog & Reunbrouck (1999: 264), although liaison interpreting is used to refer to interpreting in various settings within community interpreting, “for conference interpreters, the term liaison is used strictly for consecutive interpreting without note-taking and involving a retour into the foreign language”. However, there might be consecutive interpreting situations that involve note-taking but at the same time include retour into the B language. Thus, such labels can be too narrow for the range of situations interpreters may encounter in real life and do not necessarily and strictly apply to every context.

Liaison interpreting in non-conference settings bears two similarities to consecutive interpreting in conference-like situations or encounters: face-to-face situations and the bidirectional nature. It may also share one feature with interpreting in conference-like situations or encounters: the presence of one or two interpreters in a setting. However, liaison interpreting can involve clients of “low, disadvantaged or marginalized status” and “very personal, sometimes even intimate, embarrassing, painful, intense topics” (Hertog & Reunbrouck 1999: 274). Though the events or encounters are usually structured, improvised speech may well take place during the interactions. Ultimately, status differences between the parties and the topics dealt with seem to distinguish liaison interpreting in non-conference settings from consecutive interpreting in conference-like situations.

Without differentiating between conference or non-conference settings, Gentile et al. refer to the factors which distinguish liaison interpreting from conference interpreting as:

- the physical proximity of the interpreter and the clients;
- an information gap between the clients;
- a likely status differential between the clients;
- working as an individual and not as part of a team (Gentile et al. 1996: 18).

Of these criteria, only the first is fully applicable to consecutive interpreting in conference settings and conference-like situations. The other three are only partly applicable because there may or may not be an information gap or a status differential and some consecutive interpreters in conference-like situations work as individuals.

Alexieva defines liaison interpreting as “a peripheral member of the consecutive interpreting family of interpreter-mediated events”. However, she considers that this type of interpreting comprises “spontaneous, improvised pieces of spoken discourse and the setting and communicative intention tend to be more ‘personal’” (Alexieva 1997: 159), a feature that clearly distinguishes it from conference-like situations. Alexieva states that the significant features of liaison interpreting are related to “the nature of contact and distance between the primary participants”:

Contact here is direct: it is not mediated by ancillary equipment and is characterized by a greater intensity of interaction, involving the engagement of all senses. [...] Feedback in this context is immediate due to the frequent interchange of roles (speaker and addressee). The interpersonal nature of this type of event is perhaps its most important feature and determines the function of all linguistic and non-linguistic codes employed in the exchange (Alexieva 1997: 160).

These features are valid for less formal and more interactive face-to-face, bidirectional encounters, as the roles of speaker and addressee change frequently and the participants might be involved in the discussion through questions and answers. Therefore, these features may also apply to a range of situations in conference-like settings.

2.7. Community interpreting vs. consecutive interpreting

Unlike dialogue interpreting, which focuses on the form of interaction, the notion of community interpreting focuses on the setting(s) in which the interpreting takes place. Community interpreting is referred to as “cultural interpreting” in Canada, “public service interpreting” in the UK, and “community-based interpreting” in Australia (Pöchhacker 2004: 15, Phelan 2001: 20, Corsellis 2008). It is defined as:

[...] interpreting which takes place in the public service sphere to facilitate communication between officials and lay people: at police departments, immigration departments, social welfare centers, medical and mental health offices, schools and similar institutions. (Wadensjö 2009: 43)

Mikkelson defines community interpreting in relation to clients or beneficiaries of the service. She considers that community interpreters “provide services for *residents of a community*, as opposed to diplomats, conference delegates, or professionals travelling abroad to conduct business” (Mikkelson 1996: 126-127, original emphasis).

The intra-social view of community interpreting as an activity that takes place in the public service sphere coincides with the perspective of community interpreting adopted in this study. Although community interpreting is typically carried out in the consecutive mode in both directions, it can also be provided simultaneously through whispering (Wadensjö 2009: 43). It is sometimes referred to as “dialogue interpreting” or “liaison interpreting” (see 2.5. and 2.6. for a discussion of these terms). According to Kalina (2002), some distinctions made between interpreting types should not be based on setting, type of communication and interactivity because these factors do not necessarily draw a line between the two subdisciplines of interpreting studies: conference and non-conference interpreting.

The distinction between consecutive interpreting in conference settings and community interpreting might seem more obvious than the distinction between dialogue/liaison interpreting and consecutive conference interpreting because community interpreting is perceived as taking place only within the context of public service. However, conference and community interpreting cannot simply be considered as opposites, because they are not on the same conceptual level, as discussed by Pöchhacker (2004: 13-16). In order to distinguish between them one must take into account the societal dimension (intra-social or inter-social) and whether the mode of communicative exchange is “multilateral conference or face-to-face dialogue” (Pöchhacker 2004: 16).

The discussion below concerning community and conference interpreting relates to setting instead of mode and can therefore be understood as focusing on intra-social and inter-social settings or conference and non-conference interpreting. The main differences between conference interpreting and community interpreting, according to Hale (2007), are mode, level of formality, proxemics, language directionality, status, participants, number of interpreters and consequences of inaccurate rendition. However, these distinctions do not apply to all types of situations and settings in which they are performed. As discussed above

with respect to dialogue and liaison interpreting, according to the perspective of this study, counter-arguments exist for all of these criteria except one: the setting or the situation of interaction.

The mode of interpreting can be simultaneous and/or consecutive in both conference and community interpreting. For example, simultaneous interpreting can commonly be performed both with and without equipment in the courtroom. The level of formality varies across settings and situations in both modes. Though community interpreters often work in highly formal, legal settings, they may also work in informal, personal situations such as therapy sessions. Likewise, not all settings in which conference interpreters work are equal in formality, ranging from negotiations at the parliamentary or ministerial level to training seminars, where the goal is simply the transfer of knowledge, and commercial meetings, which can be much less formal.

In terms of proxemics, interpreters are not necessarily distant from the speakers in conference interpreting, but close proximity to speakers is possible. Interpreting is not always unidirectional in conference settings involving conference-like situations: working into both languages is acceptable and required in a number of situations and settings in both simultaneous and consecutive interpreting. There may or may not be a status differential between the clients and the number of interpreters working in a conference setting may be one, two, or more.

Though it is not possible to claim that any of these factors clearly distinguish community interpreting from consecutive interpreting in conference settings, it is true that the consequences of inaccurate rendition can be much more serious in legal and medical settings than in conference settings. Thus, the most obvious of Hale's distinctions between conference interpreting and community interpreting may be the setting or the situation of interaction and the factors related thereto.

2.8 Discussion

In certain types of consecutive conference interpreting and in dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting, the similarities tend to outnumber the differences. Moreover, exactly the same techniques are employed in all forms. Both the core features and the basic skills needed are the same. It can be inferred from the above discussion that even the so-called

distinctive features of dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting do not strictly distinguish them from consecutive interpreting in conference settings. Different forms of interpreting cannot always be defined by features of the situation (note-taking, the length of the discourse segments interpreted, the number of participants, status, and power differences between the participants and the physical proximity between the clients and the interpreter), or by features of the event (interactivity, formality, directionality, and monologic/dialogic interaction). These categories do not have clear boundaries and not all types of dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting are different from consecutive conference interpreting. Therefore, the interactional issues arising in face-to-face, dialogic communication can be as relevant to consecutive conference interpreting as they are to dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting.

Real-life interpreter-mediated events should be approached on the basis of their position on a continuum rather than within rigid categories. There is a need for a broader perspective rather than labels, terms, and definitions based on criteria that are not well grounded. Interpreting is such a broad and general activity that it covers any situation in which direct communication is not possible across cultures and languages. The aim of interpreting, in its simplest form, is to provide communication in settings in which people do not speak the same language, and this is the basic idea taken as a starting point by this study.

Although the scope of the present study is defined as consecutive interpreting, the interactional issues it intends to discuss are more relevant to dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting than to consecutive interpreting proper. Therefore, this study does not focus exclusively on conference interpreting but hopes to encourage reflection on the common core features and fundamental similarities between certain types of conference interpreting and dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting.

3. Approaches in Interpreting Studies and Research Objectives

Following a discussion of the key terms, this chapter reviews the existing literature on interpreting, with a focus on consecutive interpreting, and ends with a statement of the research objectives.

3.1. Approaches in interpreting studies

Though conference interpreting became an established profession in the 1930s (Pöchhacker & Shlesinger 2002: 5), it was not until 1993 that the term “interpreting studies” was used for the first time in the literature (Salevsky 1993).

Despite the prominent individual and collective efforts of scholars “working towards establishing the study of interpreting as a *subject* in academia” (Pöchhacker 2004: 34), it took time for interpreting studies to become a field in its own right. Although it is a relatively young discipline, there are various approaches and paradigms within the field. Franz Pöchhacker classifies these paradigms as (1) the Interpretive Theory, (2) the Cognitive Processing Paradigm, (3) the Neurolinguistic Paradigm, (4) Target-Oriented Text Production (the TT Paradigm) and (5) the Dialogic Discourse-Based Interaction (DI) Paradigm (Pöchhacker 2004: 67-82).

The perspective adopted in the present study focuses on interpreting as a context-based, face-to-face communicative activity and explores the interactional dimensions of cross-cultural encounters. Therefore, this study positions itself within the Dialogic Discourse-Based Interaction Paradigm as it studies the interactional issues of dialogic communication. The Dialogic Discourse-Based Interaction Paradigm, as represented by Wadensjö and Roy, gained importance with the extension of interpreting studies to include community, dialogue, and liaison interpreting in the 1980s and 1990s. Through the emergence of this paradigm, interaction became a major focus, with “particular emphasis on the role of context and the dynamics of interactivity in face-to-face communication” (Pöchhacker 2004: 79). This shift, or broadening of focus, has been related to a “social turn” in interpreting studies that took place in a variety of research initiatives, as is illustrated by Pöchhacker (2006) with reference to concepts, memes, models, methodology, and epistemology. Accordingly, interpreting is conceptualized in social contexts of interaction, leading naturally to the understanding that it

is embedded in institutions and in society. Regarding the most important notions or memes, the mediator's identity, role, and power became more important in discourse. Studies on interpreting started to adopt a social-science approach towards interpreting and qualitative research became prominent, with a post-modern and non-essentialist epistemology (Pöchhacker 2006).

This study is also close to the position of the TT Paradigm, characterized by the transfer of ideas from translation theories, in terms of its focus on the situational and socio-cultural contexts. Although studies on translational norms (Shlesinger 1989, Schjoldager 1995/2002), and especially studies on simultaneous interpreting in context with a functionalist approach (Pöchhacker 1994), have been enlightening, this study dwells on discourse-based analysis in relation to context in consecutive interpreting. It is important to stress that issues like interaction and norms traced in actual discourse as well as expectations and codes of ethics are among the common concerns of the DI and TT Paradigms. The former, however, shares many features with the sociological and discourse approaches.

This study is the first attempt to discuss the dynamics of cross-cultural communication in consecutive interpreting in relation to broader issues of role and context. Therefore, previous perspectives specifically dealing with consecutive interpreting will be mentioned in the following section.

3.2. Research on consecutive interpreting

Although consecutive interpreting is the most widely practised type of interpreting, it has received less attention in the literature than simultaneous interpreting in conference settings. One of the reasons for this could be the challenge of accessibility. Obtaining recordings from events at which consecutive interpreters work is not easy, especially if video-recordings are needed. In addition to obtaining permission from the interpreters and conference organizers, one might need to obtain consent from all the participants. Moreover, the camera must be located so as to ensure audio and visual quality whilst avoiding disturbing or distracting the participants. Therefore, obtaining consecutive interpreting data is usually harder than obtaining simultaneous interpreting data.

A considerable part of the existing literature on consecutive interpreting focuses primarily on note-taking (Herbert 1952, Rozan 1956/2002, Gillies 2005) or on note-taking

and other skills in relation to training (Bowen & Bowen 1980, Dollerup & Loddegaard 1992, Ilg & Lambert 1996, Gillies 2001). Other studies that are of interest to this study will be reviewed in two sub-sections, depending on whether they approach consecutive interpreting as a cognitive process or as interaction.

3.2.1. Consecutive interpreting as a cognitive process

Previous studies on consecutive interpreting have mostly focused on long consecutive and dealt with consecutive interpreting as a processing mode. One of the earliest models focusing on the process of consecutive interpreting was proposed by Otto Kade (1963). This model consisted of the acoustic-phonetic and conceptual reception of the source-language text, the analytic processing and storage of conceptual content, the notation of conceptual content, the formulation of conceptual content in target language, the adaptation of target-language text, and the articulation of optimum rendition (cf. Pöchhacker 2011: 297).

In Kade's model, the emphasis is placed on the second phase, as this phase corresponds to the storage of content in memory and in notes. This also applies to Daniel Gile's Effort Model of consecutive interpreting, which is based on the assumption of limited processing capacity for the component efforts of Listening and Analysis, Short-Term Memory, Speech Production and Coordination (Gile 1995: 169). In Gile's model, consecutive interpreting consists of two stages, namely listening and reformulation. In the listening phase, the interpreter listens to the source speech and takes notes, whereas in the reformulation phase the interpreter renders the speech using notes and memory (Gile 1997: 202). The models of consecutive interpreting thus focus on the task as a two-stage process consisting of comprehension and reformulation and take into account the cognitive storage in memory as well as the storage in notes.

Although these models are a guide to understanding the process of consecutive interpreting, they are only of partial interest to this study because they focus on the cognitive processing operations, whereas the present study focuses on the situational dynamics of cross-cultural encounters.

3.2.2. Consecutive interpreting as interaction

Interpreting as interaction has mainly been the focus of studies in community and dialogue

interpreting, with particular attention to the consecutive mode. Interpreting in these settings has been dealt with in terms of interactional issues arising from dialogic communication and role has been central to research on these issues. As the present discussion cannot go further without referring to role and context, this section includes a review of these concepts.

3.2.2.1. Role

The role of the interpreter was first discussed by Anderson, who refers to “the man in the middle” with obligations to both parties in the communicative event. Anderson mentions the power of the interpreter and his or her ability to control the situation by acting as a “faithful echo” of the parties assuming the “nonpartisan role” or choosing not to (Anderson 1976/2002: 211-213). He claims that interpreting takes place “in social situations—situations amenable to sociological analysis” and that “in any such setting the role played by the interpreter is likely to exert considerable influence on the evolution of group structure and on the outcome of the interaction” (Anderson 1976/2002:209). This study is significant because it brought forward notions such as neutrality and the interpreter’s conflicting role for the first time.

The unique features of interpreter-mediated dialogic communication have a determining influence on the way in which the interpreter’s role is shaped, perceived, and defined in the interaction. A dialogic approach to communication also formed the basis for another significant study on dialogue interpreting carried out by Cecilia Wadensjö in legal, medical, and social service settings. This study about “interpreter-mediated conversations as a mode of communication, about interpreters and their responsibilities, about what they do, what they think they should do, and what others expect them to do in face-to-face, institutional encounters” (Wadensjö 1998: 2), is grounded in Bakhtin’s dialogic theory of language and Goffman’s social organization framework. According to Wadensjö, who has discussed “the interpreter-mediated encounter” as “part of various social, cultural and subcultural ‘contexts’” focusing on interaction, “the translating and coordinating aspects are *simultaneously present*, and one does not exclude the other” (Wadensjö 1998: 82,105, original emphasis). Based on the analysis of audio-recordings of interpreted interactions, she defines the position and role of the interpreter in a situated interaction as follows:

The coordinating aspect of the role of the interpreter derives from the interpreters’ unique middle-position. Interpreters are establishing, promoting and controlling connections between primary parties in conversation. These are normally deaf and

blind, as it were, to parts of the interaction in which they participate, whereas interpreters have unique, immediate access to almost everything available to ears and eyes (Wadensjö 1998: 148).

The interactional dimension of interpreting is also illustrated by Cynthia Roy's PhD research (1989). In this case study of sign language interpreting, an interpreter-mediated dialogue between a professor and a deaf student is analyzed with an interdisciplinary perspective. Focusing mainly on turn-taking processes in the conversation and drawing on ethnomethodology, interactional sociolinguistics, and ethnography of communication, Roy discussed the active involvement of the interpreter and prompted a rethinking of the role of the interpreter, which, as she puts it, "is more than just translate or just interpret" (Roy 2000: 66).

Expectations of parties involved in the interaction affect the way in which role is both created and defined and are an important factor influencing interpreting behavior. However, research on expectations in consecutive interpreting is very scarce. Studies on expectations in conference interpreting have mainly been conducted for the simultaneous mode, as pioneered by Kurz (1989, 1993) (for a review see Kurz 2001).

While most studies have dealt with the issue of user expectations regarding quality, some have included aspects related to the interpreter's role (Marrone 1993, Vuorikoski 1993, Kopczynski 1994, Morris 1995, Pöchhacker 2000). According to a questionnaire-based study on user expectations among end-users conducted in conference settings, the interpreter is "quite permitted—and, indeed, encouraged—to go beyond mere fidelity and use his/her resources as a professional linguist" (Marrone 1993: 38). Marrone found that users give more importance to completeness of information than to quality of delivery and style and that the interpreter is expected to act as a "cultural mediator". Thus, a degree of cultural mediation is acceptable and even essential in consecutive interpreting (1993). Intercultural mediation in consecutive conference interpreting was also explored through survey data obtained from 295 professional conference interpreters and authentic interpreting examples (Al Zahran 2007). Accordingly, intercultural mediation procedures were found to form part of the interpreting process and of the interpreter's role as an agent providing communication between different languages and cultures. The intercultural mediator role assumed by the consecutive conference interpreter "does not mean departing from the principles of neutrality, accuracy or faithfulness or imposing one's own views or perception of the world" (Al Zahran 2007: 254).

The considerable authority given to interpreters indicates the responsibility that is placed on their shoulders. Masaomi Kondo questions this responsibility, drawing on the three-party, two-language model by Kirchhoff (1976/2002), and points out that there may be interpreting situations in which “either linguistic fidelity or communicative effectiveness” is desirable and it is important to define which one is required and when (Kondo 1990: 62). Kondo also states that interpreters should not be expected to handle every difficult situation in a communicative event, as there may be cases in which effective communication can only be accomplished through the efforts of the sender and receiver. Therefore, it is important for the other two parties involved to “be aware of and be held responsible for” this in order for the interpreter to be able to do his or her job properly (Kondo 1990: 62). In another study exploring the preferences of users, rather than the “cultural mediator” role mentioned above, a tendency towards the “ghost role” of the interpreter was observed, though some intruder operations were found to be considered acceptable (Kopczynski 1994).

In the analysis of interpreting behavior it is very interesting to compare real-life situations to the perceptions and expectations of users and interpreters. Data on what users expect from interpreters in various settings and how they perceive the role of the interpreter would contribute to the discussion on this complex and conflicting role.

The role of the interpreter was also discussed by Claudia Angelelli in terms of interpreters’ self-perceptions of their role. This study is unique in that it encompassed more than one setting and respondents from several linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Angelelli’s study draws on survey methods and focuses on data obtained through questionnaires from a total of 293 conference, court, and community interpreters. Making a deliberate effort to draw on interdisciplinary approaches, Angelelli based her study on sociological and social theories as well as on the translation-theoretical notion of “invisibility” towards her goal of “challenging the myth of the invisible interpreter” (2003: 26). Angelelli claims that significant implications emerge from discovering the interpreters’ own perceptions of their roles and the impact of these perceptions on their performance and on cross-cultural communication. She summarizes interpreters’ self-perceptions of their role obtained through survey methods and fieldwork as follows:

(I)nterpreters themselves did not consider their role to be invisible in any of the settings in which they worked. Therefore, to a greater or lesser extent, they perceived that they played a role in building trust, facilitating mutual respect, communicating effect as well

as message, explaining cultural gaps, controlling the communication flow and aligning with one of the parties in interactions (Angelelli 2003: 26).

Interpreters who responded to the survey tended to define their role as compensating for cultural differences and coordinating and directing the flow of the interaction. Although they perceive themselves—to a greater or lesser extent—as active interlocutors in addition to the task of interpreting, differences between various settings were observed. For instance, it was found that medical interpreters perceived their role as more visible than conference and court interpreters (Angelelli 2003). The effect of setting or situation (in other words context) is relevant to any study exploring interpreting as interaction and context is therefore a major concern of the present study.

3.2.2.2. Context

As a result of the social turn in interpreting research, interpreting is viewed and analyzed in social contexts of interaction. This perspective, which considers interpreting to be an activity embedded in institutions and society, has led to increasing interest in situational and contextual analysis in the study of interpreter-mediated events. Some studies on the interpreter's role in simultaneous interpreting can be considered to adopt this point of view, attributing considerable importance to context and analyzing interpreting as an activity that forms and is formed by context (e.g. Pöchhacker 1994, Diriker 2001).

Several dimensions of context have been used as conceptual and methodological tools in the analysis of interpreting. Context in simultaneous interpreting was explored in relevance-theoretical terms by Robin Setton. Context in Relevance Theory is defined as “the set of premises used in interpreting an utterance” and “a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world” (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 15). According to Sperber and Wilson, the initial context for processing the utterances consists of the assumptions from previous utterances and the premises. However, if needed, information from the long-term or short-term memory as well as physical environment can also be included (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 139-141). Thus, the notion of context in relevance theory involves more than preceding utterances:

A context is not limited to information about the immediate physical environment or the immediately preceding utterances: expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses or religious beliefs, anecdotal memories, general cultural assumptions,

beliefs about the mental state of the speaker, may all play a role in interpretation (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 15-16).

Therefore, the background knowledge and expectations of the interpreters as well as the participants constitute part of the context in an interaction. On the basis of the relevance-theoretical understanding of context and Gutt's discussion of translation as the interpretive use of language (1992), Setton compares the processing differences between translation and simultaneous interpretation in terms of the use of context. As a result of this comparison, he claims that it is easier for simultaneous interpreters than for translators to depend on and control the contexts of their addressees. However, a simultaneous interpreter "must align her cognitive environment to that of the participants, and use it both to understand the speaker and to formulate the stimuli which will be optimally relevant to her audience" (Setton 2006: 381). Thus, the interpreter needs to take into account accessible contexts in order to achieve maximum relevance in his or her delivery for the target audience. What is implied by relevance is having a "contextual effect", which is the connection between an utterance and its context (Gutt 1992: 21). This emphasizes the importance of establishing common ground between the interlocutors, or in Setton's words, "establishing a single simulated cognitive environment" for communication to take place (2006: 386). Therefore, the social knowledge acquired throughout the socialization of an individual (in other words the present and past positions carried by an individual) play a crucial role in communication. Interpreters should aim to achieve the best simulation of context(s) in order to achieve common ground and provide communication between the parties in an interaction. Cultural and social knowledge shapes meaning in communication in addition to role relationships and expectations. In translating and interpreting as well as in communication in general, transmission of messages has a chance to succeed if the receiver shares that cultural and social knowledge.

The importance of knowledge—i.e. knowledge of the type of interaction, knowledge of the institutional context, and knowledge of the topic at hand—in the performance of interpreters was discussed by Daniel Gile, who emphasizes the importance of knowledge in comprehension. According to Gile (1993), comprehension is possible through the combination of knowledge of the language and extra-linguistic knowledge. Due to the basic differences between translation and interpretation with regard to the knowledge created by context, "interpreters have a wider, but more superficial, volatile, and unstructured world knowledge than translators" (Gile 1993: 84) because of the immediacy of context in interpreting. It is important that what the speaker says should make sense to the interpreter so

that the interpreter can produce a comprehensible target text for the audience. Therefore, the role of knowledge in interpreting is of considerable importance both for the interpreter's understanding of the speaker and for his or her transfer of the message to the target text receiver. Knowledge as part of context—or mutual knowledge, as it were—plays a key role in establishing common ground in interpreter-mediated events.

The need to establish common ground between the interlocutors in an interaction in relation to context was also discussed by Ian Mason with regard to dialogue interpreting. Drawing on Relevance Theory with the aim of shedding light on context “as a dynamic, evolving set of assumptions used by participants” and on the role of the dialogue interpreter in the process, Mason claims that the understanding of contexts in interpreter-mediated interaction should involve “received meanings”, which depend on “mutual accessibility of contextual assumptions” (Mason 2006a: 360). In order to achieve this mutual accessibility, the dialogue interpreter might need to “adjust one set of premises/assumptions to the set necessary for communication in a different linguistic/cultural environment” (Mason 2006a: 361). This statement is valid for the consecutive interpreter too, who might need to assume this task either explicitly or implicitly in an interaction.

When applied to interpreter-mediated talk, Relevance Theory indicates that a “mutual cognitive environment” is necessary for communication to take place. However, it may not always be possible to establish a mutual cognitive environment “in encounters where a wide cultural gap exists and this is a situation that interpreters have to deal with” (Mason 2006b: 111). In other words, in cases where the parties in the interaction do not share a “mutual cognitive environment” (Sperber & Wilson 1995: 41), then it is the interpreter who needs to clarify or explain the points which are not manifest to them. The decisions taken by the interpreter give hints about the interpreter's knowledge as well as professional strategies acquired through education and/or experience. Therefore, the interpreter's decisions to add, omit, manipulate, change, explain, clarify, give examples, comment, embellish or not to do any of these should be considered “*in the light of what might have been said but was not*” (Mason 2006b: 116 original emphasis). In interpreter-mediated interactions, context needs to be studied as “framing contexts” and “local contexts” in order to overcome the constraints of a conversation analysis perspective of analyzing utterances that have been isolated and decontextualized. The need for this multi-level framework for the analysis of context is accounted for as follows:

(T)o trace the communication of meanings *beyond what is said*, we need to incorporate into our notion of context, in addition to a ‘broad’, framing context of situational and ethnographic information, a ‘narrow’, local element whereby user assumptions are negotiated and re-negotiated continuously in the interaction (Mason 2006a: 366 original emphasis).

Micro- and macro- approaches to context can well be combined to provide a more comprehensive outlook on what actually happens in real-life interpretation phenomena. In the micro-analysis consisting of the talk as such, issues such as coordination and organization of talk and turn-taking, shifts of footing, repairs, and gate-keeping in relation to the interpreter can be all handled. Then, there are the broader issues which cannot be neglected in the complex study of the interpreter’s role. These are takeover of responsibility, distribution of power, conflicting situations, norms of interpreting, role expectations, relationships between the primary participants, and the effect of institutional power, as well as socio-cultural and political contexts. Therefore, findings of the micro-analysis can be related to the power of the interpreter, who deletes, adds or manipulates for the aim of smooth communication, albeit with a tendency to take a stand on the side of the institution (or not) (Mason 2006b). This approach, which links broader situational and contextual concerns with the micro-analysis of interaction, forms the basis of the overall research objectives discussed at length in the following section.

3.3. Research objectives

We now know that the interpreter’s role is influenced by a complex network of factors, including expectations and context. Moreover, common beliefs about interpreting related to the non-involvement of the interpreter are not always plausible in reality. Expectations of users of interpreting might vary, depending on the features of the group and of the event. Likewise, the perceptions of interpreters on their role are affected by the present and past positions that they hold.

Another influential factor on how interpreters are positioned within an interaction is context, regarded as a multi-level framework consisting of the textual level (negotiated by all participants throughout the interaction), the interactional level (the event itself), and the

institutional level (including the related institutions as well as the socio-cultural and socio-professional contexts). In Diriker's words, "the meta-discourse on interpreting (i.e. what interpreters say) and actual interpreting behavior (i.e. what they do) may not necessarily be the same" (2004: 8). In order to determine whether there is a gap between what interpreters say and what they do in actual interpreting situations, it is necessary to observe and analyze the interpreter's role and interpreting behavior in relation to context, as it would be naive to analyze interpreting in the void, i.e. out of context. This perspective of linking the choices and decisions of the interpreter related to meaning, translation and coordination at the utterance level to issues of role and power informed by ethnographic information at the interactional and institutional levels is fundamental to the present study. In accordance with this perspective, the analysis of interpreter behavior should include links with broader issues of society, institution and event, and user expectations that constitute the interpreter's normative role. Context in interpreter-mediated events should be analyzed within a multi-level framework that involves both the micro-context shaped by talk as continuously negotiated by everyone involved in the interaction and the macro-context consisting of the socio-cultural, institutional and interactional contexts.

Whereas most studies on consecutive interpreting have dealt with "classic consecutive" or "consecutive interpreting proper" in conference settings, short consecutive has been analyzed in community settings rather than conference settings and conference-like situations or encounters. However, consecutive interpreting, especially short consecutive, is also widely practised in conference-like situations, such as business negotiations, training seminars, and diplomatic meetings. This under-researched field is the main subject of the present study. Though it is categorized as consecutive interpreting, it has more in common with liaison and dialogue interpreting than consecutive interpreting proper for the reasons discussed above. These events, characterized mainly by the interpreters' "close proximity to speakers, which allows them to be more involved in the interaction" (Hale 2007: 32), are analyzed with a view to studying interactional issues based on actual discourse. In an effort to explore the differences and the similarities, events that can be said to pertain to the category "consecutive interpreting proper" are also included in the present study.

Taking role and context, i.e. role in context, as the focal point(s), this study attempts to answer the following research questions:

- Is there a difference between the role of the interpreter observed in two different events with varying degrees of interactivity and formality within the same macro-context?

- How does the multi-layer context in which the interpreter-mediated event is embedded affect the interpreter's role?
- Do the general role definitions of interpreters (the normative role) differ from the strategies interpreters are expected to employ (the typical role) as defined by users of interpreting and interpreters themselves?
- Is there a difference between the expectations of users of interpreting in two different events with varying degrees of interactivity and formality within the same macro-context?
- Is there a difference between the role definitions of users of interpreting and interpreters?
- Do the role definitions of interpreters—i.e. what they say they do—differ from their real-life performance—i.e. what they do?

The data collected with a view to answering these research questions are described in detail and analyzed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. As discussed above, the interpreter's role has been dealt with exhaustively in community settings. Likewise, it has been explored in relation to context in simultaneous interpreting. However, there is no discourse-based large-scale study of consecutive conference interpreting exploring the interpreter's role in context based on video-recordings of an actual interpreting event. In the hope of gaining some insight into the role of the interpreter, the present study attempts to fill this gap in the literature and to seek answers to the questions of whether and how the interpreter's role differs from his or her predefined role through the analysis of various contextual levels. The analysis of context at the broader level includes the analysis of the socio-cultural context as well as the socio-professional context (Chapter 5). The second level of contextual analysis, consisting of the interactional level or the event, will be covered in the analysis of the user surveys (Chapter 6) and the interactions (Chapter 8). Seeking answers to the above-mentioned questions, issues such as the interpreter's involvement, takeover of responsibility, power, control, norms of interpreting, role expectations and the effect of the institutional as well as the socio-cultural and socio-professional contexts will be explored. The analysis of actual interpreter behavior will be linked to the broader issues of event, institution, and society as well as user expectations that constitute the interpreter's normative role. The micro-analysis of interpreted interactions will be related to the involvement of the interpreter, who deletes, adds or manipulates (or not) for the aim of smooth communication. The tendencies of the parties in the interaction to treat the interpreter as a third interlocutor and the ways in which the interpreter positions him or herself as a third interlocutor will be traced in pronoun use and

divergent renditions at the utterance level. Findings from the analysis of actual interpreting phenomena and of various contextual levels will be discussed in relation to user expectations and interpreters' role perceptions obtained through surveys and interviews (Chapters 6 and 7) in order to contribute to the overall objective of analyzing role in context.

4. Theory and Methodology

The theoretical framework of this study rests on the three main concepts of habitus, context, and role. Bourdieu's notion of habitus and its use by translation (and interpreting) scholars, and the concept of context, discussed here with an emphasis on Cicourel's approach, constitute the overarching theoretical framework. The notion of role, which is encompassed by the interpreter's habitus, forms a more concrete conceptual reference point, for which this study will draw on Goffman's work on role and participation in interaction as well as the contribution of Merlini & Favaron.

Following the presentation of this conceptual framework, the present chapter also outlines the methodological approach adopted in this study, with more detailed information on data collection and on the analysis performed in the empirical part of this work.

4.1. Habitus

The sociological perspectives of Bourdieu, founded upon a theory of action, and his concepts *field*, *habitus*, and *capital* have been used by a number of translation scholars (e.g. Simeoni 1998, Hermans 1999, Gouanvic 2002), but fewer interpreting scholars (Inghilleri 2003, 2005a, 2005b). This interest in Bourdieu's sociology, according to Inghilleri, is due to the change of focus in translation studies away from texts and toward the perspective of translation and interpreting "as social, cultural and political acts intrinsically connected to local and global relations of power and control" (2005a: 125). Bourdieu's theoretical perspectives have also been drawn on to discuss and reevaluate polysystems and descriptive approaches, especially with respect to the notion of norms. Inghilleri highlights some insights of Bourdieu that are relevant to this project:

Bourdieu's (views) on the habitus and reflexivity offer interesting contrastive methods for exploring the role of translators and interpreters in relation to their respective practices. The potential utility of these methods can be measured through more empirical research on what translators and interpreters actually do and say they do in the widest possible contexts of their professional practice (Inghilleri 2005a: 142).

Bourdieu, through the concepts of field and habitus, constructs a relationship between the agent's social trajectory (or habitus) and the objective structures (specified under fields). In this "two-way" relationship, the social trajectory that forms the habitus shapes the fields, whereas fields constitute the habitus (Gouanvic 2005: 148). This theorization on interaction has contributed considerably to research in translation and interpreting, as it enables one to address these practices in particular contexts, as well as the effects of specific translators and interpreters on these practices. Bourdieu's work has also aroused interest in the agents—translators and interpreters—and therefore inspired research that considers their role as active participants in translation and interpretation practices embedded in actual social, political and cultural contexts. The context of the interaction is of considerable importance because there is always more in the interaction than the interaction itself. As Bourdieu explains, "... 'interpersonal' relationships are never, except in appearance, *individual-to-individual* relationships and the truth of the interaction is never entirely contained in the interaction" (1977: 81, original emphasis). This is one of the main reasons why Bourdieu criticizes social psychology and ethnomethodology for their tendency to explain everything that happens in an interaction in terms of the controlled variables in the interaction. The unique emphasis on the role of agents and the focus on the interaction between the agent and the structure constitute the most significant added value that Bourdieu's theoretical insights have provided to translation and interpreting research.

The concept of field is defined by Bourdieu as "historically constituted areas of activity with their specific institutions and their own laws of functioning" (1982: 87). Habitus, on the other hand, "which is the generative principle of responses more or less well adapted to the demands of a certain field, is the product of an individual history, but also through the formative experiences of earliest infancy, of the whole collective history of family and class" (1982: 91). Habitus is also defined as "a system of predispositions acquired through a relationship to a certain field" (Bourdieu 1982: 90). It is a key concept in Bourdieu's conceptual repertoire, "generated within specific fields in interaction with the social and biological trajectory (the embodiment of habitus over time) of individual agents" (Inghilleri 2005b: 70). There are both material and symbolic fields of production, such as literary, legal, and political fields, and the individuals or groups in these fields have their particular habitus formed by their specific background (Inghilleri 2003: 245). According to Bourdieu's theoretical perspective, strategies depend on social knowledge that is acquired through socialization. Agents know the world through the habitus unconsciously for the most part (Inghilleri 2005a: 135). The participants in an interaction carry with them their present and

past positions within the social structure “at all times and in all places”. This is what determines the social positions among and the social distance between objective positions or social persons (Bourdieu 1977: 81-82). That is, it is the biological and social trajectory of the individual(s) that affects how they behave during any interaction despite the fact that there are defined (normative) roles, positions, and behavior for any kind of situation. Although it is not possible for all members with the same class or habitus to have the same experiences, they are more likely than others to encounter similar situations (Bourdieu 1977: 85):

(T)he habitus could be considered as a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action to all members of the same group or class and constituting the precondition for all objectification and apperception: and the objective coordination of practices and the sharing of a world-view could be founded on the perfect impersonality and interchangeability of singular practices and views (Bourdieu 1977: 86).

The decisions of the interpreters to act in certain ways (or not to act in other ways) in a certain interpreting context can be considered in relation to the relevant fields and habitus at hand. However, gaps and differences might occur between expectations and reality, theory and practice. Bourdieu has related such inconsistency and discordance to what he calls “‘zones of uncertainty in social space’, where problematic gaps emerge between individual expectations and actual experience” (Inghilleri 2005b: 70). He suggests that zones of uncertainty emerge between fields and they lack a certain social definition. Inghilleri uses this concept for public service interpreting and specifically for interpreting in political asylum interviews. This notion of zones of uncertainty is certainly relevant for the context analyzed by Inghilleri. However, it cannot be said that conference interpreting in general lacks a social definition. It is a well-defined profession with codes of ethics and has had an institutionalized structure since AIIC was founded. Also, there are many national and international associations by which interpreters’ codes of conduct are described. On the other hand, according to research on interpreting, there is an uncertainty regarding the role definition of interpreters. Bourdieu has argued that habitus are not necessarily coherent and that there can be discordance between positions and dispositions (Bourdieu 2000: 160). When there is an uncertainty regarding the social space that the agents occupy, habitus may be destabilized (Bourdieu 2000: 160). Therefore, contradictions may and do arise between the initial or acquired habitus of interpreters and norms of interpreting accepted (or taken for granted) in interpreter training

and practice. Unlike previous studies using habitus in interpreting, the present work will use large-scale empirical research to explore gaps between the habitus and real-life practice.

Various perspectives on the role definition of the interpreter and interpreting may indicate that the profession still has a weaker position than well-established professions. This has relevant implications for redefining or restructuring the profession through positioning all participants, and specifically interpreters, in this process. According to Inghilleri:

(T)he discordancy evident in zones of uncertainty between dispositions and positions creates the potential for members of such professions to define a role for themselves that corresponds to 'who they are' rather than to an already established notion of 'who they must be' (Inghilleri 2005b: 82).

Contextualizing interpreters' practice in the larger social context provides a deeper understanding of this complex activity that takes place in the midst of intersecting fields and habitus. This may lead to a role perception of the interpreter not based on the normative role, but on a shared ground regarding who interpreters really are, considering the variety of interpreting situations of which they form a part. Presumably, in any kind of interpreting (possibly with the exception of simultaneous conference interpreting, which usually involves less interactivity), "the relationship between field(s), habitus and norms position all participants in the interpreting context: however, the interpreter is central to the realization of this relationship" (Inghilleri 2003: 261). Therefore, the in-depth analysis of this central role in relation to micro- and macro-structures or contexts in which the interaction takes place is crucial to understanding and constructing the interpreting habitus. The present study sets out to explore the contradictions, if any, between the interpreter's initial or acquired habitus and norms, and his or her strategies of interpreting in real life. To this end, it aims to analyze large-scale data reflecting practice and expectations, with an emphasis on the interpreter's role in context.

4.2. Context

As mentioned by Goodwin and Duranti, context is a primary focus in both ethnographically oriented and quantitative studies of language use. However, a trend towards a more interactive

and dialogical approach can be seen in studies of contextually situated talk. Studies of language use consider context as “a socially constituted, interactively sustained, time-bound phenomenon” rather than analyzing talk in isolation and sentences as “divorced from any relevant context” (Goodwin & Duranti 1992: 6).

Context is an important concept in this study as it aims to analyze interpreting and the interpreter in context; however, it is important to identify what can be regarded as relevant context.

Studies of language use in context have been carried out by scholars such as Gumperz and Hymes (who established what is known as ethnography of communication), by ethnomethodologists such as Cicourel and Garfinkel and by conversation analysts such as Schegloff and Jefferson. However, not all of them have the same ideas on the relevant context. Contextualization, according to Gumperz, is “speakers’ and listeners’ use of verbal and nonverbal signs to relate what is said at any one time and in any one place to knowledge acquired through past experience” (Gumperz 1992: 230). Gumperz introduced the notion of “contextualization cues” to refer to all those verbal and nonverbal signs. These cues provide understanding through reinterpretation of background knowledge or “knowledge of the world” in the process of conversation that is constructed interactively, and thus socially. He claims that contextualization cues operate mainly at the levels of prosody, paralinguistic signs, code choice and choice of lexical forms or formulaic expressions (Gumperz 1992). Conversation analysts, on the other hand, focus on context primarily in terms of the sequence of talk, i.e. sequential organization. Schegloff claims that the sense of context should be established in accordance with what is relevant for the participants (Schegloff 1992).

Cicourel, who also discusses the definition of context in the analysis of verbal communication, shares with Goffman the same focus of study: “situated interaction”. In Cicourel’s model, which is close to the understanding of context as a multi-level framework adopted in this study, there are two kinds of context, namely “narrow” and “broad”, and information on both levels is necessary in a study of language use as interaction. Cicourel points out that the broader context “includes an institutionalized framing of activities”, while the narrow context refers to the “locally organized and negotiated interaction”. He stresses the importance of ethnographic fieldwork as well as the study of spoken interaction and views them as complementary in the analysis of meaning:

Language and other social practices are interdependent. Knowing something about the ethnographic setting, the perception of and characteristics attributed to others, and

broader and local social organizational conditions becomes imperative for an understanding of linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of communicative events (Cicourel 1992: 294).

Even if information on the broader social context is not directly relevant to the situated talk, the researcher can still include that information. Cicourel argues that what will be told about context is at the discretion of the researcher. It is impossible to describe all local and broader socio-cultural elements of a context. However, the researcher has to justify what has been included and excluded in line with theoretical goals and methodologies (Cicourel 1992: 309). Cicourel also discusses the role of context in shaping meaning in his chapter on “ethnomethodology”, in which he questions linguistic views of language and meaning, drawing on language socialization among hearing and deaf children:

The meaning of any received or produced utterance for the speaker-hearer is embedded in a larger context that is activated and deepened by the complexity of the setting, and the reflexive availability of short-term and long-term store that are themselves influenced by normative linguistic and non-linguistic social practices (Cicourel 1974: 127).

According to Cicourel, all interactions in daily life consist of various layers of cultural complexity. Therefore, all activities of a group normally include “the integration of micro- and macro-data” (Cicourel 1981: 52). When analyzing talk, researchers may ignore the fact that the data is part of the larger or social organizational context. However, “neither micro- nor macro-structures are self-contained levels of analysis, they interact with each other at all times despite the convenience and sometimes the dubious luxury of only examining one or the other level of analysis” (1981: 54). Cicourel emphasizes that the decisions taken in various settings are inevitably affected by organizational practices and constraints “that are also situated interactions between persons with patterned social and emotional relationships” (Cicourel 1981: 57).

Thus, the ethnographic or organizational setting, the relationships between the participants, and the details of the interaction should become part of the analysis because they have a determining influence. One of the risks of micro-studies is that they can give more significance than necessary to limited data. It is important, therefore, for the researcher to expand his or her knowledge through field notes, interviews, or transcripts. This can be

achieved by collecting information on participants, the setting, and the ethnographic and organizational structure of the interaction/group under study. Thus, information at the macro-level is crucial in the interpretation of aggregate micro-data.

Following in the footsteps of Cicourel, this study approaches context as a socially constituted, dynamic phenomenon. In addition to the micro- and macro-levels suggested by Cicourel, the event level is also included in the framework of contextual analysis.

The macro-level in our case consists of the socio-cultural context, which is Turkey in an overall development process and translation and interpreting therein; and the socio-professional context, which is conference interpreting in Turkey with a focus on consecutive interpreting. This framework constitutes the broader contextual level of the present study (see Chapter 5).

The event level, or interaction level, is embedded in the macro-context described above. At this level, the focus is on international projects run by a Turkish public institution, a ministry, and financed and/or supported by an international organization. Several events with these features and within the same macro-context were explored through questionnaires, interviews (see Chapters 6 and 7), and video-recordings (see Chapter 8).

Finally, the micro-level consists of the utterances of the interpreter linked to those of the interlocutors. Although this is a locally defined context, it is “rooted in the overall (hypertextual) event, which is in turn embedded in an institutional context” (Pöchhacker in press). Thus, following the analysis of the macro-context, the choices of the interlocutors and the interpreter at the utterance level will also be discussed with respect to their implications at the event level in this top-down analysis.

4.3 Role

4.3.1. Social interaction

Unlike studies in interpreting research that analyze interpreting as text production, this study aims to explore interpreting as situated interaction, or social interaction, which is critical to the analysis of consecutive interpreting. Therefore, a theory of social interaction is needed in the analysis. In this section we will explore the role of the interpreter using Erving Goffman’s theoretical model of social interaction, which was applied to interpreting by Wadensjö (1998).

4.3.1.1. Interaction, performance, front, appearance, and manner

Situated interaction means face-to-face interaction or “encounter”, defined by Erving Goffman as “all the interaction which occurs throughout any one occasion when a given set of individuals are in one another’s continuous presence” (Goffman 1959: 26). In the encounters analyzed in this study the interpreter is present in the setting because the interpretation takes place in the consecutive mode, in which the interpreter is usually in direct contact with the participants and next to the speaker(s). The term “performance”, which is “all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants” will often be referred to in the analysis of role (Goffman 1959: 26). Previous studies referred to above (Wadensjö 1998, Roy 2000) considered whether and how the presence and performance of interpreters in an interaction affect the flow of talk between participants and whether and how interpreter-mediated interactions differ from encounters where there is no interpretation.

Goffman refers to the notion of “front” as “that part of the individual’s performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance” (Goffman 1959: 32). He also refers to “appearance” and “manner”, which constitute the “front”. Interpreters’ definitions of their own “appearance” and “manner” are affected by the expectations of the users, the institution, and the society in which they are embedded. Taking “social role” as “the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status” (Goffman 1959: 27), we can say that the social role of the interpreter involves many “routines”, which are the pre-established patterns of behavior:

In addition to the fact that given routines may employ the same front, it is to be noted that a given social front tends to become institutionalized in terms of the abstract stereotyped expectations to which it gives rise, and tends to take on a meaning and stability apart from the specific tasks which happen at the time to be performed in its name. The front becomes a ‘collective representation’ and a fact in its own right (Goffman 1959: 37).

The interpreter’s ideal behavior in certain situations becomes institutionalized in relation to the expectations of the society. However, whether these idealized routines are plausible in every context and setting can only be questioned through empirical studies on interpreting in various contexts.

4.3.1.2. Discrepant roles

The role of the interpreter is often defined in two ways. The first definition is described by metaphors such as “conduit” and “channel”. It refers to the interpreter as an invisible agent, who only conveys what is being said in another language, i.e. who scrupulously translates the message. The second definition is that of a much more active role, taking over tasks of both translating and coordinating, mediating between the linguistic systems and cultures in the interaction, actively shaping communication. However, the interpreter assumes various roles within the interaction, depending on the way he or she is positioned by the interlocutors and his or her own role perception. The roles of the interpreter will be discussed with reference to some of Goffman’s “discrepant roles”.

Goffman suggests that there are three basic roles in an interaction, namely “performers”, “audience”, and “outsiders”. As can be inferred from the notions, performers are “those who perform”, audience are “those performed to” and outsiders are the ones who “neither perform nor observe”. The interpreter can be a performer or part of the audience, depending on the situation. Goffman states that these roles can be distinguished according to the information made available to them. The main idea in discrepant roles is that each affects and is affected by the presence of others (Goffman 1959: 144). In other words, “the organization of a situation is dependent on all parties involved in it and on how they relate to one another” (Wadensjö 1998: 62).

4.3.1.2.1. The non-person

Those who play the non-person role are present in the interaction, but they are neither performers nor audience. A non-person is defined as a person who is needed and has to be there in the encounter but is regarded as absent. Goffman gives the typical example of a servant. Other examples are the very young, the very old, the sick, and the foreigner. Technical personnel can also be considered non-persons as they are sometimes, like others, “treated in their presence as if they were not there” (Goffman 1959: 150-151).

The notion of “non-person” can be deemed plausible for the interpreter in the encounter. It coincides with the role of a conduit, someone who is there but not treated as fully present like the other parties. However, there are cases in which the interpreter is treated as a party in the interaction.

As Goffman also states, a person can use his role as a non-person as a defence. Non-persons—in this case the most appropriate example being technical personnel—do not have to perform or be performed to. They usually have access to more information than the

performers or audience. This idea can be considered for the interpreter as well. Though users consider interpreters non-persons, an interpreter is usually the only person who understands everything being said in an interaction and therefore knows what is going on better than the other participants. This makes us reflect on the interpreter's power and control over the situation.

4.3.1.2.2. The mediator or go-between

Another discrepant role is that of the mediator or go-between. An important point mentioned by Goffman is that the mediator has access to "secrets", i.e. to information on both parties in the interaction. Goffman describes the mediator's role as follows:

When one individual in a conversational circle engages in an action or speech which receives the concerted attention of the others present, he defines the situation, and he may define it in a way that is not easily acceptable to his audience. Someone present will feel greater responsibility for and to him than the others feel and we may expect this person closest to him to make an effort to *translate* the differences between speaker and listeners into a view that is more acceptable collectively than the original projection (Goffman 1959: 150, emphasis added).

That "someone present" who will feel greater responsibility than others is the interpreter in interpreter-mediated interactions, whose aim is to provide smooth communication. In many respects, the term mediator or go-between as described above applies to the role of the interpreter as a cultural mediator. A cultural mediator has the responsibility to "translate the differences" between the two groups in face-to-face interaction and, in some situations, the interpreter strives to smooth out these differences in order to ensure that the parties fully understand each other.

4.3.1.3. Social roles and role distance

According to Goffman, the concept of "role" can be considered to have three different elements. These are the normative role, the typical role, and role performance. These roles could be relevant for the interpreter as there seems to be a pre-established role which the interpreter is expected to assume. However, whether this pre-established role is appropriate for actual practice is to be further explored.

4.3.1.3.1. The normative role

The normative role in Goffman's model consists of the common ideas on a given activity and on the role people (should) play when they are carrying out that activity (Wadensjö 1998: 83). In relation to the interpreter, the "normative role" can be considered as how interpreters and users think interpreters should behave while interpreting. In other words, it is the way the role of interpreters is perceived and defined in general regardless of real-life experience.

4.3.1.3.2. The typical role

In some cases the normative role, i.e. pre-established norms, may not fit the existing situation. Changing conditions such as time and place affect the way a certain role is performed. Therefore, "individuals develop routines to handle typical situations not foreseen by shared established norms" (Wadensjö 1998: 83). When shared ideas about the interpreter's role in general do not envisage what interpreters encounter in the course of interpreting, interpreters develop certain strategies to deal with these "typical situations". These strategies constitute the typical role of the interpreter. The empirical exploration of the difference between normative role and typical role is an innovative component of this study.

4.3.1.3.3. Role performance

Some aspects of role arise due to the actual conditions in a situation and cannot be accounted for by normative or typical standards. The individual's personal characteristics are also a determining factor in what Goffman (1961) defines as role performance. With regard to interpreting, it can be said that the performance of interpreters, i.e. the actual practice, is their role performance. There are many factors that have an influence on the performance of interpreters in a specific interpreting context, such as setting, speakers, participants, and noise. The personal style of the interpreter, his or her mood and level of concentration on the day of the event, may all affect the interpreter's role performance. Moreover, each interpreting event is unique like each conversation, i.e. it cannot be repeated as it occurs naturally. It generates specific situations and problems that the interpreter has to handle in this improvised performance.

4.3.1.3.4. Role distance

Role distance, according to Goffman (1961), refers to the difference between obligation and actuality. It comes into play "when a conflicting discrepancy occurs between, on the one

hand, the self generated in actual social interaction, and, on the other hand, the self associated with a formal status and identity” (Wadensjö 1998: 85). In other words, in Goffman’s terms, role distance can be considered as the difference between the normative role and role performance. However, it can also be regarded as the difference between the normative role and the typical role as the normative role is about the formal status and identity, while the typical role is associated with the way interpreters behave in specific situations. It is important to note that in cases where role distance is used systematically by professionals, role can be redefined (Wadensjö 1998: 86). The present study explores the normative role (general perceptions on the way interpreters should behave), the typical role (specific strategies interpreters adopt), and role distance (the differences between the two roles) through surveys and interviews (see Chapters 6 and 7). It also explores the interpreter’s role performance through the analysis of actual practice (see Chapter 8).

4.3.2. The participation framework

The notion of “participation” cannot be irrelevant to the analysis of the interpreter’s involvement in the interaction and the way the interpreter is positioned by the interlocutors. Goffman’s (1981) “participation framework” and “production format” have been applied to the study of interpreted interactions in community settings by Wadensjö (1998). Footing, as defined by Goffman, is the alignment of those involved in an event to the production or reception of an utterance (1981: 128). According to Goffman, each participant in an interaction assumes various speaker and hearer roles or a “participation status” relative to an utterance and the speaker and hearer roles of all participants in the interaction form the “participation framework” (1981: 137). Goffman’s analysis of speaker and hearer roles yields three speaker roles, the “animator”, the “author”, and the “principal”, and various hearer roles with a distinction between the “ratified” and the “unratified”. In Goffman’s participation framework, the “animator” is the one who assumes the role of speech production. The “author” selects the feelings and the words in which they are expressed, while the “principal” is “someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say” (Goffman 1981: 144). Thus, Goffman identifies “participation status” according to the responsibility that individuals assume in the interaction with respect to speaker roles and refers to these notions as “the production format of an utterance” (1981: 145). Likewise, he makes a distinction

among ratified recipients as the addressed, the unaddressed and the bystander; and among unrated recipients as overhearers and eavesdroppers (1981: 131-137). In line with the notion of production format, Wadensjö developed a “reception format”, which includes the hearer roles of “responder”, “recapitulator”, and “reporter” (1998: 91-92). Goffman’s speaker and hearer roles have been discussed and alternative conceptual frameworks with different perspectives have been put forth by Levinson, Edmondson and Dressler (for an in-depth discussion of speaker and hearer roles, see Leung & Gibbons 2008, Merlini & Favaron 2003, 2005, Wadensjö 1998, Pöchhacker in press). Reviewing the conceptual frameworks developed for the analysis of participation in interaction is not among the purposes of this study. However, it is considered necessary and important to demonstrate the relevance of speaker and hearer roles in consecutive conference interpreting, which have so far been discussed only for dialogue interpreting and community settings.

Wadensjö’s “reception format” consisting of three “modes of listening” applies to any interlocutor in any kind of interaction, as well as the interpreter in mediated interaction. These modes of listening taken by, or given to, an interlocutor reflect how an utterance is received at a particular moment in the interaction. The next move of the interlocutor determines his or her production format, i.e. how he or she relates to a certain utterance as a speaker. The participation framework, therefore, “is constantly negotiated in interaction” (Wadensjö 1998: 92).

More recent studies by Merlini and Favaron (2003, 2005) elaborate specifically on the analysis of interpreter footings. Their model is mainly based on “the interconnection between the speaker’s alignment to the interpreter (in other words, whether or not he/she addresses the interpreter) and the response of the interpreter as a subsequent speaker (for instance his/her use of direct or indirect speech)” (Merlini & Favaron 2003: 219). In this model, unlike the previous ones, the alignment of the interpreter to the production or reception of an utterance, that is, his or her footing, is related to the preceding utterance by an interlocutor “as expressed by pronoun use and choice of address” (Pöchhacker in press). Therefore, it provides useful and practical tools for the analysis of footing traced to the choice of address and pronoun use. In the scheme by Merlini & Favaron, “principal” refers to the footing when there is no utterance in the source text corresponding to the interpreter’s utterance. The interpreter’s responding to an utterance, whether it is addressed to him or her or not, corresponds to the footing of “responder”, while the interpreter’s use of the first person plural, removing the distance between herself and the speaker, amounts to the footing of “pseudo-co-principal”. The footing of “reporter” is indicated by the interpreter’s use of the first person in cases in

which the speaker addresses the other party directly. When the interpreter shifts to the third person, then he or she shifts to the footing of “narrator”. The other two categories are “direct” and “indirect recapitulator”, in which the speaker addresses the interpreter and the interpreter renders the utterance either in the first person or in the third person (Merlini & Favaron 2005: 279-280). These production roles, “conditioned by the way the interpreter has been addressed” (Pöchhacker in press), will be referred to in the discussion of the patterns of the interpreter’s and the interlocutors’ departures from the interpreter’s widely accepted norm of speaking in the first person as if he or she were the orator and not being addressed in return (Harris 1990), revealed through (shifts in) footing (see Chapter 8).

4.4 Methodology

This dissertation is conceived as a case study adopting a fieldwork strategy and a mixed-methods approach. A case study is defined as “an exploration of a ‘bounded system’ or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context” (Creswell 1998: 61). A case study does not necessarily focus on one case and the context of the case might be “a physical setting or the social, historical, and/or economic setting” (Creswell 1998: 61). The case under study can be characterized as interpreting in Turkish pre-accession seminars. These interpreter-mediated events are held within the scope of international projects run by a Turkish public institution and supported by an international organization in the framework of the country’s overall development process towards EU accession.

With a view to exploring the case under study, multiple data sources are used and the data, research methods, and settings are triangulated in order to provide a deeper understanding and a rich description of the interpreter’s role in context. In accordance with the mixed-methods approach adopted in the present study, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected and analyzed. Qualitative findings provide the in-depth perspective whereas quantitative data serve as a source of information obtained from a larger number of participants. This approach involves the triangulation of various types of qualitative and quantitative data, and of data collected in various settings using different research methods. In accordance with the fieldwork strategy, the focus is on real-life contexts and naturally

occurring data. Multiple data sources include user and interpreter surveys, interviews and video-recordings, which are described in detail in the following chapters.

5. The Turkish Context

This study places special emphasis on context as it aims to analyze interpreting and the interpreter's role in context. The analysis of context focuses on three levels. First, the macro-level comprises the socio-cultural context (Turkey in an overall development process) and the socio-professional context (consecutive conference interpreting in Turkey). Second, the event level or interaction level consists of the events under study that take place within the scope of international projects that are run by a Turkish ministry and financed and/or supported by an international organization. Third, the micro-level focuses on the textual production. In this chapter, the socio-cultural context will be described in relation to the EU accession process. Then, the socio-professional context will be presented. Along with Cicourel's claim that it is not possible to include all local and broader aspects of context, information that is considered useful for the perception and definition of the interpreter's role will be addressed.

5.1. The socio-cultural context: Turkey

5.1.1. A brief description

Turkey is a democratic, secular, unitary republic established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1923 after the fall of the Ottoman Empire following the First World War. It is a founding member of the United Nations, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as a member state of the Council of Europe and of NATO. It has also been in accession negotiations with the European Union since 2005.

Turkey stretches across the Anatolian peninsula in southwest Asia and the Balkan region and has borders with eight countries: Bulgaria to the northwest, Greece to the west, Georgia to the northeast, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Iran to the east, and Iraq and Syria to the southeast. It has coasts on the Mediterranean Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Black Sea to the south, west, and north, respectively. It also has the Sea of Marmara, which is considered the border between Europe and Asia (Britannica 2010).

Located between two continents, Asia and Europe, Turkey has been considered a geographical and, more importantly, a socio-cultural bridge between them and has been

fostering its relations with both East and West. Though it has its roots in the East due to a shared historical and religious background, it has turned its face to the West in compliance with Atatürk's legacy. However, this legacy is very fragile due to various internal and external forces. Many different roles have been defined for Turkey, leading to tension among organizations with different political views, ethnic minorities, the media, and other forces that have a say in the country. Turkey is unique in being the only secular Islamic country in the world, which makes it diverse and multicultural (Kinzer 2008).

5.1.2. EU accession process

Turkey's relations with the EU date back to the 1950s. Turkey made its first application to join the European Economic Community in July 1959. As a response to this application, the EEC suggested establishing an association until Turkey's accession. Accordingly, the Agreement Creating An Association Between The Republic of Turkey and the European Economic Community (the "Ankara Agreement") was signed in 1963 and enforced in 1964. This agreement presupposed Turkey's full membership by establishing a customs union that would bring about integration between the EEC and Turkey (ABGS 2010).

Another important step was taken in 1970, when the Additional Protocol was signed, preparing the ground for the establishment of a customs union. Turkey applied for full membership for the second time in 1987. Turkey and the EU formed a customs union in 1995. Then, in 1997, Turkey was declared eligible to become a member of the European Union (European Commission 2010).

The process, which has undergone several suspensions and delays, gained momentum when The Helsinki European Council of December 1999 granted the status of candidate country to Turkey. Accession negotiations were opened in October 2005, as stated in Turkey's 2009 Progress Report (European Commission 2009). The negotiation process was initiated with a screening period, in which the legislations of Turkey and the EU were compared to detect the areas where development was needed (IKV 2010).

According to the latest Progress Report, "Turkey continued improving its ability to take on the obligations of membership" (European Commission 2009). However, considerable development is still needed in many areas. Accession negotiations were stalled by problems regarding 8 of the 35 chapters under negotiation. The reason for this suspension is Turkey's refusal to expand the additional protocol to include Cyprus and to open Turkish

ports and airports to Cypriot ships and aircraft. The Turkish government agrees to take this step only if direct trade is allowed between the EU and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which is blocked by the new EU member Cyprus. Furthermore, it was decided that some chapters of the negotiations will not be concluded until Turkey meets its obligations, including applying the additional protocol to Cyprus as well as officially recognizing the Republic of Cyprus (Kramer 2007: 1). Thus, Cyprus still creates an impasse in EU-Turkey relations and a stumbling block in the negotiations. However, it is not the only one:

Turkey's economic troubles, European concerns over human rights (such as the treatment of prisoners and the issue of capital punishment) and democracy in Turkey, minority problems (the Kurdish issue), and the debate over the European Security and Defense Policy served as road-blocks (Hubel 2004: 357).

All in all, these challenges and problems still block the negotiations, and the discussion about EU membership continues in both Turkey and Europe.

5.1.2.1. European or not?

The attitude towards EU membership in Turkey is influenced by many domestic and external factors and is therefore volatile. In recent years, "public support for EU membership has dropped sharply" in Turkey (Barysch 2007: 1). One of the reasons for this is the fact that the EU has not been able to adopt a decisive and stable stance towards Turkey's membership. The EU is now being accused, even by the most ardent proponents of adhesion,

of being disingenuous (for constantly re-opening the question of whether Turkey is a suitable candidate for membership); of following double standards (for making it harder for Turkey to join than for previous candidates); and of being short-sighted (by disregarding the many economic and strategic benefits that Turkish accession would bring) (Barysch 2007: 1).

These problems seem to have created a certain mistrust in Turkish public opinion. Reservations concerning EU membership (Euroscpticism) are related to questions of national sovereignty (to what extent will it be sacrificed?), culture (to what extent will values, traditions and habits be influenced?), national identity (to what extent will it be surrendered and what is the borderline between assimilation and integration?), and ethnic and religious

groups and minorities (is there a hidden agenda behind the emphasis on minority rights?) (Kuran-Burço lu 2005: 177-178).

Europe, on the other hand, is deeply divided over the issue. According to Barysch, a country's perspective on Turkey's EU membership depends on "whether it sees Turkish accession as a question of foreign policy (such as in Spain and the UK) or primarily a matter of internal EU or even national politics (such as in France or Germany)" (2007: 3). The country's attitude is also determined by its view of the EU's future. The countries that consider political union to be the ultimate goal oppose Turkey's membership, whereas those that do not show a more positive attitude. Concerns over "the future balance of power in the enlarged Union" underlie the debate (Barysch 2007: 3). This is usually not made explicit, but rather expressed as "enlargement capacity", referring to "the Union's ability to take in new members without losing the momentum of integration or without negatively affecting the EU's ability to function effectively" (Kramer 2006: 25).

Differing views towards Turkish accession have led to a "pro-camp" and a "contra-camp", backed by many arguments. The pro-camp focuses on the strategic advantages of Turkey's membership. They claim that the only way to create security in this sensitive and volatile region is to have "a politically stable, democratic and economically advancing Turkey", which would serve as a model for the Middle East (Kramer 2006: 28). Also, it is an important chance to show the Islamic world that the EU is not a "Christian club" but open to secular Muslim societies. Other arguments for Turkey's membership include the advantages of the country's great economic potential and young population (Kramer 2006: 28-29).

The fears of the contra-camp mostly arise from the perception that "Turkey is too large, too poor and too Muslim in order to fit into the EU scheme" (Kramer 2006: 29). One of the arguments is that Turkey does not belong to Europe either geographically or politically. Turkish accession would thus pave the way for other non-European countries, which might cause "an unlimited enlargement". Furthermore, the issues of Cyprus, the Kurds, and the Armenians are among the most widely mentioned problems. Economic consequences that may arise from Turkey's low level of development and social consequences that may be caused by migration are mentioned as threats. The contra-camp sees Turkish membership as a liability rather than an asset for the EU (Kramer 2006: 30).

According to Barysch, "the fears are immediate and personal: the loss of jobs, the threat of terrorism, the weakening of national culture. The benefits are strategic, long-term and abstract: future economic growth, a stronger EU foreign policy, energy security" (2007: 2). The countries that are in favor of Turkey's accession are the UK and Spain, followed by

Portugal and Italy. The UK supports Turkish membership for strategic political reasons, whereas the other proponents believe that it could reinforce a “Mediterranean grouping”. However, fierce opposition is observed in France, Germany, and Austria. Historical experience, culture, and poor integration of Turkish immigrants are also said to influence the negative attitude. Greece and Greek Cyprus, also strong opponents, should be considered special cases because of the reasons discussed above (Barysch 2007: 2-4).

Although the scenario does not seem very promising, there is still hope for future membership if both sides are determined and patient enough to go through a long process. Total failure, on the other hand, would be too costly for Turkey and the EU. If the opportunity is missed, this might have serious consequences for both (Kalaycıo lu 2005: 48-49). What needs to be done at this juncture is explained by Hughes as follows:

Both the EU and Turkey need to face up to some serious questions about their own internal political dynamics, their commitments to each other and their overall strategic relationship, if it is not all to end in tears. It cannot be in Turkey’s interests to stand at a distance from the EU, and it cannot be in the EU’s interests to have a fractious relationship with Turkey in the years ahead (Hughes 2006: 40).

Both sides need to consider the advantages of accession and the likely consequences of a rupture, and to act accordingly. Turkey should not slow down the pace of reforms and should continue to highlight its modern aspects, while the EU should show signs of consistency and decisiveness on Turkish accession if the process is to move forward effectively.

5.1.2.2. Turkey’s harmonization process

Turkey’s official EU candidacy has brought about a major harmonization in all areas. This includes the commitment to adopt the Copenhagen criteria and the enactment of legislation to improve democracy and human rights. There is no doubt that these measures will both facilitate Turkey’s accession and “improve the living standards of Turkish citizens” (Kuran-Burço lu 2005: 175). However, these efforts should be considered within Turkey’s overall development process.

It is rightly argued by critics that these improvements should have been actualized within the last 80 years of Turkey’s modernisation process—the roots of which go back to the foundation of the Turkish Republic by Atatürk—and not in fact be

imposed on Turkey by the European Union. This is a valuable opportunity for Turkey to rethink the modernisation program, which was initiated by Atatürk, and make necessary adjustments (Kuran-Burço lu 2005: 175).

This political reform process is explained in detail in the report on harmonization packages and current improvements published in 2007 by the Secretariat General for EU Affairs (ABGS), an organization affiliated to the Prime Ministry. The reform process includes constitutional amendments as well as legal adjustments in various fields, including human rights, freedom of expression and press, political parties and associations, the death penalty, the penal code, detention conditions, intellectual property rights, and children's rights (ABGS 2007). These are only some of the areas in which adjustments have been made since 1999. It is clear that the development process is very comprehensive and is maintained in a variety of fields.

According to the ABGS's report, fundamental changes have taken place in Turkey in accordance with the EU accession process and particularly with respect to the Copenhagen criteria. The political will and society's attitude have been influential in this "silent revolution". Through this impressive development of the country, which has gained momentum especially in the last ten years, individual rights and freedoms have been expanded and economic reforms have played a considerable role in welfare and stability. The strengthening of civil society is another obvious outcome of the reforms. Naturally, it takes time to implement all these changes and it is impossible to claim that they are either sufficient or complete. However, ABGS, a key player in the process, emphasizes that this process is part of the modernization project launched by Atatürk and currently supported by the EU, and that it is a road of no return. The final decision on Turkey's membership will be a joint one made by the peoples of the EU and Turkey. However, "what is more important is to maintain the ground necessary for the reforms in Turkey's modernization process" (ABGS 2007: 32 translation by the author). Thus, the process involves the objective of full membership, but is far more comprehensive than this objective.

5.1.2.3. Implications for translation and interpreting

EU candidacy and membership are usually regarded as political processes, but all processes—both before and after the political decisions are made—are also translational in nature. Candidacy and membership involve a major translation and interpreting process in which thousands of pages of documents are translated from and into the language of the acceding

country. The translation of the *acquis communautaire* and the laws of the candidate country into one or more of the EU languages in order to monitor the harmonization is a vast task that needs to be taken on by acceding countries. This process is obligatory because candidate countries go through an intensive screening process before the actual negotiations.

As a candidate country, Turkey has assumed the responsibility of translating the existing legislation of the Community into Turkish. To this end, the Translation Coordination Unit was established within the ABGS in 2002 (TCU 2010). The tasks of the Unit are described as follows:

The Translation Coordination Unit (TCU) is responsible for coordinating the translation of EU *acquis* into Turkish and linguistically and legally revising the translated texts and for the creation of translation and terminology databases. In the near future the Unit will also be responsible for the coordination of the translation of Turkish legislation into one of the official languages of the EU, and ensuring the consistency of the terms used in translation of the EU legislation (TCU 2010).

As seen above, the Unit is responsible not only for translating the legislation, but also for revising the translations linguistically and legally. Thus, the process requires the collaboration of language experts (translators, linguists) and law experts. In order for Turkish bureaucrats to comprehend EU legislation and compare it with Turkish legislation, 23% of the EU legislation—around 100,000 pages—has been translated into Turkish through a project funded by the European Commission. These documents were revised by the TCU. Likewise, 5000 pages of the Turkish legislation were translated into English (Arısan 2007: 155-156).

Publications by the TCU aimed at guiding translators in this major translation project include the European Union Glossary and the Translator's Handbook. The TCU also launched the project "Technical Assistance for Strengthening the Capacity of the Translation Coordination Unit in Turkey", supported by the European Commission under the Pre-Accession Financial Assistance 2005 Programme, to achieve the following overall objectives:

- To increase the quality, consistency and amount of legislation translated and revised by the TCU.
- To gradually reduce and eliminate the backlog in translating and revising the legislative texts.

- To increase the number of experts who are highly qualified and able to perform consistent revisions of the translations and to support Turkey's accession process and its relations with the European Institutions throughout and after accession (TCU 2010).

The TCU and the ABGS also work in the fields of training and creation of text and term databases, the most important outcome of which is the European Union Glossary, consisting of more than 10,000 terms.

Successive enlargements have had a significant influence on the multilingualism principle of the EU, not only in terms of translation but also in terms of interpreting. The fact that less common languages became official EU languages led to more frequent use of techniques such as "relay interpreting", "bilateral or bi-active interpreting" and "remote interpreting", which had been strictly rejected by EU institutions in the past (Diriker 2005a: 52-54). As for the Turkish context, accession also requires a considerable amount of interpreting for meetings, conferences, and negotiations. According to an expert from the ABGS, Nilgün Arısan, conference interpreters have played a key role in the process. After the candidacy status was granted to Turkey in 1999, 8 sub-committees were established by the European Commission and Turkey in order to conduct a preliminary screening before the official screening. The committees gathered to explain the legislations of both parties, with the valuable contribution of conference interpreters. Interpreters have also played a key role in the activities of the TAIEX (Technical Assistance Information Exchange Office), whose aim is to prepare candidate countries for membership through a number of seminars and workshops in various fields. Needless to say, these events also required the assistance of conference interpreters (Arısan 2007: 156).

Interpretation is provided in formal settings such as the actual negotiations, summits and meetings attended by the acceding country, the EU and national governments. A significant amount of interpreting work also takes place at meetings, conferences, and training seminars organized by ministries, non-governmental organizations, and universities and funded by the EU and other international organizations. This study aims to analyze the interpreting activity that takes place in the latter, focusing on the international knowledge transfer within the scope of the overall development that is taking place in Turkey with the support of international organizations.

5.2. The socio-professional context: interpreting in Turkey

5.2.1. The history of conference interpreting in Turkey

Although conference interpreting in Turkey has a history of about 50 years, the known history of interpreters dates back to the 15th century. The sultans in the Ottoman Empire needed personnel able to speak French or Latin in order to communicate with the statesmen in foreign countries. These personnel were called “dilmaç”, which means interpreter in old Turkish, and were trained in the palace. In time, they assumed a very significant role in the international relationships of the Ottoman Empire and became part of the foreign affairs staff of the Empire until its collapse in the 19th century (TKTD 2010). However, although Ottoman interpreters, or Dragomans assumed very important, challenging and sometimes risky tasks because they played a key role “in the shaping of relations between the Ottoman Empire and other states”, they lacked the prestige they deserved (Gürçalar 2003: 64).

In the 1950s, the Republic of Turkey started to open up to the world. With the support of the Ford Association, the Business Administration Institute was established at Istanbul University. The Institute invited foreign experts to train Turkish businessmen and executives, but the language level of the trainees was not sufficient. Apparently there was a need for interpreters, so a group of professors were invited for a year to train interpreters. Within this intensive program, only three interpreters were trained in terminology and interpreting techniques and the program was not sustained in the following years (TKTD 2010).

The 1960s marked the turning point for conference interpreting because of the considerable increase in the number of international meetings and conferences in this period. The Ford Association and the translation company Simultat-Inc in Geneva decided to cooperate with the Economic and Social Studies Conference Committee, which assumed a role in organizing the conferences in order to form a professional team of conference interpreters in Turkey in 1964. The candidates were selected by the Conference Committee according to their language competencies and knowledge of the world. Gloria Wagner, the head of the company and a conference interpreter, together with several professors of Geneva University, trained the first team of Turkish conference interpreters in Geneva. The following year, the selected team of interpreters were trained in Turkey through an intensive program consisting of interpreting techniques, note-taking, memory and terminology. From 1964 to the 1970s, the Conference Committee made great progress towards meeting the need for

conference interpreters in Turkey, selecting and training conference interpreters and giving them the chance to practise at international conferences abroad. The 1960s were difficult times for the market, too. Technical equipment was an important problem as the existing booths and equipment were of poor quality. Demand for conference interpreters was not sufficient for them to make a living in this profession. However, all the attempts of these individuals and institutions played a key role in turning conference interpreting into an established profession in Turkey (TKTD 2010, Arslan Özcan 1996).

5.2.2. The Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey

The major breakthrough in conference interpreting in Turkey came in 1969 with the most significant institutionalization effort of conference interpreters: the establishment of the Conference Interpreters Association. The Association, which was established with 20 members in Istanbul, is the initial effort to bring together conference interpreters under the umbrella of a professional organization. Broadening its membership in 1998, the Association changed its name to The United Conference Interpreters Association (BKTD) in 1998. The aim of the Association is to promote conference interpreting as a profession in Turkey and to lay down professional rules and principles in accordance with international practice (TKTD 2010).

In April 2010, the Association changed its name again to TKTD (Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey). The TKTD, which has 80 members as of April 2011, has played an instrumental role in the adoption of international standards in conference interpreting in Turkey. It focuses its efforts on issues such as ethical rules and working conditions, as well as cooperation with training institutions (Diriker 2005a: 82-84). Although the Association, as the only institutionalization effort in the field of conference interpreting in Turkey, certainly deserves to be part of the socio-professional context addressed in this study, it is true that many professional interpreters active in the market are not members. This might be because membership requires experience and recommendation from current members and many working interpreters simply do not bother to apply.

Working conditions vary considerably in the Turkish market, depending on the type of event, the client, and even the geographical location. But this does not mean that the interpreters who are not members are hired for jobs that members would not accept. On the contrary, the majority of the interpreters included in this study (surveys, interviews and/or

video-recorded events) work under precisely the same conditions as members. Among the 40 interpreters who participated in our survey, only 3 were members of the TKTD (see Chapter 8). However, the increase in the number of members indicates the expanding coverage and representativeness of the TKTD, whose efforts are crucial not only for the members but for all interpreters, interpreter candidates, and teachers of interpreting in Turkey.

The TKTD has adopted certain ethical principles in protecting the interests of the profession and professional interpreters in Turkey. These principles are listed as competency, confidentiality, equality, professionalism, and neutrality (TKTD 2010).

The activities of the TKTD were explained in detail by Hande Güner, the head of the TKTD, at a seminar on conference interpreter training held by Bilkent University in 2007. According to Güner, the TKTD has three main areas of activity. The first area is that of conference interpreters, for whom the TKTD organizes in-service training to improve their skills and knowledge as required by this highly demanding profession. Professionals have to improve themselves and add to their knowledge with every new assignment as they are expected to adapt to new situations and behave like experts. Providing the necessary support and encouragement for professional development is the most significant dimension of the TKTD's tasks (Güner 2007: 144-145).

The second area is that of technical infrastructure. The Association has made great efforts towards the adoption of international standards for conference interpreting equipment in Turkey. As a result, some conference equipment standards set by the International Standards Organization were adopted in Turkey and approved by the Turkish Standards Institute (Güner 2007: 145). These efforts to improve conference interpreters' working conditions are of considerable importance as technical conditions constitute one of the fundamentals in interpreting.

The third area is that of conference organizers. Informing conference organizers on the importance of the interpreters' role is crucial for ensuring that all the necessary conditions for quality interpretation are met.

In addition to these areas of activity, cooperation with training institutions is also a priority for the TKTD (Güner 2007: 146). The TKTD thus plays an influential role in conference interpreting in Turkey and assumes a variety of tasks.

As for AIIC, 37 members had Turkish in their language combination in April 2011. Of these, 30 reside in Turkey (AIIC 2010), so Turkey is an AIIC Region and is officially represented on the AIIC General Council. The TKTD works in close collaboration with AIIC in promoting the profession in Turkey. All AIIC members with Turkish in their language

combination are members of the TKTD. Likewise, the TKTD attributes particular importance to cooperation with EU institutions in Turkey's EU accession process. All EU-accredited interpreters who have Turkish in their language combination are members of the TKTD (Güner 2007: 147). As the need for competent professionals and quality interpretation is on the increase with the EU accession process, the TKTD's close cooperation with international institutions has significant implications for practitioners, teachers, and students of conference interpreting.

5.2.3. Training and research

The increase in demand for interpreting services in the 1980s led to an increase in the number of companies offering them (Do an 2009: 37-38). The 1980s were also a turning point in terms of training. The Department of Translation and Interpreting was established at Hacettepe University in 1982 and at Bo aziçi University in 1983. Although graduate programs were offered on written translation since the early 1990s, none dealt specifically with interpreting. In 2004 the European Masters in Conference Interpreting was launched at Bo aziçi University and in 2007 it was launched at Bilkent University. Today, there are 31 translation and interpreting departments that train interpreters at undergraduate level in 23 universities (Diriker 2007: 115). Thus, training in translation and interpreting in Turkey has come a long way, especially in the last 20 years.

In the field of interpreting studies, the infrastructure for training also corresponds to the infrastructure for research, i.e. research on interpreting is mostly conducted by those involved in the training of interpreters. However, interpreting is still an under-researched area in Turkey. The first doctoral dissertation conducted on interpreting in Turkey is on the effect of the mnemonic keyword method in the training of simultaneous medical interpreting (Do an 1995). This study is important because it uses experimentally conducted research to offer solutions to the difficulties caused by medical terms with Latin or Greek origin in perception, comprehension, recall, and rendition.

Unlike Do an's experimental study, which views interpreting as a cognitive process, Ebru Diriker's PhD thesis is a case study that analyzes simultaneous interpreting in context (Diriker 2001, 2004). Through the analysis of a 2-day conference on philosophy, this ethnographic case study explores the relationship between "the presence and performance" of simultaneous interpreters and context, consisting of the socio-cultural and interactional levels

(Diriker 2004: 4). Focusing on conference interpreting in the broader and more immediate social contexts, Diriker found that simultaneous interpreters are actively involved in the speech. Through adopting multiple-speaker positions, i.e. speaking in their own “I”, interpreters become visible in the interaction in various ways. Influenced by the conditions they work in, interpreters take action to make themselves heard amidst fuzzy and diverse expectations of a heterogeneous group of participants. Thus, according to Diriker, the complex role of the conference interpreter is influenced by a variety of factors including relationships, expectations, and constraints imposed by the contexts. This study has been a source of inspiration for the present thesis in terms of exploring (simultaneous) interpreting as situated action and focusing on the interpreter’s role in relation to the socio-cultural and interactional contexts.

The few existing publications on sight interpreting (Do an 1996, 1997, Ersözülü 2005) include practical suggestions formed through research and experience aimed especially at interpreter trainers. Other issues dealt with include note-taking (Do an 1999), consecutive interpreting (Do an 2000, 2002), TV interpreting (Do an 2003), and the politics of interpreting (Tahir 1998). An interesting study by Diriker explores how simultaneous interpreting and interpreters were presented in the Turkish media and discusses perceptions on conference interpreting (Diriker 2005b: 1). According to this study, there is a tendency in the media to assume that word-for-word equivalence between languages is possible. However, conference interpreters mention meaning rather than the word and suggest that they are active partners in communication (Diriker 2005b: 9). This finding is important and relevant to the present study because it emphasizes how the role perceptions of interpreters differ from the expectations of the media—the voice of the public and a powerful indicator of the current situation.

A significant and systematic effort worth mentioning in terms of both training and research is voluntary interpreting, although it is not directly linked to the profession of conference interpreting. The “Interpreting in Disaster Situations Project” (ARÇ) was launched in 1999 through the efforts of academics right after the two major earthquakes in Turkey, when the need for this type of interpreting became clear (Bulut & Kurultay 2001). The project was launched in Istanbul, followed by Ankara and recently Izmir, under the auspices of the Turkish Translation Association. The aim of the project is to train interpreters to provide organized interpretation services in disaster situations and to assist search and rescue crews and healthcare providers in this vital task (Do an 2009: 43). The training consists of information on earthquakes; what to do before, during, and after earthquakes; and interpreting

techniques in disaster situations (Do an 2009: 44). This type of interpreting does not require previous training in interpreting. It has close links with academia, but not with the TKTD and the specific field of conference interpreting.

Although no statistical data are available on the distribution of assignments according to modes, it can be assumed that the demand for consecutive interpreting is at least equal to the demand for simultaneous interpreting. However, there are no comprehensive studies on consecutive interpreting except for a few articles related to personal experiences and note-taking. These studies are useful for both the training and practice of consecutive interpreting. The importance of contextual analysis is undeniable and there is a clear need for more studies exploring the interpreter's role in real-life settings (Diriker 2004). Though consecutive interpreting is widely practised in Turkey, no substantial discourse-based studies have been undertaken on this subject. This is a gap that the present study aims to fill.

6. Normative Role vs. Typical Role: User Perspective

This chapter consists of user surveys aimed at determining expectations regarding the consecutive interpreter as a component of the interpreter's role in context. First, a description of the purpose and design of the user surveys is presented, followed by a description of the events and the participants. The results are discussed after the analysis of each event, and the findings obtained from the two events are compared at the end of the chapter.

6.1. Purpose and design of the user surveys

User expectations are neither the only determinant nor the only indicator of the interpreter's role, but they are among the complex, intertwined factors that shape it. Therefore, within the broader objective of analyzing role in context, the question of whether and how the general definition of the interpreter's role differs from specific strategies he or she is expected to assume in the interaction was explored through user surveys. The survey was applied in two events within the same macro-context of consecutive interpreting in Turkey. The institutional context was also the same, as both events were organized by a Turkish public institution and funded by an international organization. The events chosen had varying degrees of interactivity and formality to allow for comparison. Below, the characteristics of each event are compared and the differences in the responses to the questions on normative and typical role are discussed.

6.1.1. Survey instrument

The survey instrument consisted of 10 questions on the role, task, and position of the interpreter and on quality criteria. Three questions were based on four-point and seven-point scales, six were multiple-choice questions and one, asking for further comments on the issue, was open-ended. The questions were formulated in line with Goffman's distinction between *normative role*, perceived as the general definition of the interpreter's role, and *typical role*, consisting of the strategies used by the interpreter in certain typical situations, and were categorized and analyzed accordingly. The normative role may or may not coincide with actual practice, which is one of the questions we attempted to answer through our survey.

Questions 1, 3, 4 and 9 of the questionnaire were based on the normative role and aimed to determine the general ideas of interpreters and users on the interpreter's role with regard to issues such as quality, faithfulness, neutrality, and involvement. The survey also elicited information about the users, with questions on age, sex, profession, and level of English and the responses to the questions were cross-tabulated with these background variables. The results of the statistical analysis are discussed below.

6.2. User survey: Event 1

6.2.1. Description of Event 1

The first event was a training seminar on vocational education, the final seminar held within the scope of a vocational training project (Strengthening the Vocational Education and Training System in Turkey) organized by the European Commission and the Turkish Ministry of Education. As can be inferred from its name, the project aims to strengthen the vocational education system in Turkey. The seminars are part of a training program organized by the project for principals and vice-principals of vocational education and training institutions. Dealing with topics such as communication, management, and coaching, the seminars teach the participants management techniques based on the needs of students and employers. A prominent feature of these seminars is the high degree of interactivity: they include group work and Q&A sessions, which make the interpreter's role even more central. The trainers were hired by a Danish consulting company which had a contract for the project, so the two or three trainers who attended each training session came from Denmark. Project training sessions were usually held with groups of 25-30 people and with more than one group, so more than one interpreter was needed. As there was only one consecutive interpreter in each setting, the interpreters translated into both English and Turkish.

The participants in this seminar were divided into two groups, each group having one interpreter. It is important to note, however, that because it was the final seminar of a series, all with consecutive interpreting, the users were familiar with the interpreter and interpreting.

As most trainees could not speak English (see 6.2.2.), the interpreters played an important role in the training sessions. They were held in high esteem by both the project team and the participants. The interpreters were recruited by the project team, who had a

contract with the translation company that assigned interpreters to specific training sessions. As they usually worked with the same translation company and the same interpreters and the training seminars had been going on for two years, the participants, trainers, and interpreters knew each other well. This may have led the interpreters to identify with their task and to be considered as a part of the group.

6.2.2. Survey administration and participants

In accordance with our research objectives, questionnaires were given to the participants in this setting in order to elicit their expectations regarding the interpreter's role. I was assigned as an interpreter in this event, which made it a lot easier to distribute and collect the questionnaires. Also, being involved as an interpreter made it easier to obtain permission from the organizers. Another advantage was that the participants were interested in the task of interpreting and willing to answer the questions in the survey. They were asked to fill in the questionnaires during one of the coffee breaks on the second day of the two-day training seminar and were told that the questionnaires would be collected at the end of the following session.

Questionnaires on user expectations were given to all conference participants in the setting and all participants responded. The number of users who participated in the survey was 52. The participants' knowledge of English was low: 65.4% considered their skills as "none" and "basic"; 19.2% as "reasonable"; and only 15.4% as "good" or "advanced". It was a homogenous professional group consisting of principals and vice-principals of Turkish vocational training centers and general high schools. Of the 52 participants who filled out the questionnaires, 42 were males. The age of the participants was quite varied, ranging from 27 to 60, with an average of 43.1.

6.2.3. Analysis

6.2.3.1. Normative role

The first question, on quality criteria in interpreting, listed quality criteria and asked the participants to rate their importance on a scale from 3 (most important) to 0 (least important). The criterion of "completeness of information" was given a rating of 3 by 65.3% of users and

a rating of 2 by 34.6%. The criterion of “correct terminological usage/word choice” was given a rating of 3 by 71.1% and a rating of 2 by 28.8%.

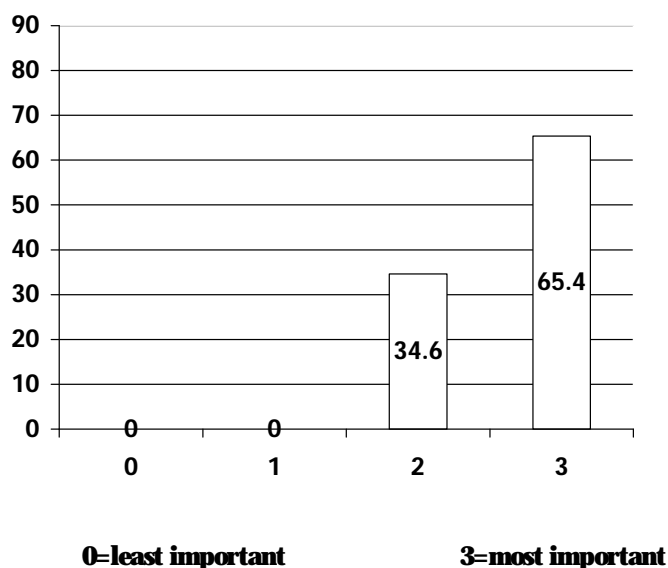


Figure 1. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of “completeness of information”

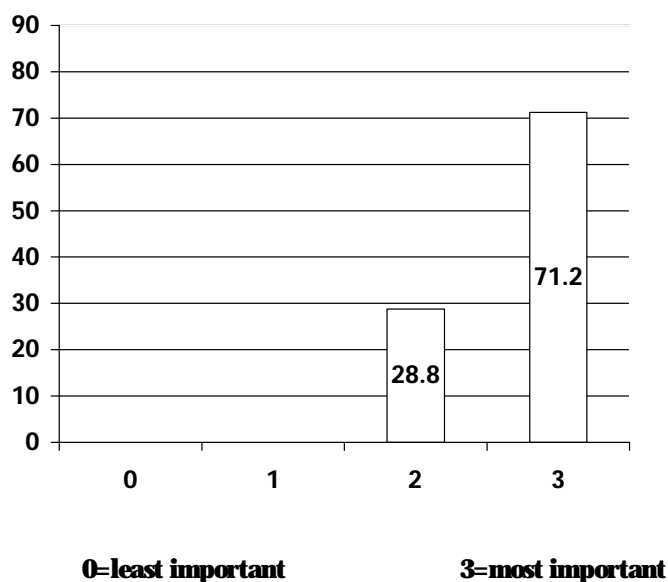


Figure 2. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of “correct terminological usage/word choice”

The third criterion, “fluent and pleasant delivery”, was given a rating of 3 by 88.4% of the users and a rating of 2 by 9.6%. “Fidelity to the original speech” was given a rating of 3 by 63.4% and a rating of 2 by 30.7%. Almost 6% of the participants rated this item 0 or 1, which showed that they considered it the least important of the quality criteria.

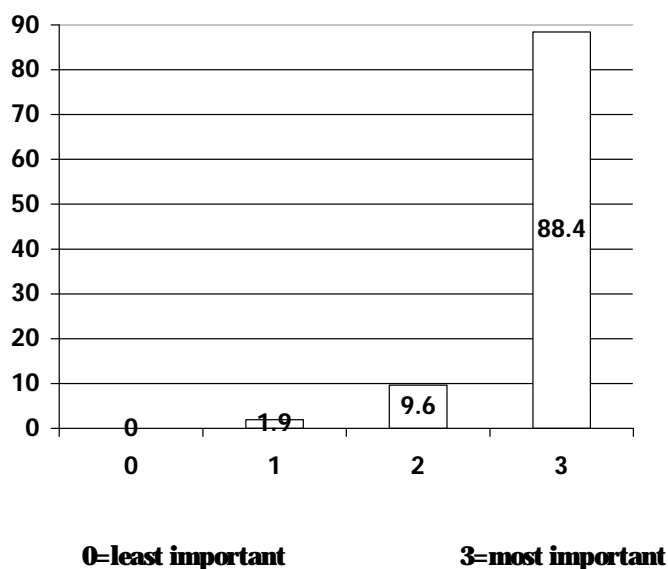


Figure 3. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "fluent and pleasant delivery"

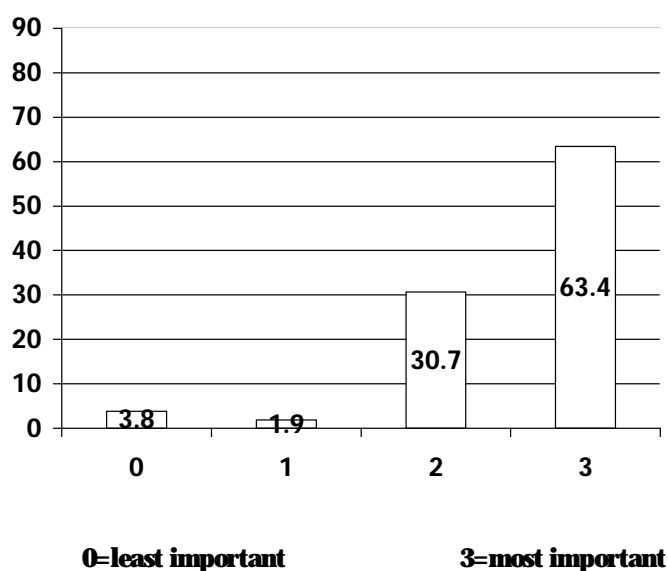
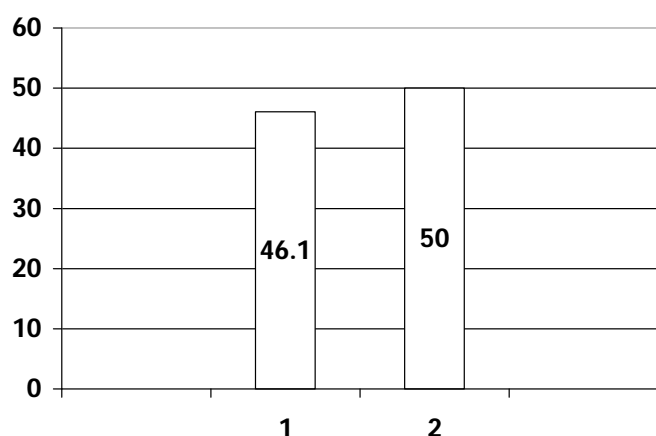


Figure 4. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "fidelity to the original speech"

As can be seen in the above figures, there are only slight differences in the ratings given to quality criteria by the conference participants. "Fluent and pleasant delivery" was considered by far the most important quality criterion, and "correct terminological usage/word choice" was considered more important than "completeness of information" and "fidelity to the original speech". Thus, it can be claimed that users consider the quality of delivery (i.e. the way they hear the speech, including accuracy of word choice and pleasantness of delivery) to be more important than one-to-one correspondence with the original speech. Interestingly, the extra items that the participants identified as quality criteria showed considerable agreement.

Although the phrasing differed, two main items were mentioned: technical knowledge (knowledge of the topic, accurate use of technical language, vocabulary in the field, etc.) and communication skills (body language, ability to communicate well, appearance, etc.). Users gave considerable importance to these two criteria, as those who mentioned them rated them quite high. The quality criterion of technical knowledge was given a rating of 3 by 84.6% of those who mentioned it and a rating of 2 by 13.4%. The criterion of communication skills, likewise, was given a rating of 3 by 90.3% of those who mentioned it and a rating of 2 by 5.7%.

Question 3 asked the users to describe the task of the interpreter. The first alternative given was “the interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible” and the second was “the interpreter should act as a mediator and bridge gaps arising from cultural differences”.

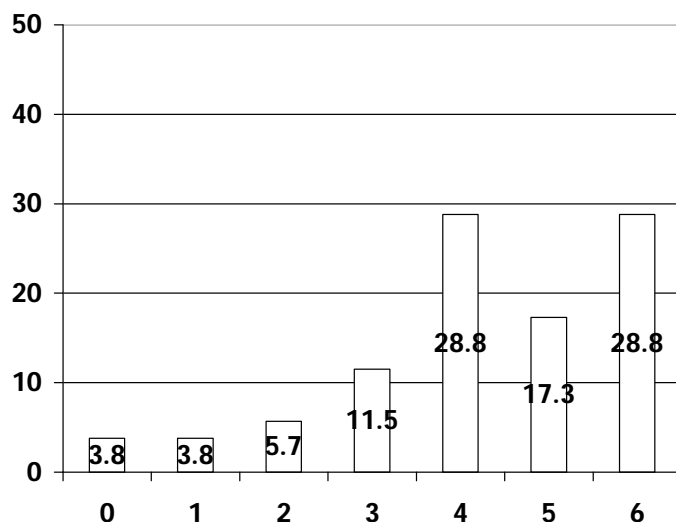


1=The interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible
2=The interpreter should act as a mediator and bridge gaps arising from cultural differences

Figure 5. Question 3, end-users' descriptions of the task of the interpreter

As seen in Figure 5, there was little difference between the ratings. The first alternative was chosen by 24 participants (46.1%) and the second by 26 (50%). About 4% of the participants did not answer the question, which may suggest that the distinction between the two alternatives was not understood. The answers to Question 3 highlight the ambiguity of role conceptions for the interpreter.

Question 4 asked the users to indicate the position of the interpreter during the mediated interaction on a seven-point scale ranging from “absolutely neutral and uninvolved” on the right (6) to “actively shaping communication” on the left (0).



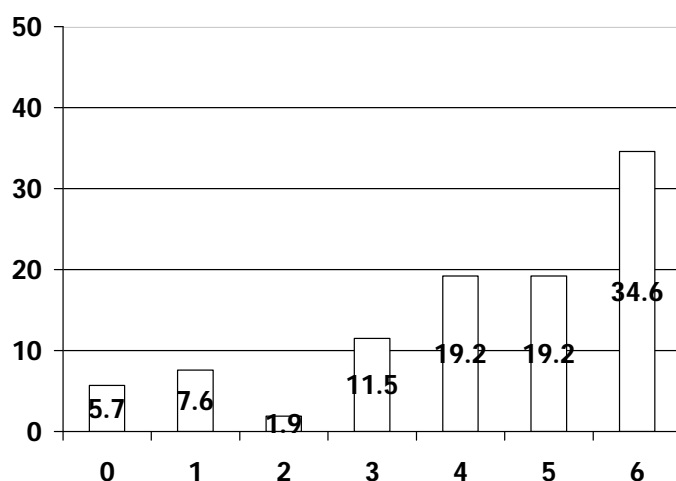
0=Actively shaping communication

6=Absolutely neutral and uninvolved

Figure 6. Question 4, end-users' ratings of the position of the interpreter

A clear tendency towards the right-hand side is observed, with 15 participants (28.8%) giving a rating of 6, 7 participants (17.3%) giving a rating of 5, and 15 participants (28.8%) giving a rating of 4. It seems that users perceive and define the interpreter's normative role as neutral and uninvolved.

A seven-point scale was also used in Question 9, which asked the users whether they preferred interpreters to express the gist of the message (0) or to render every detail (6).



0=Express the gist of the message

6=Render every detail

Figure 7. Question 9, end-users' ratings of interpreters' general strategy

As seen above, most users thought that the interpreter should render every detail in the original speech. A rating of 6 was given by 18 participants (34.6%), a rating of 5 by 10 participants (19.2%), and a rating of 4 by 10 participants (19.2%). These four questions may indicate how users construe and describe the interpreter's normative role.

6.2.3.2. Typical role

In this study, the typical role is regarded as strategies used by the interpreter (i.e. the interpreter's behavior) in certain typical situations, as perceived by the user. Questions 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8 dealt with the interpreter's typical role. They asked what kind of "routines" interpreters use in situations that arise while they are interpreting.

Question 2 was intended to determine what users prefer as the interpreter's strategy when foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in Turkish are mentioned. The first choice was to repeat the name of the institution/cultural item in the foreign language. This answer clearly indicates a solution referring to the source culture. The second choice was to replace the item with the closest equivalent in the target language. The third was to explain the term.

Table 1. Question 2, end-users' preferences for interpreters' strategies when they encounter foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in the target language

Strategy	Response (%)
Repeat the name of the institution/cultural item in the foreign language	9.6%
Replace the item with the closest equivalent in the target system/culture	38.5%
Explain the term	50%

As seen in Table 1, only 5 participants (9.6%) considered source-culture reference to be the appropriate solution in such cases. On the other hand, 20 participants (38.5%) preferred the interpreter to use the closest equivalent in the target cultural system and 26 participants (50%) preferred an explanation from the interpreter. Most participants thus expected the interpreter to play an active role in such situations in order to remove obstacles to communication arising from cultural differences. It is also important to note that an explanation was preferred by more users than an equivalent of the foreign term. The interpreter has to be knowledgeable on both source and target cultures and able to handle situations in which no shared "given" exists.

Question 5 asked the users whether the interpreter should imitate the gestures of the speaker. The choices were "yes", "no", and "sometimes".

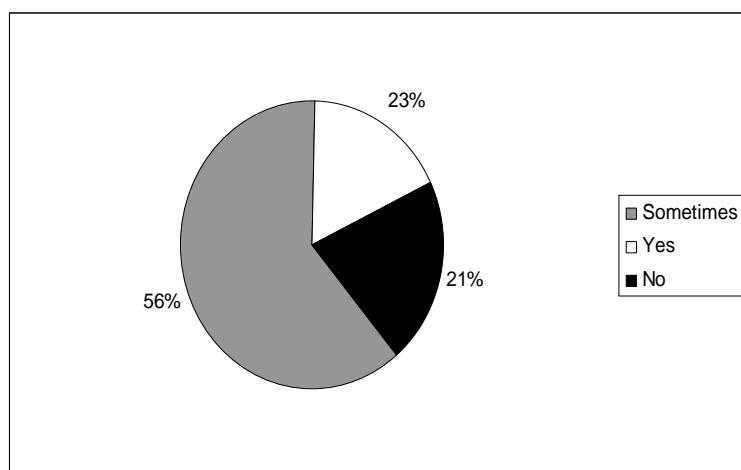


Figure 8. Question 5, end-users' preferences for interpreters to imitate the gestures of the speaker

To this question, 12 participants (23.1%) answered yes, 11 (21.2%) answered no, and the remaining 29 (55.8%) answered “sometimes”. This question did not yield a clear-cut result but it may suggest that the users considered body language and gestures important.

Like Question 5, Question 6 dealt with imitation of the speaker. It asks whether the interpreter should imitate the intonation of the speaker.

Table 2. Question 6, end-users' preferences for interpreters to imitate the intonation of the speaker

Option	Response (%)
Yes	65.4%
No	34.6%

A total of 34 participants (65.4%) thought that the interpreter should imitate the speaker's intonation, while 18 (34.6%) thought that they should not. This result suggests that the way the speech is conveyed is also important for the participants in addition to the content that is conveyed.

Like Question 2, Question 7 is crucial for our study as it relates directly to the active role and intervention of the interpreter, aiming to find out whether users think that the interpreter should correct the speaker if he or she has made a mistake.

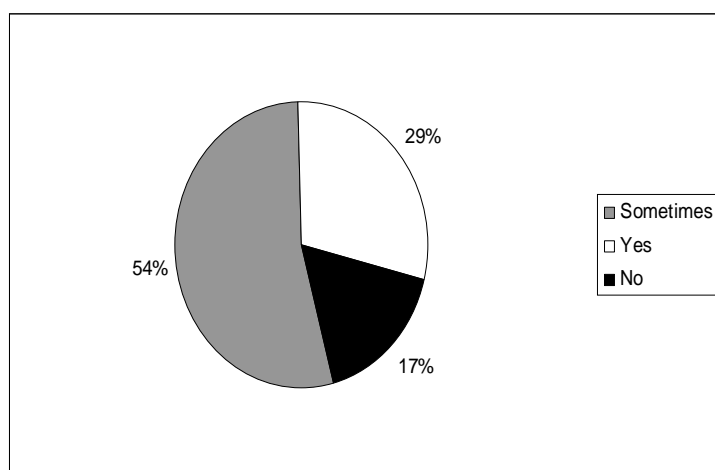


Figure 9. Question 7, end-users' preferences for interpreters to correct the speaker if he or she has made a mistake

A total of 28 participants (53.8%) thought that the interpreter should correct the speaker if he or she has made a mistake, 15 participants (28.8%) thought the interpreter should do so in some situations, and 9 (17.3%) thought that they should not do so. This shows that most users included in the survey are in favor of the interventionist role of the interpreter, seeing no harm in interpreters' correcting the mistakes of speakers.

The last question on the typical role, Question 8, asked whether the interpreter should add his or her explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings. This question is also immediately relevant to our research objectives, because adding one's own explanations is highly indicative of interpreters' interference with the original speech.

Table 3. Question 8, end-users' preferences for interpreters to add their explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings

Option	Response (%)
Yes	69.2%
No	30.8%

A total of 36 participants (69.2%) preferred the interpreter to add his or her explanations in cases of misunderstandings or situations that may lead to a lack of mutual understanding between the parties, while 16 (30.8%) preferred the interpreter not to do so. This shows that most participants find it appropriate for the interpreter to use his or her own words, quite independently from the original speech, when he or she feels the need to do so.

6.2.3.3. Discussion

Though the users were fairly evenly divided on whether the interpreter's task should be "translating as faithfully as possible", the other two questions on normative role showed clearer differences. Most participants (37 participants, 75%) marked 4, 5 or 6 on a 7-point scale on which 6 was "absolutely neutral and uninvolved". Furthermore, on a 7-point scale, with the anchor points of "rendering every detail" and "expressing the gist of the message", most participants (38 participants, 73%) defined the interpreter's normative strategy as "rendering every detail". Thus, conference participants perceive and define the interpreter's role as being neutral and uninvolved in the interaction, without intervening in the original speech in any way (by condensing or extending the text).

However, the answers to the questions on the typical role seem to suggest the opposite. The users seemed to prefer an interpreter who explains foreign institutions or culture-specific items or refers to the target cultural system (46 participants, 88.5%), corrects the speaker when he or she makes a mistake (43 participants, 82.6%), and makes explanations to clear up misunderstandings (36 participants, 69.2%). In other words, the users expect the interpreter to take an active role, intervening when necessary and making his or her voice heard.

The analysis of the survey applied in Event 1 indicates that the general opinions of users on the role of the interpreter are very different from the way users expect the interpreter to behave in certain situations. On the one hand, the role of the interpreter is described as one of full compliance with the rules of fidelity to the original speech, neutrality, and non-involvement in the interpreting process. On the other, interpreters are expected to remove misunderstandings arising from cultural differences and/or lack of shared knowledge, intervene when necessary and make use of communication skills in order to facilitate communication. In Goffman's terms, there is a considerable *role distance* between the normative role of the interpreter and the typical role.

6.3. User survey: Event 2

6.3.1. Description of Event 2

In order to obtain additional data for comparison, the questionnaire was given to conference participants at another event. The conference was on tourism and was held in Alanya, a tourist

resort in southern Turkey. It was organized by the Department of Tourism of Akdeniz University's Faculty of Business Administration, the Alanya municipality, and the World Bank. The aim of this event was to monitor the developments in, and current situation of, the tourism sector in Turkey. Participants included academics and students in the field as well as professionals working for firms such as hotels and airline companies. The number of participants was around 100 and they came from both Turkey and abroad. This conference was more formal than Event 1 and the interactivity was low. There was no possibility for the participants to intervene during speeches and presentations. Discussion was held only at the brief (5 to 10 minutes) Q&A sessions at the end of each speech/presentation. The conference was scheduled for three days, with plenary sessions for the opening and closing speeches and three separate sessions at other times. Each session was held with two interpreters, making six interpreters in total. The interpreters played an important role in the conference and were held in high esteem by both the organizers and the participants. The interpreters were assigned to the conference by a translation company that had a contract with the organizers.

6.3.2. Survey administration and participants

I was one of the interpreters at this event and was lucky enough to obtain permission for the survey from the organizers. The questionnaires were distributed during the lunch break on the final day of the three-day conference and the participants were asked to return them to the box on the reception desk. Students attending the conference helped to collect the questionnaires.

The survey had a higher response rate than had been expected. The questionnaires were given to the 100 conference participants in the setting, and 71 of them participated in the survey. Around 51% of the participants who filled out the questionnaires were men and 49% were women. The participants' level of English was better than the first group's, probably because people working in tourism usually need to have a good command of foreign languages. With regard to knowledge of English, 38% answered "advanced", 32% "good", 15% "reasonable", 11% "basic", and 3% "none". Thus, 70% of the participants had an advanced or good knowledge of English, leaving only 14% with a basic knowledge or none. In terms of profession, this group of end-users was more heterogeneous than the first group. This is not surprising because tourism has many different stakeholders and interest groups and the conference was open to them all. The participants were tourism scholars, undergraduate and graduate students, and professionals from the sector with expertise in fields such as

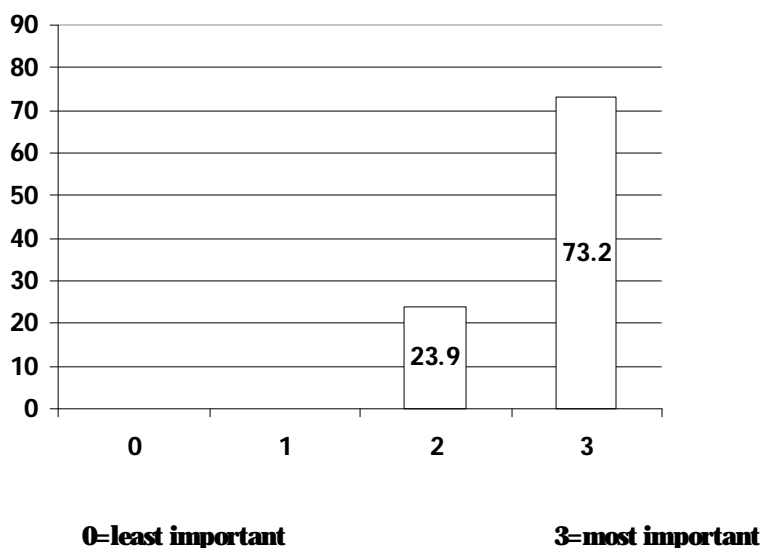


Figure 11. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "correct terminological usage/word choice"

The third criterion, "fluent and pleasant delivery", was given a rating of 3 by 71.8% of the users, a rating of 2 by 22.5%, and a rating of 1 by 4.2%. "Fidelity to the original speech" was given a rating of 3 by 47.8%, a rating of 2 by 40.8%, and a rating of 0 or 1 by 11.2%. The slight difference between those who rated it 3 and 2 and the fact that the rating of 1 was given by 11.2% indicate that the users considered it the least important quality criterion.

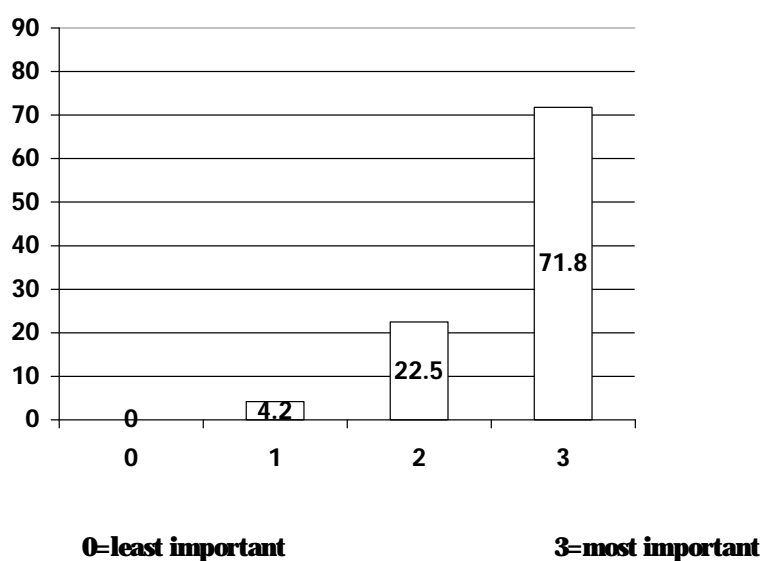


Figure 12. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "fluent and pleasant delivery"

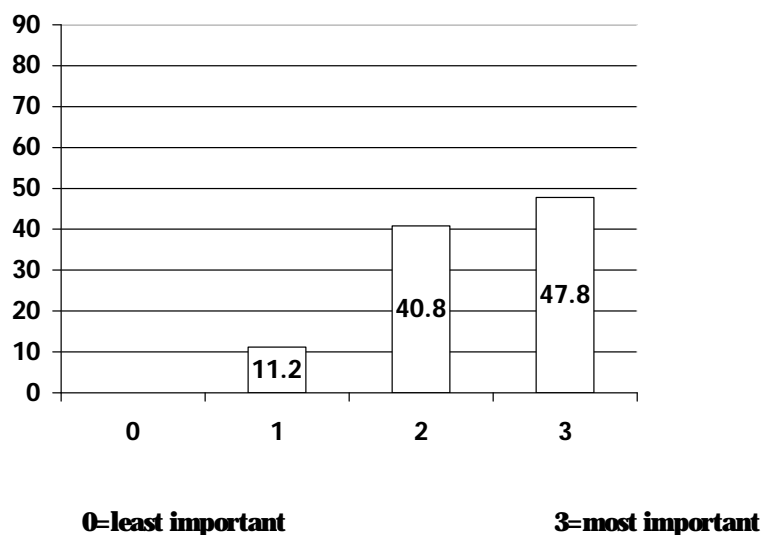
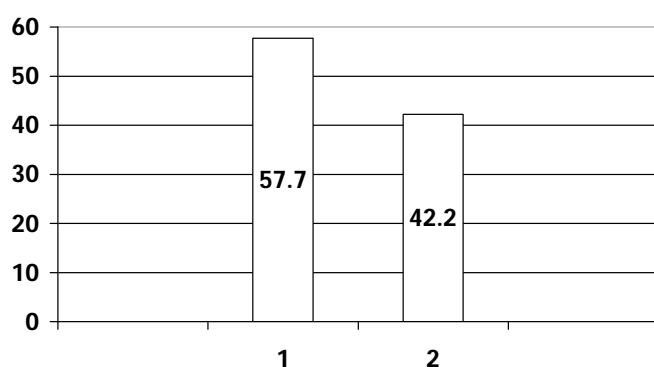


Figure 13. Question 1, end-users' ratings of the criterion of "fidelity to the original speech"

The first quality criterion, "completeness of information", was considered the most important one, followed closely by "correct terminological usage/word choice" and "fluent and pleasant delivery", whereas "fidelity to the original speech" was considered less important.

Question 3 asked the users to describe the task of the interpreter. The first alternative given was "the interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible" and the second was "the interpreter should act as a mediator and bridge gaps arising from cultural differences".



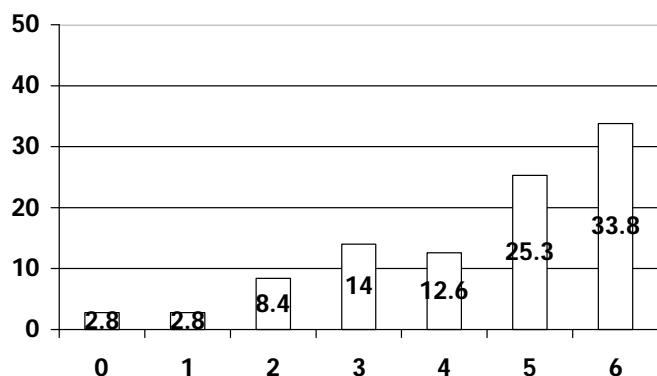
1=The interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible

2=The interpreter should act as a mediator and bridge gaps arising from cultural differences

Figure 14. Question 3, end-users' descriptions of the task of the interpreter

Unlike the first group of end-users, 41 participants (57.7%) defined the interpreter's task as translating as faithfully as possible.

Question 4 asked the users to indicate the position of the interpreter during the mediated interaction on a 7-point scale ranging from “absolutely neutral and uninvolved” on the right (6) to “actively shaping communication” on the left (0).

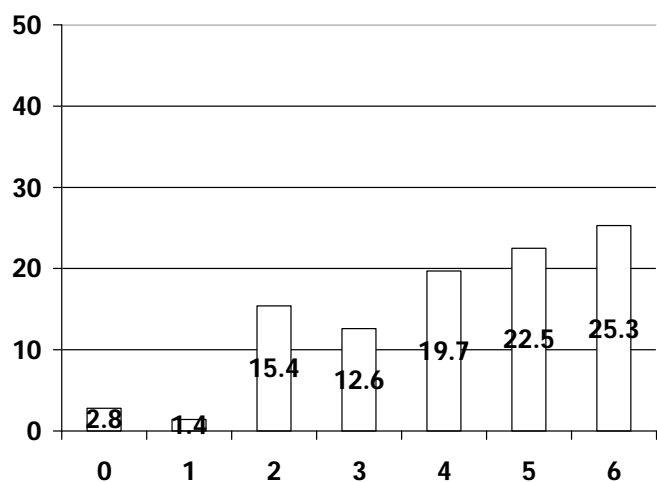


0=Actively shaping communication 6=Absolutely neutral and uninvolved

Figure 15. Question 4, end-users' ratings of the position of the interpreter

Again, a clear tendency is seen towards the right-hand side, with 24 participants (33.8%) giving a rating of 6, 18 participants (25.3%) giving a rating of 5, 9 participants (12.6%) giving a rating of 4, and 10 participants (14%) giving a rating of 3. It thus seems that users perceive and define the interpreter's normative role as neutral and uninvolved.

Question 9 also used a 7-point scale to ask users whether they preferred interpreters to “express the gist of the message” (0) or to “render every detail” (6).



0=Express the gist of the message 6=Render every detail

Figure 16. Question 9, end-users' ratings of interpreters' general strategy

Most users thought the interpreter should render every detail in the original speech. A rating of 6 was given by 18 participants (25.3%), a rating of 5 by 22.5%, a rating of 4 by 16 (19.7%), a rating of 3 by 9 (12.6%), and a rating of 2 by 11 (15.4%). These 4 questions indicate how users construe the interpreter's normative role and how they describe that role in general.

6.3.3.2. Typical role

Question 2 was intended to find out the interpreters' strategy that users prefer when foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in Turkish are mentioned. The first choice was to repeat the name of the institution/cultural item in the foreign language—clearly a solution referring to the source culture. The second choice was to replace the item with the closest equivalent in the target language and the third was to explain the term.

Table 4. Question 2, end-users' preferences for interpreters' strategies when they encounter foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in the target language

Strategy	Response (%)
Repeat the name of the institution/cultural item in the foreign language	22.5%
Replace the item with the closest equivalent in the target system/culture	36.6%
Explain the term	40.8%

As seen in Table 4, only 16 participants (22.5%) considered source-culture reference to be the appropriate solution in such cases, whereas 26 (36.6%) preferred the interpreter to use the closest equivalent in the target cultural system and 29 (40.8%) preferred an explanation from the interpreter. Most participants thus expected the interpreter to play an active role to remove obstacles in communication arising from cultural differences. It is also important to note that an explanation was preferred by more users than an equivalent of the foreign term. The interpreter has to be knowledgeable on both source and target cultures and able to handle situations in which no shared "given" exists.

Question 5 asked the users whether the interpreter should imitate the gestures of the speaker. The alternatives were "yes", "no", and "sometimes".

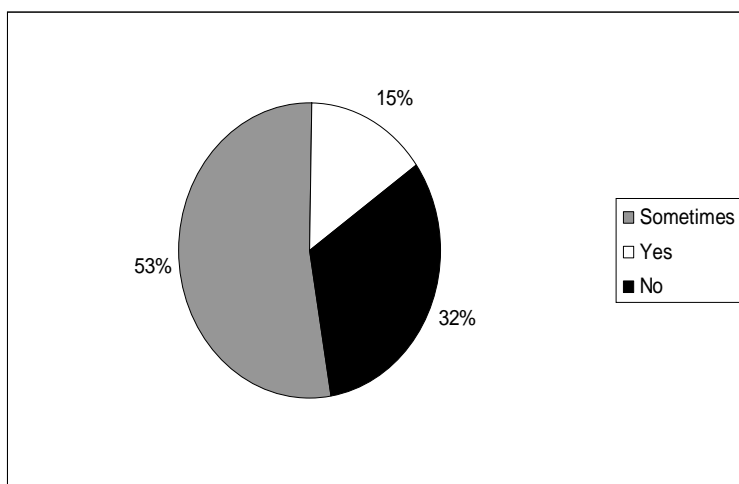


Figure 17. Question 5, end-users' preferences for interpreters to imitate the gestures of the speaker

In answer to this question, 11 participants (15.4%) thought the interpreter should imitate the gestures of the speaker, 23 (32.3%) that they should not, and 37 (52.1%) that they should do so sometimes. This result may suggest that end-users consider the interpreter's body language to be important, at least some of the time.

Question 6 asked whether the interpreter should imitate the intonation of the speaker.

Table 5. Question 6, end-users' preferences for interpreters to imitate the intonation of the speaker

Option	Response (%)
Yes	56.3%
No	43.6%

In answer to this question, 40 participants (56.3%) thought that interpreters should imitate the speaker's intonation and 31 (43.6%) that they should not. This suggests that, for some participants, the way the speech is conveyed is important in addition to the content that is conveyed.

Question 7 aimed to determine whether the users thought that the interpreter should correct the speaker if he or she had made a mistake.

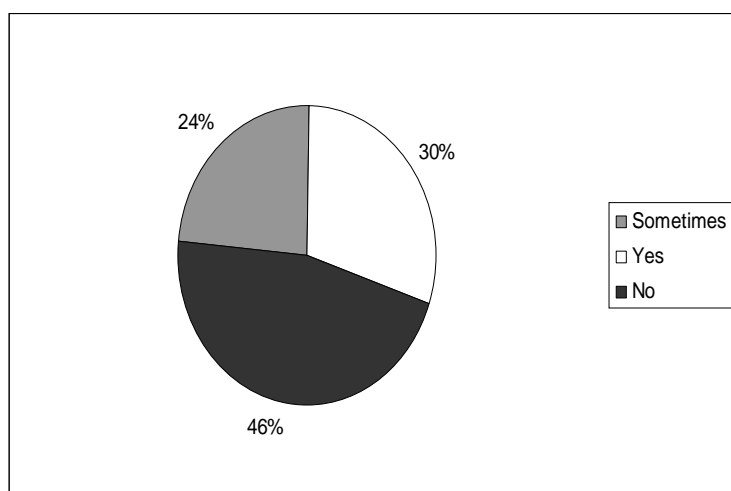


Figure 18. Question 7, end-users' preferences for interpreters to correct the speaker if he or she has made a mistake

In answer to this question, 21 participants (29.5%) thought that interpreters should correct the speaker if he or she had made a mistake, 17 (23.9%) that interpreters should do so in some situations, and 33 (46.4%) that they should not. This shows that in this group almost half the users consider that the interpreter should not correct the speaker's mistakes.

The last question on the typical role asked whether the interpreter should add his or her explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings. Adding one's own explanations is highly indicative of interpreter's intervention in the original speech.

Table 6. Question 8, end-users' preferences for interpreters to add explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings

Option	Response (%)
Yes	56.3%
No	43.6%

In answer to this question, 40 participants (56.3%) thought that interpreters should add their own explanations in case of misunderstandings or situations that may lead to a lack of mutual understanding between the parties and 31 (43.6%) that they should not. This result shows that most participants found it appropriate for interpreters to use their own words, independently of the original speech, when they feel the need to do so.

6.3.3.3. Discussion

In Event 2, the results obtained from the questions on normative role indicate that more than half the participants (41 participants, 57.7%) described the interpreter's task as "translating as faithfully as possible". On a 7-point scale, with 6 referring to the "absolutely neutral and uninvolved" position of the interpreter during the interaction and 0 referring to the interpreter "actively shaping communication", 51 participants (71.7%) marked 4, 5 or 6, indicating that most were in favor of an "absolutely neutral and uninvolved" position of the interpreter. Also on a 7-point scale, with 6 referring to "rendering every detail" and 0 referring to "expressing the gist of the message", 48 participants (67.5%) marked 4, 5 or 6, indicating that most thought the interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible and assume a neutral and uninvolved role.

In the answer to the questions on typical role, 29 participants (40.8%) preferred the interpreter to give an explanation on a foreign or culture-specific item, which might mean making an intervention in the interaction, 26 participants (36.6%) preferred source-culture reference as a solution, and 16 participants (22.5%) thought that the interpreter should repeat the term in the foreign language. With regard to body language, 11 participants (15.4%) thought that interpreters should imitate the gestures of the speaker, 23 participants (32.3%) thought that they should not, and 37 participants (52.1%) thought that they should do so in some situations. As for intonation, 40 participants (56.3%) thought that interpreters should imitate the speaker's intonation and 31 participants (43.6%) thought that they should not. On correcting the speaker's mistakes, 21 participants (29.5%) thought that interpreters should correct the speaker if he or she had made a mistake, 17 participants (23.9%) thought that interpreters should do so in some situations, and 33 participants 46.4% thought that they should not do so. With regard to adding explanations to the original, 40 participants (56.3%) thought that the interpreter should add explanations to the original speech and 31 participants (43.6%) that they should not.

The analysis of the survey on user expectations applied in Event 2 once again showed the difference between the general definitions of the interpreter's role and the strategies that the interpreter is expected to resort to, though this difference was not as obvious as in Event 1. The users defined the interpreter's role as faithful, neutral, and uninvolved but, surprisingly, they tolerated and sometimes even expected interpreter interventions. Thus, a role distance exists between the interpreter's normative role and typical role.

6.4. Comparison of the findings obtained from two events

More participants described the interpreter's task as "translating as faithfully as possible" in Event 2 than in Event 1. By far the majority of participants in both groups were in favor of the "absolutely neutral and uninvolved" position of the interpreter, with almost the same percentage.

The normative strategy of the interpreter was defined as "rendering every detail" by the majority of participants in Event 2, although fewer than in Event 1. Users in both events defined the interpreter's role as faithful, neutral, and uninvolved, though with some differences. More participants in Event 2 defined the interpreter's role as translating as faithfully as possible. This might be related to the fact that Event 2 is more formal and less interactive than Event 1, indicating the influence of contextual factors. In both events, users showed a tendency to favor the neutral and uninvolved role of the interpreter rather than the role described as "actively shaping communication".

The percentage of participants who preferred source-culture reference when the interpreter encounters the name of an institution or a culture-specific item without an equivalent in the target culture was higher in Event 2 than in Event 1, so fewer users in the second group would expect an explanation in such a situation. Although most participants in Event 2 expected the interpreter to assume responsibility in overcoming obstacles in communication due to differences between cultures, the percentage was lower than in Event 1. The question on imitating the gestures of the speaker yielded similar results in both groups, with more than half the participants choosing "sometimes". As regards intonation, more participants in Event 1 thought that the interpreter should imitate the speaker's intonation, though the tendency was the same in both groups. The percentages differed regarding the questions on body language and intonation. More users in Event 1 thought that the interpreter should imitate the gestures and intonation of the speaker, a result that can be attributed to the different features of the events. Although the interpreter is central to the communication in both settings, he or she is more actively involved in Event 1. Thus, for most end-users in Event 1, and for some in Event 2, it is not only what is said that matters, but also how it is said.

As for one of the most important indicators of the interpreter's active role, correcting the speaker's mistakes, almost half of the users in Event 2 were against interpreters' correcting the speaker's mistakes, compared with only 17.3% in Event 1. The number of participants who were in favor of this strategy was far lower in Event 2 than in Event 1.

Though most participants found the interpreter's explanations to be useful and necessary for removing barriers in communication, the participants in Event 1 tolerated and expected interpreter interventions more than those in Event 2, possibly because Event 1 was less formal and more interactive.

The results of all questions except two indicate similar tendencies for both groups. These two questions were Question 3 on the description of the interpreter's task and Question 7 on interpreters' correction of the speaker's mistakes. With regard to the interpreter's task, most users in Event 2 expected the interpreter to translate as faithfully as possible, whereas in Event 1 most users expected the interpreter to act as a mediator and bridge the gaps arising from cultural differences, in addition to translation. This difference might be regarded as an indicator of the effect of contextual factors on user expectations. With regard to the correction of speakers' mistakes, again, fewer participants in Event 2 were in favor of it. Thus, the analysis of the responses of the user groups in the two events indicates that users' general perceptions regarding the interpreter's role (the task, the position, and the general strategy of the interpreter) differ from the expectations of users in specific situations. The interpreter is defined as an uninvolved, neutral agent whose task is to translate as faithfully as possible and whose general strategy should be to render almost every detail. However, most users assume that the interpreter should make explanations or refer to the target culture in order to facilitate communication in case of cultural differences. The majority of the users in both events also thought that interpreters should make use of body language, intonation, and communication skills. Likewise, most users in both events assume that interpreters should add their own explanations to the speech to clear up misunderstandings.

The comparison of the findings from the two events also indicates that role perceptions vary depending on the interactional context (group and event), even within the same institutional context. However, further research is needed on different types of events in order to draw a broader conclusion on this aspect. For the specific case of the two events under study, the differences between the two groups can be explained by the nature and features of the events, such as interactivity and formality. Thus, it is clear that the interpreter's role definition should be reconsidered through research among different user groups in various events and institutional contexts. Our user surveys have provided the general overview of how the interpreter's role is defined by users in two settings with varying degrees of interactivity and formality. They also offer insights into differing perspectives of users regarding the general role definitions of interpreters and the strategies that they are expected

to adopt in certain situations. The findings of the user surveys will be complemented by the interpreter perspective explored below.

7. Normative Role vs. Typical Role: Interpreter Perspective

The present chapter deals with interpreters' self-perception of their roles. The data were gathered in two ways: general perceptions were elicited through surveys and a deeper understanding was obtained through interviews. The surveys are analyzed by comparing the interpreter's normative and typical roles, whereas the interviews are analyzed in sections considered relevant to the purposes of the study. Each section begins with a description of the respondents and ends with a discussion of the findings.

7.1. Interpreter surveys

7.1.1. Survey administration and interpreters

The questionnaires were given to 40 interpreters based in Turkey in order to obtain a general overview of how interpreters perceive their role.¹ The responses are of considerable importance because they will provide the opportunity to compare the role perceptions of interpreters with real-life situations. The interpreters who participated in the survey have Turkish as their A language and English as their B language or one of their B languages and have experience working in projects, which was the case of the events under study. The subjects were freelance or in-house interpreters, 34 of them women and 6 of them men. Their English level was advanced and their age ranged from 22 to 36, with an average of 29 and a median of 26.5. These interpreters were reached through personal contacts. My interpreter colleagues helped greatly with the distribution of the questionnaires and, thanks to their efforts, 40 interpreters with experience in the types of events under study were reached. The response rate was 100%. All questionnaires were sent and collected electronically. The questionnaires were sent out and collected within an extended period of time, around two months, as I had to make sure that I had sent them to the right interpreters and to as many as possible. Having worked with many of the interpreters who participated in the survey, I found it very easy to collect data from them because of the advantages of being an insider. The

¹ The questionnaires were given initially to 16 interpreters and the results of this pilot survey were also reported in Eraslan (2007).

questionnaire included a brief statement of purpose and the interpreters were asked to return them to my personal email address.

7.1.2. Analysis

7.1.2.1. Normative role

The first question on quality criteria yielded similar results to those of the users. On a scale from 3 (most important) to 0 (least important), “completeness of information” was rated 2 by 25% of the interpreters, 3 by 72.5%, and 1 by the remaining 2.5%. “Correct terminological usage/word choice” was rated 2 by 30% and 3 by 70%.

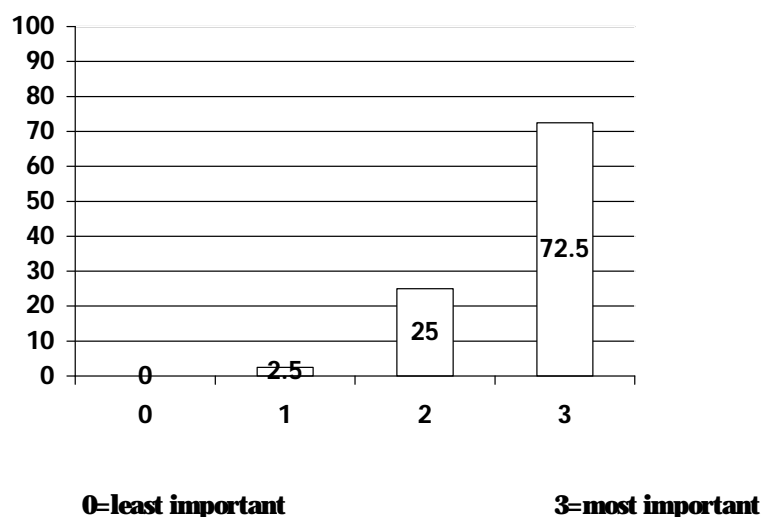


Figure 19. Question 1, interpreters' ratings of the criterion of “completeness of information”

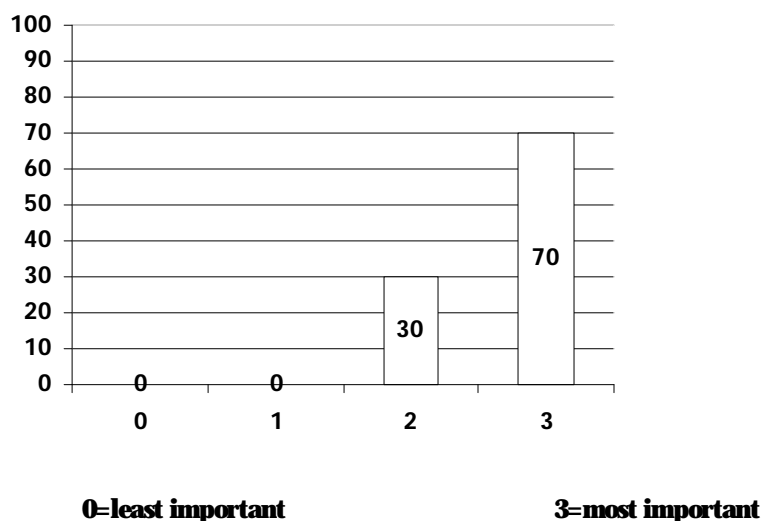


Figure 20. Question 1, interpreters' ratings of the criterion of “correct terminological usage/word choice”

Surprisingly, almost all interpreters who took part in the survey (92.5%) considered “fluent and pleasant delivery” to be the most important quality criterion. However, only 7.5% rated it 2. “Fidelity to the original speech” was rated the lowest, as 7.5% rated it 1, 60% rated it 2, and 32.5% rated it 3. The two other quality criteria specified by the interpreters were interestingly coherent. Unlike the users, who drew attention to the importance of communication skills such as body language and appearance and of technical knowledge on the topic at hand, interpreters mentioned intonation/tone of voice and pronunciation as important quality criteria. Among the interpreters who wrote quality criteria other than those already stated in the first question, 67% mentioned pronunciation and 58% mentioned intonation/tone of voice.

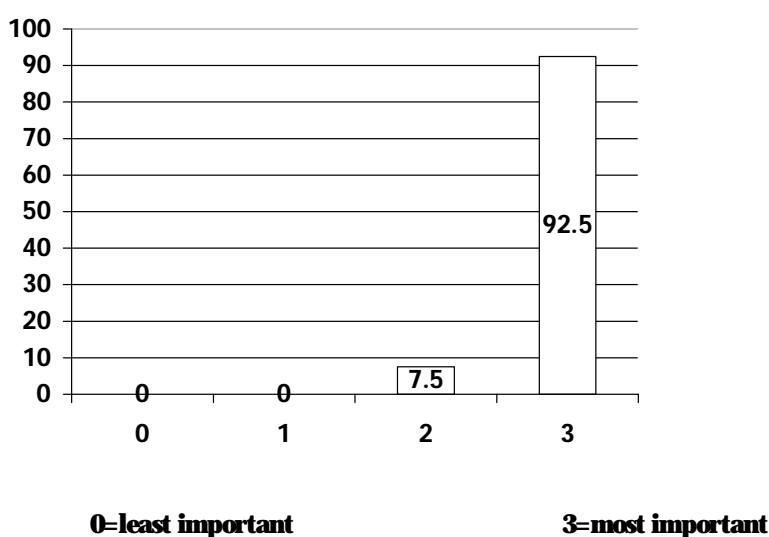


Figure 21. Question 1, interpreters' ratings of the criterion of “fluent and pleasant delivery”

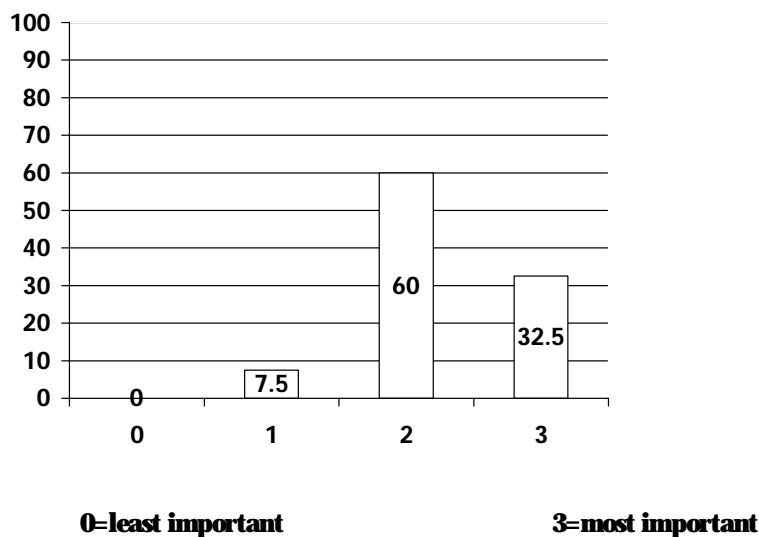
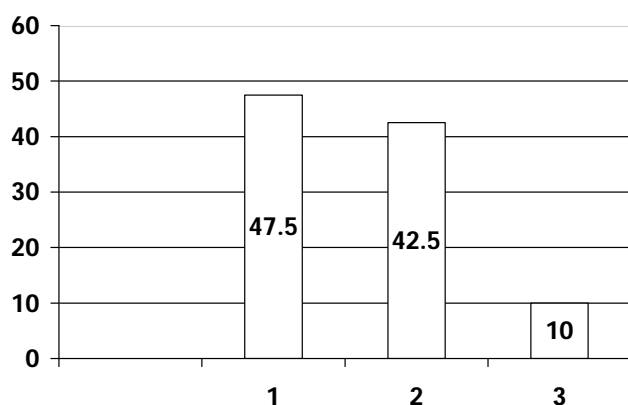


Figure 22. Question 1, interpreters' ratings of the criterion of “fidelity to the original speech”

In Question 3, which aimed to find out how interpreters define their task, 19 interpreters (47.5%) considered their task to be “translating as faithfully as possible” and 17 (42.5%) considered it to be “acting as a mediator and bridging gaps arising from cultural differences”. There was a tendency of interpreters involved in the survey towards the first choice although not a very clear one. The remaining 4 interpreters (10%) did not agree with any of the definitions and wrote their own definitions of the interpreter’s task, which will be mentioned later.

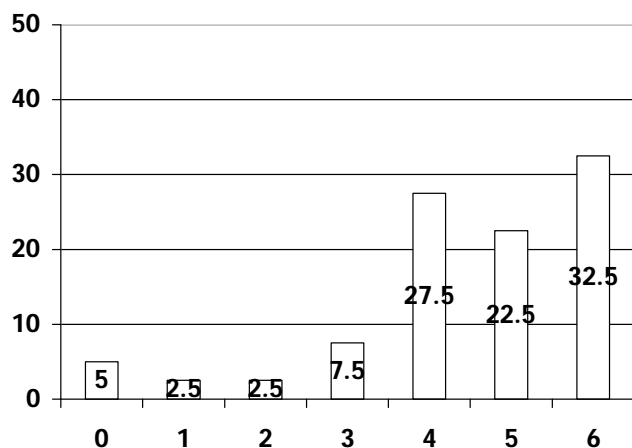


1=The interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible

2=The interpreter should act as a mediator and bridge gaps arising from cultural differences

Figure 23. Question 3, interpreters’ descriptions of the task of the interpreter

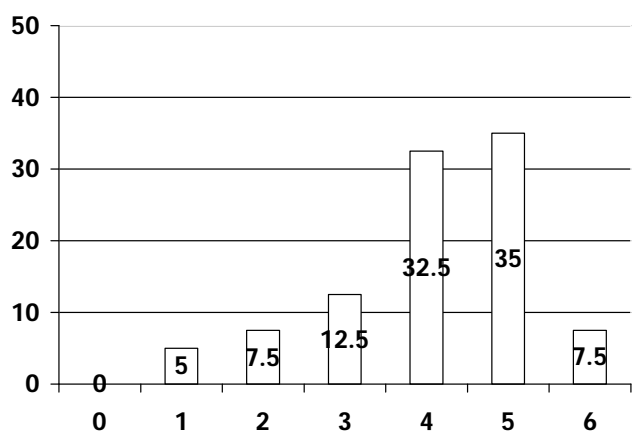
In answer to Question 4, also on normative role, 13 interpreters (32.5%) rated the position of the interpreter during the mediated interaction as 6 (absolutely neutral and uninvolved), 9 (22.5%) rated it as 5, 11 (27.5%) rated it as 4, and 3 (7.5%) rated it as 3. Most of the interpreters chose 4, 5 or 6, which are closer to the uninvolved and neutral position of the interpreter on the 7-point scale.



0=Actively shaping communication 6=Absolutely neutral and uninvolved

Figure 24. Question 4, interpreters' ratings of the position of the interpreter

Question 9 also deal with normative role. On a 7-point scale in which 6 was “rendering every detail” and 0 was “expressing the gist of the message”, 3 interpreters (7.5%) rated it as 6, 14 (35%) rated it as 5, 13 (32.5%) rated it as 4, and 5 (12.5%) rated it as 3. Thus, more interpreters tended to think that every detail should be rendered in interpretation.



0=Express the gist of the message 6=Render every detail

Figure 25. Question 9, interpreters' ratings of interpreters' general strategy

7.1.2.2. Typical role

Questions 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8 dealt with typical role. Question 2 attempted to determine the strategy that the interpreters deemed appropriate when they encountered foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in the target language.

Table 7. Question 2, interpreters' preferences for interpreters' strategies when they encounter foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in the target language

Strategy	Response (%)
Repeat the name of the institution/cultural item in the foreign language	12.5%
Replace the item with the closest equivalent in the target system/culture	12.5%
Explain the term	75%

In answer to this question, 5 interpreters (12.5%) thought it was proper to repeat the name of the institution or the cultural item in the foreign language, 5 (12.5%) preferred replacing the item with the closest equivalent in the target culture or system, and 30 (75%) preferred to explain the term in such a situation, supporting the view that the interpreter can and should make explanations, i.e. speak in his or her own voice, if and when necessary.

In answer to Question 5, 4 interpreters (10%) thought that the interpreter should imitate the gestures of the speaker, 30 (75%) thought that this strategy was plausible in certain situations but not always, and 6 (15%) did not agree with the strategy.

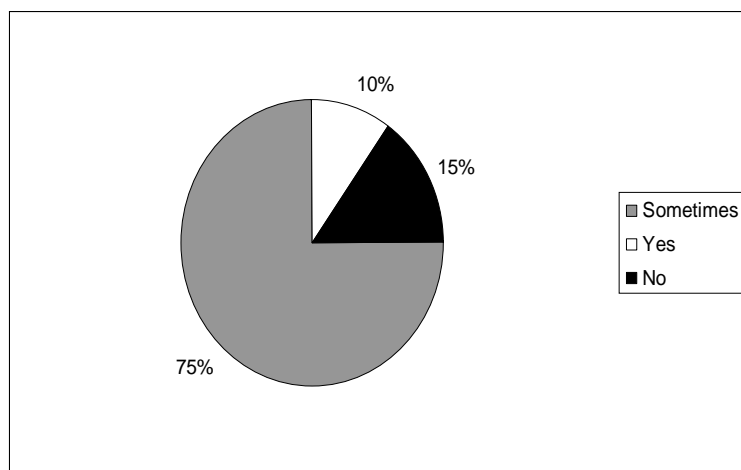


Figure 26. Question 5, interpreters' preferences for interpreters to imitate the gestures of the speaker

In answer to Question 6, 31 interpreters (77.5%) stated that the interpreter should imitate the intonation of the speaker and 9 (22.5%) that he or she should not.

Table 8. Question 6, interpreters' preferences for interpreters to imitate the intonation of the speaker

Option	Response (%)
Yes	77.5%
No	22.5%

Question 7 was directly related to the notion of role. Only 2 interpreters (5%) thought that the interpreter should correct the speaker's mistakes, 12 (30%) thought that they should not and, interestingly, 26 (65%) thought that they should do so "sometimes".

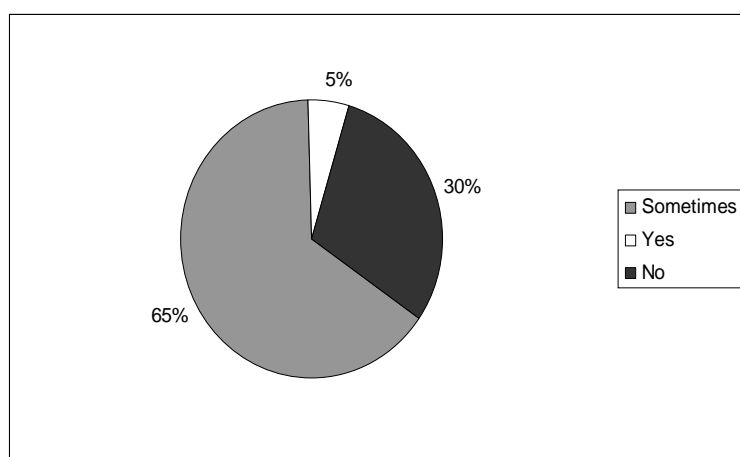


Figure 27. Question 7, interpreters' preferences of for interpreters to correct the speaker if he or she has made a mistake

The responses of the interpreters to Question 8 were also surprisingly consistent, with 32 interpreters (80%) stating that interpreters should add their own explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings when necessary and 8 (20%) stating that they should not.

Table 9. Question 8, interpreters' preferences for interpreters to add their explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings

Option	Response (%)
Yes	80%
No	20%

7.1.2.3. Discussion

The interpreter surveys provided information regarding the perspectives of interpreters on their own role and position as well as the differences between their normative and typical role. The results of the questionnaires filled out by 40 interpreters indicate how interpreters define

their own role and how they expect the interpreter to act in certain situations. A total of 19 interpreters (47.5%) described their role as “translating as faithfully as possible” against 17 (42.5%) who described it as “acting as a mediator and bridging gaps arising from cultural differences” and 4 (10%) who gave other definitions of their role. A total of 33 interpreters (82.5%) rated the interpreter’s position during the interaction as 4, 5, or 6 on a 7-point scale ranging from “actively shaping communication” (0) to “absolutely neutral and uninvolved” (6). In the other question with a scale, 30 interpreters (75%) preferred 4, 5 or 6 on the side of the interpreter’s “rendering every detail”. Thus, with regard to normative role, most interpreters described their role as being neutral and uninvolved in the interaction in order to render the original as faithfully as possible.

In answer to the questions on typical role, 30 interpreters (75%) thought that the interpreter should explain the term when foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in Turkish were mentioned. Half of the rest thought that the item should be replaced with its equivalent in the target language and the other half thought that the item should be repeated in the source language. Thus, 35 interpreters (87.5%) thought that the interpreter should either explain the term or replace it with its Turkish equivalent, which requires an active role on the interpreter’s part. Furthermore, 38 interpreters (95%) thought that interpreters should correct the speaker in certain situations or always and 32 (80%) thought that interpreters should add their own explanations to remove misunderstandings.

Interpreters, even more than users, expect the interpreter to take an active role during the interaction, but when it comes to defining that role, they abide by the prescribed definition of a channel or conduit. The distance between interpreters’ normative and typical role is significant. The role of the interpreter needs to be redefined to take into account differences between events, different user expectations, and different needs.

7.2. Interviews

7.2.1. Purpose and design of the interviews

Interviews were held with interpreters to gain a deeper understanding of the interpreter’s role in context, complementing the findings of the user expectations survey. Four interpreters who have experience in both types of events under study were interviewed for the triangulation of

data and a richer discussion of findings. In accordance with the fieldwork strategy, these four interpreters were interviewed on the job, during the conference in which the user expectations survey was conducted (Event 2). More importantly, one of the interviewees (Interpreter B) was the interpreter whose actual performance is analyzed in this study (see Chapter 8). All the interpreters interviewed were based in Turkey, all of them had the language combination English and Turkish and all the interviews were recorded through an audio-recorder, transcribed, and translated into English.

The interviews with these interpreters were semi-structured. The ten questions to be asked were prepared in advance but they were asked in a fairly flexible format and order. The questions dealt with the interpreter's role, the effect of mode of interpreting on role, quality criteria, the influence of user expectations and context, neutrality, and interpreting strategies. The questions were:

- How would you define the role of the interpreter?
- Do you think the mode of delivery (simultaneous/consecutive) makes any difference in general? If so, in what way?
- What do you consider to be the most important quality criteria in interpreting?
- How do you handle foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in the target language?
- Do you think the interpreter should make explanations to clear up misunderstandings or correct mistakes of the speaker?
- What do you think the users' expectations on conference interpreting are in general?
- Are you influenced by user expectations? If so, in what way?
- Do you think the well-known ideal principle of neutrality is feasible? Is the interpreter visible in the interaction? In what ways, for instance?
- Are you influenced by the broader socio-cultural context of the meeting or the conference as well as the institution and the thematic setting?

The interviews turned into discussions and the experiences of the interpreters yielded far more than the answers to the questions. First, brief information will be provided on the educational and professional background of the interpreters. Then their answers will be discussed under several related headings.

7.2.2. Interpreters

Three interpreters (Interpreters A, B, and C) hold BA degrees in the field of translation and interpreting, whereas the fourth (Interpreter D) is a graduate of the department of Drama and Dramatic Writing. Interpreter A and B also hold an MA in translation and interpreting, and Interpreter D is a graduate student in philosophy. Thus, three interpreters have an educational background in our field.

As for professional background and experience, the most experienced among them were Interpreters A and D. Both had six years' experience of professional interpreting (and translation). Interpreter A had worked as a freelancer for one year and as an in-house translator and interpreter for five years, including two years as a project assistant, which involved, but was not limited to, translation and interpreting. Interpreter D had worked at a translation office for a year, and had been working as a freelance translator and interpreter for five years. Interpreter B had three years of experience, one year as a translator and interpreter in a project and two years as a freelancer. It is important to note at this point that Interpreter B was the interpreter whose actual performance is analyzed in this study (see Chapter 8). Interpreter C, who was the least experienced among them, had been working as a professional freelance interpreter for one year.

7.2.3. Analysis

7.2.3.1. Role

In their answers to the question on the definition of the interpreter's role, Interpreters A and B referred to "providing communication". Interpreter C mentioned "objectives" of the meeting, i.e. that the meeting would not achieve its objectives without an interpreter, whereas Interpreter D mentioned "removing the language barrier" and added that there were different ways to do this. The interpreters stuck to general definitions of role, but their answers indicate that they had given thought to their role and were aware of the discussions on role in the field.

7.2.3.2. Mode

As this study focuses on consecutive interpreting, a few questions were aimed at determining whether their role perceptions varied depending on mode. Interpreter A stated that although her role was the same, that is providing communication, the work load changed depending on

mode. Interpreter A and Interpreter D mentioned the factors that distracted them in consecutive, such as participants intervening or more than one speaker talking at a time, as well as the difficulty of “multitasking”, referring to mainly note-taking and keeping things in mind for a longer time. They both mentioned that the problem with consecutive was focusing their attention on the delivery due to numerous external and internal factors, whereas in simultaneous they did not have problems with focusing. They also stated that they needed to put more effort into the task in consecutive than in simultaneous in order to achieve the same quality. In addition to these difficulties, they talked about being alone in consecutive and stated that it could be very tiring “to interpret endlessly” (Interpreter A). However, in simultaneous one is working in a team of two, and “a boothmate can save your life” (Interpreter A). Being on stage did not seem to concern them as much as focusing and concentrating. However, Interpreter D mentioned that even though he did not have a problem with being on stage, it could still be another source of stress. Interpreter C talked more about the advantages of simultaneous than the disadvantages of consecutive. She said that the stage could be “less comfortable” than the booth and that consecutive interpreting was boring due to the need to wait and take notes. She added that simultaneous was more exciting, more fluent and more fun than consecutive. She said that one could encounter more surprises in simultaneous and that one could even chat, read a newspaper or solve a crossword puzzle, as nobody would see anyway. Furthermore, she did not have to worry about taking notes in simultaneous, in which she said she felt more comfortable in every respect. Unlike Interpreters A, C, and D, Interpreter B preferred consecutive. She said that she liked speaking in an “emphatic” way, using intonation and body language, “like drama”. However, “in simultaneous you have to go so fast you can only try to understand” (Interpreter B). She added that speech was taking place and one needed to render it as such, which is easier to do in consecutive than in simultaneous.

In addition to their preferences on mode, the interpreters were asked whether mode affected their rendition and strategies, such as explaining a term. Interpreter A and B agreed that in consecutive it was easier to give such explanations. Interpreter A talked about taking initiatives and user expectations, whereas Interpreter B mentioned the possibility of 100% rendition:

Because in consecutive you are right there in the interaction. You see all the concerns, all the gestures, facial expressions, everything. Therefore you take more initiatives.

You have more responsibility as you are there in the middle. Participants expect more from you. (Interpreter A)

In the above comment, the interpreter implies that user expectations differ in different modes of interpretation. In consecutive the interpreter is urged and expected to take initiatives and assigned more responsibility by the users. Interpreter B mentions the advantages of consecutive interpreting below:

(In simultaneous) if you make a mistake, you continue to make it until the end. But in consecutive, you either hear about it while they are talking among themselves or you simply ask what it means. Therefore, in consecutive I think even 100% rendition is possible. (Interpreter B)

Thus, the interpreters interviewed thought that mode had an influence on user perceptions and expectations, which, in turn, affected the interpreter's role as well as his or her rendition and strategies in a certain interaction.

7.2.3.3. Quality

With regard to quality criteria, all interpreters agreed on two main factors indicating high quality: content (completeness, accuracy, terminology) and style (fluent and pleasant delivery). Interpreter A talked about ethics, behaving according to the expected behavior, the importance of being a team, and communication skills. Interpreter B stated the importance of function and gave as an example a situation in which she had to convey the style of the speech, because style mattered more than content in that specific situation:

(The speaker) was like an actor. And that was his way of speaking. He did it on purpose, he linked sentences in a different way, he added some emotional things... That was the reason why he was there. It was a challenge for me. Because I had to talk like he did. (Interpreter B)

Related to this example Interpreter B implied that her role in that situation was similar to that of an actress. This was explicitly stated by Interpreter D, who had studied drama:

You are in another person's shoes and you make a performance there. A performance is made in front of an audience and in real time. This is valid for drama, other performance arts, ballet, opera. There is performance in all these... In that sense, (interpreting) is similar. Ultimately, you act the other person's mood, his way of building sentences, anything. And you add your interpretation there. That's why they call us "interpreters". (Interpreter D)

By adding one's interpretation, Interpreter D refers to differences between languages and the need to understand the emphasis and render it accurately, although this might require an intervention, either linguistic or cultural. Interpreter C described her objective in achieving desired quality standards as follows:

"Neither loss of information nor too much verbosity... Nothing more, nothing less. Expressing exactly what is said very clearly." (Interpreter C)

Thus, all the interpreters shared certain quality criteria. Though they focused on different points when explaining their perceptions on quality, they all agreed that a high-quality interpretation is one that is accurate in content and pleasant in form.

7.2.3.4. User expectations and context

Another discussion during the interviews was on the expectations of users and, more broadly, on the effect, if any, of context. According to Interpreter A, user expectations are affected by context and these factors both affect the interpretation.

Expectations can vary according to the features of the sessions and participants. They can also depend on their proximity or remoteness to the topic, their field of expertise. Usually when it is about something being introduced in Turkey, people have more questions... Their expectations certainly depend on the topic, content, features of the meeting and participant profiles... These affect the decisions of the interpreter. To what extent should she be involved, whether she should correct mistakes, make additions/deletions, to what extent should she take initiatives? (Interpreter A)

Interpreter C talked about how she interpreted differently in training seminars:

Especially in consecutive if it is a training seminar, I don't really pay attention to what I just said "neither one word more nor one word less" or I don't think my delivery

should sound like a poem. Because in training seminars and if the mode is consecutive, I want people to learn, to be trained. I sometimes add plenty of sentences to what the speaker says in order to express it in a better way, to make sure it is understood. I repeat it, or I insert some information. Or I explain and emphasize that he is saying this and that. Therefore, it is true that expectations of the participants have an influence on the way I interpret. (Interpreter C)

Both Interpreter A and Interpreter C thought the nature and features of the event had an influence on their role as an interpreter. With the example of training seminars, Interpreter C emphasized that the type of the event determined how she behaved and the strategies she adopted during the interaction. Interpreter D explained the influence of user expectations on interpreter strategies as follows:

The speaker said “community” in an anthropological and sociological context. I translated it as “cemaat” into Turkish. This is word-for-word translation but that is the way sociologists use it. I knew that when I say “cemaat”, some of the participants would understand it only as a religious community. Then I gave a brief explanation such as, it means “topluluk” but here “cemaat” is a sociological concept. I used the two words interchangeably so that they would be understandable to the participants. Because there were sociologists in the target group. When I said “cemaat”, they would understand what I mean.

Thus, in one way or another all interpreters confirmed that user expectations, user profiles, and the nature and features of the event affect their performance and strategies.

7.2.3.5. Interpreting strategies

Strategies of the interpreter were another topic for discussion. The interpreters were asked what they prefer to do when they encounter a culture-specific item or the name of an institution without an equivalent in the target language. In answer to this question, all the interpreters said that they tried to give an explanation or paraphrase the term. They provided a solution that would help them to convey the message, be it an explanation or a reference to an institution that has the same function in the target culture or both.

The interpreters agreed that, as part of their task, they could and should give explanations and take initiatives when necessary in order to clear up misunderstandings. They

also stated that correcting speaker's mistakes could be the appropriate choice in cases when the mistake was obvious. Interpreter A said that there was nothing wrong with doing so, for example, when the speaker says 3 instead of 4. However, she also touched upon the risk involved in correcting mistakes related to content:

If I correct the speaker's mistake, the speaker will not know that he made that mistake and the participants will not know about it either. What if it is an intentional mistake? How can I know the function of the mistake?... Even if I learn something about that topic to some extent as an interpreter, it is their field of expertise. I may not have the competence in the area to decide whether it is a mistake or not. Perhaps it is not. Or I'm not sure, I can be mistaken. I wouldn't take the risk. (Interpreter A)

Interpreter A mentioned a crucial point regarding this strategy, whether the interpreter can be expected to be as competent as experts in a certain field. Interpreters may be expected to act as experts at times, and she pointed out that this should be kept in mind by users and interpreters. Interpreter D explained his strategy for correcting mistakes as follows:

For instance, if he says Dostoyevsky's War and Peace, and if it is important in that context, I give it as a footnote, as the interpreter's note that the work belongs to Tolstoy. Or if there is a mistake in the use of language but it also affects the content, I say both what the speaker has said and what I think he means. I add that this is the interpreter's note. (Interpreter D)

Interpreter D stated that he had used this strategy of intervening by introducing interpreter's notes many times in both consecutive and simultaneous. Thus, there are cases in which the interpreter chooses to be visible.

7.2.3.6. Neutrality

Another question dealt with neutrality. Interpreters A, B and C stated that they tried to be neutral as far as possible but that they sometimes had to make choices at the expense of neutrality. Interpreter D did not believe neutrality was possible in our profession. Interpreter A thought that neutrality was an ideal but that it could not always be achieved:

I think I try to be neutral, but most of the time I can move away from that for my purposes. The only thing I know is that I do this with good intentions, not bad ones. Sometimes within that communication setting, I may be doing more than what my job requires. And this would affect my neutrality. There is a contradiction there. On the one hand you need to provide communication, on the other you need to be neutral due to the theoretical and the ethical part of it. You try to find the balance in between.
(Interpreter A)

Interpreter D, with a broader approach, claimed that neutrality or objectivity were not possible in language use, which inevitably reflected the stance of the speaker. The interpreter was no exception to this:

If you are using language, that means you are not objective. Because something in this language and something in that language are loaded with different senses, meanings. You can't be objective. You can't be neutral either. Because if I am on one side in the world, this is not a shirt I can take off when I go into the booth and wear again when I come out. I can only be honest. And I believe I am. (Interpreter D)

The following words of Interpreter B reflecting her experience can be useful to indicate how interpreters (are asked to) become partisans at times.

“Don't translate everything”, or “don't translate this”, they say this kind of thing. Such things happen a lot in the meetings of [X]. Don't translate everything, we have a deficiency and they shouldn't see it! Let's hide it so that they don't hear about it.
(Interpreter B)

In the case above, the interpreter is expected to become a partisan, which is far from neutrality. There is a tendency to hide real intentions and to involve the interpreter in this. Below, however, it is the interpreter who chooses to behave like a partisan. Interpreter A said that she was once in the middle of an argument when the project leader lost his temper and was unkind to Ministry officials:

I was a project assistant besides being an interpreter there and I didn't translate it that way. He delegated the responsibility to me, he said “don't translate this”, slamming

the door as he went. I was left there like that... There was no need to tell them about the insult. If I had told them all about it, they would have left the office and there would be no other meeting. This is neither in accordance with the aims of that meeting nor the aims of the project. I took an initiative that is far from neutrality. It's got nothing to do with neutrality. But that was what had to be done at that moment for the benefit of the project and I did it. (Interpreter A)

In this example, the interpreter forwent neutrality voluntarily, indicating that certain conditions may force the interpreter to take initiatives as well as to get involved in the interaction. Whether he or she can be expected to do so is another issue. However, this example also reveals that the interpreter identifies with the task and the project. Being an in-house interpreter or a project assistant may have an influence, as she also mentioned. Her behavior is a significant contribution to the discussions on neutrality.

Interpreter D explained his understanding of the concept of neutrality in interpreting:

This can only describe the ideal. Interpreting is not such a practice, not such an activity. If there is a mediator, the mediator is there. If someone is breaking the concrete there, it will have an effect on the delivery. And my voice will have an effect on the delivery too, of course... Even a transparent window reflects light from different angles, it creates different views. In that sense, I don't think absolute invisibility is possible. However, one thing may be true: the interpreter shouldn't steal the show. This is a theatrical term. You shouldn't steal the show from the speaker. (Interpreter D)

Below, he gives an example of an event on TV in which the interpreter was expected to become a partisan:

The speaker says "Turkey's people", the interpreter renders it as "Türkiye halkı" (Turkey's people). And the general was angry, he said to the interpreter "How can you say "Türkiye halkı", you have to say "Türk halkı" (Turkish people)!" Perhaps that phrase will cause a diplomatic crisis. I must translate it accurately so that the crisis breaks out... If it needs to break out, it must. The second thing is my task is to convey the other party's opinions honestly. It is not to correct his mistakes or to compensate

for them... I'm not a diplomat and I don't have to be one. Therefore, I don't have to have the same concerns as a diplomat. (Interpreter D)

However, Interpreter D added that there may be situations in which the interpreter cannot resist pressure, especially when there is a significant power difference. He said that if he encountered such a situation he would respond to it, though perhaps not immediately. These comments indicate the importance of power differentials in any kind of social interaction, including interpreting.

7.2.3.7. Discussion

The interviews provided more specific information on the interpreters' role perceptions. They stated that they assumed an active and involved role in the interaction under certain conditions. Their involvement, however, was influenced by a variety of factors ranging from mode and user profiles to the expectations and features of the event. The interpreters considered neutrality as the ideal principle but explained why and under what circumstances they might forgo it. They also stated that giving explanations and correcting mistakes may be the appropriate choice at times. Even partisanship, e.g. compensating for the speaker's mistakes, avoiding an unpleasant debate in order for the meeting to achieve its purpose, hiding deficiencies of one party and taking sides can be justified. Although it is clearly beyond the predefined tasks, for various reasons the interpreter may be forced to, or may voluntarily, assume control and responsibility in the interaction. This also reveals the significance of the interpreter's background and role perceptions. However, in order to obtain a deeper and more holistic understanding of the interpreter's role in context, one must analyze the performance of the interpreter in real-life interpreting phenomena, which will be the focus of the following chapter.

8. The Consecutive Interpreter in (Inter)action

After laying the foundations of the thesis in the previous chapters, in this chapter we make a descriptive analysis of the interpreting data, consisting of video-recordings and transcriptions. Following a statement of the purpose of the analysis and the description of the data sources and of the two events under study in terms of aims, content, and situation, a detailed analysis of the transcriptions is presented. This analysis considers categories and sub-categories that reflect the active role of the interpreter at the utterance level, as negotiated by all participants involved in the interaction, each of which is discussed in relation to the interpreter's involvement at the event level. The retrospective interview carried out with the interpreter whose performance is analyzed below is also referred to in the analysis. The chapter ends with the comparison of the findings obtained from the analysis of video-recordings and transcriptions of the two events under study.

8.1. Purpose of the analysis

The transcriptions, videos, and field notes obtained from two different events are analyzed in this chapter with the purpose of exploring the interpreter's role. As stated above, we do not aim to discuss whether the interpreter is active or inactive, but rather to explore the degree of the interpreter's involvement, reflected in various patterns and strategies at the utterance level—in other words, the way the interpreter positions him or herself and is positioned in different ways by the interlocutors during the interaction. This positioning, however, is influenced by a variety of complex and intertwined factors, including very specific situational factors such as a repair or a clarification question, interactional factors such as the features and the objectives of the event, and institutional factors such as the sponsors and beneficiaries of the event. Metaphorically speaking, the institutional context is the framed portrait painting, while the event level is the face of the portrait and the utterance level is one little detail related to the hair, which makes sense only within the whole painting. In other words, though it is possible to go into details, each detail must be assessed within a whole so as to relate the findings to the big picture and perceive their meaning accurately.

8.2. Data sources

8.2.1. Video recordings

As nonverbal communication is important for the purposes of the present study with a view to interactional issues, i.e. who is addressing whom, video recordings were preferred for observation and analysis of the interpreter's role in the two events. One of these events consisted of training seminars with a high degree of interactivity. The other event, for comparison, was a meeting involving consecutive interpreting proper (unidirectional) with less interactivity. These events, however, were embedded in the same macro-context, i.e. the socio-professional and institutional context. All participants involved, and most importantly the speaker and the interpreter, agreed to be video-recorded and observed. The audio-visual data obtained from Event 1 consist of 6 sessions of video recordings, each of which lasts half an hour, amounting to a total of 180 minutes of interpreted speech. The analysis of Event 2 includes approximately 30 minutes (29' 28") of video recordings.

8.2.2. Transcripts

Transcribing recordings of interactions is a complex task because written language is completely different from spoken language, as pointed out by Wadensjö (1998: 100). Oral language has many unique features, such as intonation, emphasis, and pronunciation, that are not represented in the transcription because the study does not require phonetic details and they would hinder readability. Only elements of discourse deemed to contribute to the understanding of the work are represented in the transcription. For the purposes of the present study, the transcription convention adapted from Du Bois *et al.* (1993) was used (see Appendix B).

It is not possible for a transcription to represent everything in the original. No transcription can be considered complete, objective or impartial, given that "there cannot be totally 'complete' data any more than there can be a 'perfect' transcript" (Silverman 2001: 162). Thus, our transcription inevitably reflects interpretation and the perspective adopted in the present study. The same material could well be transcribed and interpreted differently. As Diriker also suggests:

No matter how objective and data-driven (bottom up) the researcher aims or claims to be, the analysis of data always reflects the researcher's explicit and implicit assumptions about the material at hand. In that sense, there is always a theoretical stance (top down) that informs the researcher's constitution, understanding and interpretation of data (2004: 54).

Though transcription will inevitably have something of the transcriber, there is no other method for analyzing the discourse of an interpretation event in detail. We will therefore use discourse analysis methods to analyze the transcripts obtained from the two events, in order to gain an insight into how interpreters position themselves and how end-users position interpreters in context. The transcripts of Event 1 consists of 21,210 words, including both source and target texts. The transcripts of Event 2 amount to 3766 words.

8.2.3. Unit of analysis

According to Brian Harris, speaking in the first person is one of the norms in professional interpreting (Harris 1990: 115). Taking as a starting point the norm of speaking in the first person, the analysis focuses on divergences from this norm. Pronoun use and choice of address are analyzed with regard to the utterances of both the interpreters and the interlocutors in the interaction because they “evolve as a result of joint negotiation among all the participants” (Mason 2009: 52). In addition to the interpreter's shifts from the first person, the situations in which the interpreter is addressed and referred to in various ways that form patterns are also analyzed. These patterns are formed interactively by the interlocutors and the interpreter throughout the interaction. The interpreter's involvement is also traced in divergent renditions, i.e. the differences between the source text utterance and the interpreter's rendition, borrowed from Wadensjö (1998: 106-108). Pronoun use and divergent renditions are thus the main categories of analysis as indicators of the active role and involvement of the interpreter and will be studied by close observation of the transcripts of video-recorded interactions.

8.2.4. The retrospective interview

A retrospective interview was carried out with the interpreter whose performance is observed and analyzed in this chapter. The interview was semi-structured, like those analyzed in Chapter 7. It was audio-recorded, transcribed, and translated into English and the findings are discussed below in the analysis of the interactions. Whereas the interview with the same interpreter (along with other interpreters) in Chapter 7 focused on general role perceptions, this one focused specifically on the interpreter's role and strategies in the two events under study. The interpreter was shown the video-recordings and asked to reflect on her choices so as to discuss the specific strategies observed. This retrospective method provided the opportunity to compare the interpreter's viewpoint with the patterns and strategies identified in the corpus and to reconsider them in the light of her comments.

8.3. Description of the events

In this case, the macro-context of consecutive conference interpreting in Turkey was the same in both events under study. The institutional factors, as part of the macro-context, were the second common point and the third common point was the interpreter.

8.3.1. Event 1

8.3.1.1. General description

Interpreted interactions were recorded in a training seminar with Turkish trainees and a Macedonian expert. The seminars were held with a small group consisting of 20 people, through consecutive interpreting between English and Turkish. The training took place within the scope of Human Resources Development through the Vocational Education and Training Project (HR-Dvet), financed by the EU with the Ministry of National Education in Turkey as the main beneficiary. The training seminars were organized by the Ministry of National Education and spread over five days (13 to 17 October, 2008), though an interpreter was involved only in the six sessions held on 13 and 14 October, when the recordings were obtained. The foreign expert was not present on the other days, when a local expert attended the seminars as a trainer.

The participants were teachers in vocational training schools in Turkey. The trainer was an expert in vocational training from Macedonia. The main topic of the seminars was task analysis and job analysis. The sole interpreter working between English and Turkish was hired by the translation office that the project team had contacted. According to the interview, the interpreter was familiar with the topic and the type of event. She also said that she knew the participant profile very well, as she had worked with vocational training teachers for a year within a project of the Ministry of National Education in which she was employed as an in-house translator and interpreter. Therefore, she had experience in interpreting at informal workshops and seminars with a lot of group discussion and knew what could be expected of her.

It is also important to note that a manual that was originally prepared in English was used by the participants and the expert throughout the training and included information on the Dacum job profiling methodology. This manual was not translated by the interpreter, but by another translator. Only a few handouts referred to during the interactions were translated by the interpreter. These handouts consisted of the slides of the PowerPoint presentation used by the expert during the training. Of the 20 participants in the room, 7 were observed to be active and, of these, 2 (Participant 1 and Participant 2) were the most active. All sessions were held with the same interpreter and the same speaker.

All sessions were held in a seminar room but the layouts differed for seminars and group work (see Figures 28 and 29 below). Details related to the visuals are referred to where relevant in the analysis below and a summary of what the interaction looked like is provided here in order to give a general impression of the physical setting. The trainer and the interpreter were standing, using a PowerPoint presentation and other material such as a flip chart and paper slips on the walls. The trainees were sitting at a table as in a classroom setting, in which the speaker was the teacher and the participants were the students. The interpreter was usually standing next to the speaker and was right there in the midst of the interaction, going back and forth, coordinating and managing the interaction, especially when the speaker and/or participants were using the board or paper slips, intervening to add or cross out items or helping the speaker to find the right place on the board. The interpreter also responded nonverbally at times, made use of written material and helped the speaker with the written material, looked for items in the material on the paper slips or the board, and pointed to these items. Although speaker turns were usually very short, as will be seen in the excerpts, the interpreter usually took notes, read her notes and sometimes even showed them to the speaker. The expert was speaking slowly, around 80 words per minute including pauses and

sometimes even more slowly, like dictating, and he often stopped and waited for the interpreter.

8.3.1.2. Conference program

The conference program providing the thematic structure is given below (Table 10) in order to present the flow of interaction. This program includes the content of the training.

Day 1 – Introduction to Dacum job profiling: establishing duties

Day 2 – Job profiling: identifying tasks

Day 3 – Task Steps: frequent, difficult, important

Day 4 – Performance criteria

Day 5 – Assessment: tools, equipment, materials

There were 6 video-recorded sessions, each of which lasted about half an hour and consisted of one or two sections. On the first day, five sessions were recorded, three in the morning and two in the afternoon. On the second day, only one section was recorded. To respect the principle of confidentiality, the parts in which the participants and the speaker introduce themselves are not included. Although there was a high level of interactivity during the whole training, Session 4 and Session 5 were more interactive because they included group work and therefore much discussion, as seen in the program below.

Table 10. Thematic structure of the training

DAY 1	Session1	Section 1	Introduction of the topic. Occupational analysis: task analysis from A to Z
		Section 2	Discussion of participants' expectations and concerns, introduction to Dacum
	Session2	Dacum phases 1, 2, and 3; Dacum workshop actors	
	Session3	Section 1	Dacum workshop actors
		Section 2	Dacum methodology, advantages, applications
	Session4	Section 1	Job profiling/establishing duties
		Section 2	Group work on the duties for pre-determined fields
	Session5	Discussion of the duties within groups	
DAY 2	Session6	Techniques for job & task analysis	

Table 11. Length of the sessions and sections recorded.

Day 1	Session 1	Session 2	Session 3	Session 4	Session 5
Section 1	11' 03''	29' 42''	14' 01''	19' 14''	26' 14''
Section 2	18' 16''		15' 24''	10' 12''	
Day 2	Session 6				
Section 1	29' 28''				

8.3.1.3. Layout

In order to provide a view of the setting where the seminars took place, a rough sketch of the room is given in Figure 28. It represents the layout during the seminars, in which mostly the speaker is talking and the participants are listening, though discussions take place too. This layout was observed in the morning sessions on the first day (Sessions 1, 2, 3) as well as in Session 4, Section 1 in the afternoon of the first day and the only session on the second day (Session 6). Figure 29 represents the layout used during the group work sessions, which are Session 4, Section 2 and Session 5. For detailed information on the sessions, see Table 10 and Table 11 above.

In the layout represented in Figure 28, 7 out of the 20 participants can be seen sitting at the table. Some of the other participants, who are outside the angle of the camera, can be heard in the recordings but not seen. Right across the table is the PowerPoint screen and next to it the flip chart used during the seminar. The speaker and the interpreter are standing in front of the flip chart, so that the screen, which is often referred to, can be seen by all participants.

Figure 29 is a sketch of the room during group work. The screen and the chart are no longer in sight but 3 participants can be seen. The speaker and the interpreter are standing in front of paper slips on the walls on which duties involved in certain professions are identified and written during group work.

Figure 28. Layout during the seminars.

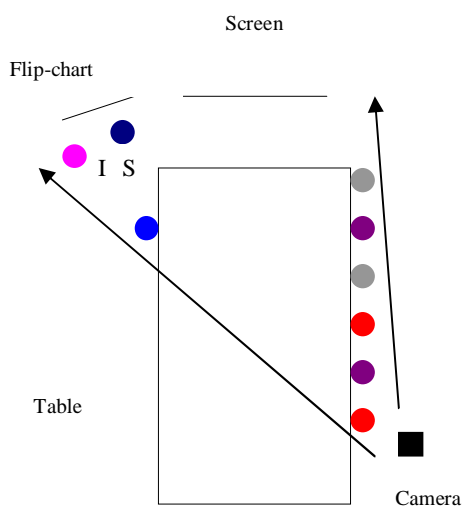
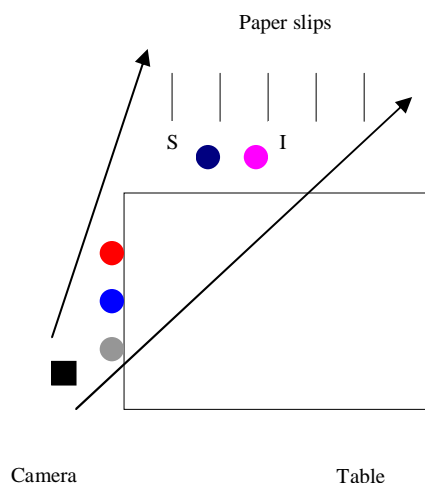


Figure 29. Layout during group work.



8.3.2. Event 2

8.3.2.1. General description

The other session was a meeting on the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Heritage organized by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The meeting was held on 2 and 3 March, 2008 and the expert speaking on stage was from Canada. The expected number of participants was 45, but only 25 people actually attended the meeting. Unlike Event 1, there were no question and answer dialogues in this meeting. There were only two speakers, the main one being the foreign expert. The interpreter rendered his speech consecutively. The moderator spoke only for a few turns at the end of the recorded session and the interpreter translated simultaneously through whispering; her rendition cannot be heard and is therefore not analyzed.

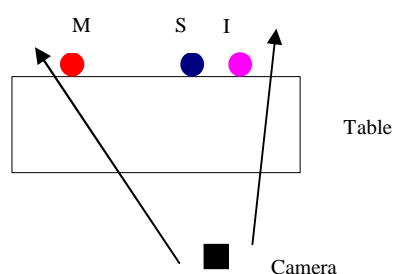
The interpreter stated during the interview that, having worked with this group in various meetings for 1.5 years, she knew the participants quite well. However, she had worked with them at workshops, which were more interactive and less formal than this event. This meeting aimed to introduce the new convention on cultural heritage to target groups and stakeholders and to inform them about the developments in the revision process of cultural policies that was in progress in Turkey in 2008. The meeting was held in a conference hall. The speaker paused after longer sections and the interpreter made use of notes. The interpreter had the chance to prepare before the meeting as material was made available. The clients provided the interpreter with a Turkish parallel text on the project, which had been translated

by the Turkish National Agency² but had not been published. In this meeting, which is described and visualized through a sketch in 8.3.2.2., the speaker and the interpreter were sitting at a table on a platform. The moderator was also sitting next to the speaker but she was not active during the recorded section of the interaction. The stage and the use of a microphone also contributed to the formality of the situation. During the meeting, unlike in Event 1, the interpreter did not have eye contact with the participants as she was busy taking notes and reading them. The speaker turns were approximately a minute. However, the expert spoke at around 140 words per minute, almost two times faster than the expert at Event 1, so the interpreter needed to render a lot of information at a time. The interpreter took notes when the speaker was talking and then looked at her notes when it was her turn to speak. The interpreter also confirmed that, unlike the speaker in Event 1, the speaker was talking too fast in this meeting so she had to take notes in order not to miss anything and could not even have eye contact with the audience most of the time. Compared to the previous event, this meeting was closer to the category “consecutive interpreting proper” (Dam 1993: 311), as it involved long stretches of talk, unidirectionality (except the interpreter’s whispered translation), and lack of interactivity. It was a formal event without discussion or question and answer dialogues, and only those on stage were allowed to talk. The participants could not be seen from the angle of the camera, but there was no input indicating that they were active.

8.3.2.2. Layout

Figure 30 is a rough sketch of the conference hall. The participants are outside the angle of the camera. The interpreter, the speaker and the moderator can be seen sitting at the table.

Figure 30. Layout during the meeting



² The Turkish National Agency is affiliated to the Prime Ministry and responsible for providing close coordination with public institutions, public and private schools, the private sector, non-governmental institutions, local authorities, professional organizations, and youth organizations with a focus on EU programs. In addition to coordinational tasks, the Agency offers training related to programs and projects and also undertakes the translation into Turkish of programme-related documents. (www.ua.gov.tr)

8.4. Analysis of the transcriptions: Event 1

The following categories consist of the instances in the interaction in which the active role of the interpreter related to meaning and translation and/or content and flow is reflected in pronoun use and divergent renditions. The interpreter's active role in the interaction is traced in the use of pronouns and divergent renditions at the utterance level and the general impression that all this creates at the event level is discussed at the end of each category. This section includes the analysis of the recordings obtained from 6 sessions in the seminar room.

8.4.1. Pronoun use

Personal pronouns indicate the roles speakers are playing with respect to each other. Therefore, in order to “uncover participants’ interactional positions”, one can focus on pronoun use (Wortham 1996: 332). In this section, the active role and the involvement of the interpreter is analyzed through pronoun use. Selected examples are illustrated as excerpts, including the original speech, its translation and the back-translation of the Turkish utterances into English. In order to present a quantitative overview of the findings, the total number of all examples for each category and subcategory is as follows:

8.4.1.1. Interpreter directly addressing/addressed by the primary interlocutors (23)

8.4.1.1.1. Interpreter establishing direct dialogue with the primary interlocutors (15)

8.4.1.1.2. Primary interlocutors referring to the other party in the third person (2)

8.4.1.1.3. Interpreter referring to the primary interlocutors in the third person (6)

8.4.1.2. Interpreter consulting/consulted by the primary interlocutors (17)

8.4.1.2.1. Interpreter consulting the participants (9)

8.4.1.2.2. Interpreter consulting the speaker (4)

8.4.1.2.3. Parties consulting the interpreter (4)

8.4.1.3. Interpreter's use of the pronoun “we” (24)

8.4.1.3.1. To include everyone in the room (7)

8.4.1.3.2. To avoid “I” (6)

8.4.1.3.3. To avoid “you” (7)

8.4.1.3.4. To repair the impersonal (4)

- 4 Participant [4 ile 6 arasındaki fark ne?
[What is the difference between 4 and 6?
- 5 S It is not assessing; this is only evaluation. This is rough estimation.
- 6 I öyle diyelim ... De erlendirme diyece iz, ama eh yani öyle kabataslak.
Let's say ... We will say evaluation/assessment but, uh sort of roughly.
- 7 P2 Sınav aslında [4.
In fact [4 is examination.
- 8 P7 [6'da not veriyor.
[There is grading in 6.
- 9 P2 6 sınav, [[4 check gibi mi?
6 is examination, [[4 is checking?
- 10 I [[Is it examination? 6?
- 11 S No, no, no, no! Evaluation is rough feedback.
- 12 I Yani taslak geribildirim alma.
Receiving draft feedback.
- 13 S Assess, assessment is examination.
- 14 I E er, eh o da o da de erlendirme Türkçe'de ama.
If, uh but in Turkish both are the same.
- 15 S When I assess, I write grade afterwards.
- 16 I O, ölçme de erlendirme gibi mi oluyor acaba?
Is it like grading and evaluation?
- 17 P2 4, 4 o zaman? Dedi in do ru. 4 ne o zaman?
4, what about 4? What you are saying is right. What is 4 then?

In this excerpt, there is difficulty among the participants and the interpreter in understanding what the speaker means by evaluation. This is mainly because, as inserted in the excerpt as a comment, there is only one verb corresponding to both assess and evaluate in Turkish. The interpreter also confirmed this in the interview and, watching the video-recordings, stated that she had intervened so as not to cause a misunderstanding. Participant 7 asks the difference between the two in turn 4 and the interpreter tries to translate what the speaker says literally. However, the interpreter does not translate “rough estimation”, causing a slight deviation in meaning. Likewise, the interpreter translates the speaker’s definition of evaluation, which is “rough feedback” as “draft feedback” (turn 12). Such deviations from the original can be

considered one of the reasons for the lack of understanding in this excerpt. Although the speaker adopts a rather impersonal style in turn 5, the interpreter uses “let’s” and “we” (turn 6), including everybody in the room as well as herself through her pronoun use. The interpreter’s strategic choice of using the third person plural is discussed further in 8.4.1.3. Then, other participants also join the discussion. They make comments claiming that 6 is examination and it includes grading. It is important that the participants can intervene and start a discussion freely, contributing to the informality and interactivity of the overall event. The features of a learning environment which allows for high interactivity among the interlocutors can be observed at the utterance level in Excerpt 1. In turn 10, it is the interpreter who asks the speaker whether 6 is examination following the discussion between Participant 2 and Participant 7 (turns 7, 8, 9). Her question does not precisely reflect the previous discussion, but includes reference to the comment of Participant 2 in the preceding turn, turn 9. Therefore, the interpreter is not rendering the whole discussion going on between the participants. Later, after the speaker replies that assessment is examination, the interpreter points out the source of the problem, that both are the same in Turkish (turn 14). Following the speaker’s remark in turn 15, the interpreter makes this remark a question, sounding like she is thinking aloud. However, her rephrasing includes reference to the speaker’s preceding utterance. Especially after turn 12, the discussion is going on only between the participants and the interpreter, as if the speaker were not there or were not saying anything. It is also equally interesting that the speaker is not informed of the source of the lack of understanding. The interpreter’s utterances in this excerpt are related to the participants’ utterances within the same communicative act and she is acting as an interlocutor in the interaction rather than a reporter. In turn 17, Participant 2 agrees with what the interpreter says in the preceding turn, confirming the interpreter’s role as a party rather than a mere intermediary by directly addressing her and responding to her remark. Thus, the interpreter’s active third party role is re-negotiated and confirmed by the parties in the interaction throughout the communicative act.

Excerpt 2 (Session 4 – Section 1 / 6.12-7.07)

In the excerpt below, the positions of the interpreter and the speaker are the same as in the previous one. The speaker is explaining the evaluation methods when Participant 7, who had also asked a question in Excerpt 1, addresses a question directly to the interpreter. Participant 2 is active in this situation too, but it is the first time we hear Participant 4.

- 1 P7 Araya girebilir miyim? Bir ey söyleyece im. imdi biz eh genel tekni imizde eh siz öyle mi çevirdiniz bilmiyorum, <L2 prepare >L2 hazırlamak mı, hazırlanması mı? <L2 Focus >L2 odaklanmak mı, odaklanması mı?
Can I interrupt? I'll say something. In general uh we use, I don't know if uh you have translated it that way but, is prepare <L2 hazırlamak >L2 or <L2 hazırlanması >L2? Is focus <L2 odaklanmak >L2 or <L2 odaklanması >L2?
((In Turkish, verbs are conjugated by suffixes. The participant asks whether the infinitive or the finite verb should be used.))
- 2 I Ona siz karar verin yani. [kisi de olabilir çünkü.
You decide. [Because it can be both.
- 3 P7 [imdi yanlı olmasın yani bizim tekni imizde hep fiillerimiz '-mek' ve '-mak'tır. Yani mastar haliyle biter.
[It should be corrected. Our verbs are always infinitive.
- 4 I Öyle, yani de i tirebiliriz. Çünkü ngilizce ikisini de yapabilirim ben. Siz öyle olacak diyorsanız, öyle olur.
Ok, we can change it. Because I can use both in English. If you say so, we will change it.
- 5 P7 Biz böyle kullanıyoruz. Bizim için önemli.
We use it that way. It is important to us.
- 6 P2 '-mek', -'mak' yapalım. Önceki çalı malarımızı desteklesin.
Let's make them infinitive. So that it will be the same with our previous studies.
- 7 I Evet öyle yapın o zaman. Çünkü ikisi de olabilirdi, ben onu tercih etmi tim.
Yes you can do that. Because both were possible, I preferred the other one.
- 8 P4 Kendisi için fark ediyor mu? Onu isterseniz bir sorun.
Does it make any difference for him? If you like you can ask him.
- 9 I ngilizcesi aynı.
It is the same in English.
- 10 P4 Yok yok. Aynı da, sorunun keskin veya açık bitmesi. Zamanı fark

ediyor mu?

No no. It is the same but, does it matter if the question is open or close-ended? Or the tense, does it matter?

11 I Yani onu anlatamam, çünkü aynı terimle ifade ediliyor. sterseniz arada bir kafa yorayım.

I can't explain it to him, because it is expressed with the same terms. If you like I will think over it during the break

12 P4 Tamam, kafa yorarsınız.

Ok, please think over it

In this example, again, we see the interpreter talking directly to the participants, without translating the dialogue or necessarily relaying it to the speaker. The speaker is not informed of the discussion going on from turn 1 to turn 12, where the discussion ends. Participant 7 asks a question related to the translation of the material used in the training (turn 1). The question is not related to the subject matter at hand, but to the wording of concepts. However, there is actually no difference in meaning as verbs are conjugated by suffixes in Turkish and in English the infinitive can be used for both. The interpreter says she has preferred to translate it as “hazırlamak” and the participant insists that it should be corrected as “hazırlanması”. After the interpreter agrees to change it (7), Participant 4 asks whether it matters for the speaker (8) and the rest of the discussion is on this point. The participant, addressing the interpreter directly throughout this situation, also confirms the position of the interpreter as an interlocutor through his pronoun use in turn 8, where he refers to the speaker in the third person. The interpreter does not inform the speaker of this dialogue. This is another instance in which the interpreter becomes a party in the interaction, is actively involved and talks to the participants directly. The speaker does not ask her what the discussion is about and what is going on. Rather, he allows the interpreter to handle the situation. The interpreter takes control and deals with the situation without letting the speaker know. Here, too, the interpreter is addressed directly with regard to translational tasks. However, it is still significant for the purposes of this study that the participants explicitly and directly address the interpreter in Excerpt 2 and, moreover, ask her questions in turns 1, 8 and 10, as the problem discussed arises because of the translation. The interpreter takes control of the situation and coordinates the flow of the interaction through her direct dialogue with the parties.

Excerpt 3 (Session 2 / 24.28 - 25.19)

In this session, the speaker is standing right in front of the PowerPoint screen and the interpreter is standing next to him at the beginning. A few minutes later the interpreter moves to the other side, in front of paper slips on the walls, in order for the participants to see the screen. The interpreter is now out of view. When the situation below is taking place, the interpreter cannot be seen. The speaker is talking about the use of Dacum methodology, the relationship between quality and attitudes, expectations of customers, and criteria in choosing suitable personnel. The participants are following the speaker from the PowerPoint presentation and their handouts, which were translated by the interpreter.

- 1 P7 Eh imdi eh çeviride problem olca ını ifade ettiniz eh ba langıçta bu
 slayta geçildi inde. Buradaki eh Türkçe çeviriler tam mı eh acaba
 oradakilerle örtü üyor mu bakabilir miyiz?
*Uh when we uh first started working on this slide, you mentioned that
in this part there is a problem with uh the translation. Can we have a
look at the uh Turkish version, is it complete and accurate? Is it uh
faithful to the original?*
- 2 I Ben unu söyledim bir eyi anlamamı tım, neydi bakayım.
I said that I hadn't understood something, let me see what that was.
- 3 P6 <L2 Capable of peer recognition L2>, orası, do ru çevrilmemi burası.
That part was not translated accurately.
- 4 I Evet orası, anlamadım çünkü.
Yes that part, because I didn't understand.
- 5 P7 Hangisi?
Which one?
- 6 P6 Meslekta larını [kabul etme.
Accepting[one's peers.
- 7 I te demin anlattı ı [belki, tanıma i te.
Maybe it is what he has[just explained, recognition.
- 8 P7 Burda ne yazılmı ?
What is written there?
- 9 P1 Birlikte ekip [çalı ması.
Team[work
- 10 P6 [Bu ünvanı olan ünvanı olan yerine meslekta larını [[taniyan.

- [*Instead of this having a title, it should be* [[*recognizing peers.*
- 11 S [[We were talking about this.
- 12 I [[Tanıma.
[[*Recognition.*
- 13 P6 Tanıyan, kabul eden.
Recognizing, accepting.
- 14 P1 Birlikte çalı mayı, ekip halinde çalı mayı isteyip istemedikleri.
It is about whether they want to work in cooperation, as a team.
- 15 I O belki çok belirgin olacak ama evet.
Perhaps that will be too explicit but yes.
- 16 P6 O de il de, bu daha çok sanki ba kasının uzmanlı nı [kabullenme,
kabul edebilme.
*No, not that. This is more like being able to [accept someone else's
expertise.*
- 17 P2 [Kabullenme.
[*Acknowledge it.*
- 18 I Ya da tanıma.
Or recognize it.

In the above example, Participant 7 again asks the interpreter a question related to the material used in the session. He asks whether the translation is complete and accurate, because the interpreter had previously mentioned a problem in the slide. The interpreter looks through the text (2), trying to find what she had not understood. Then, Participant 6 intervenes (3) and explains the item that was translated incorrectly. The interpreter confirms this and then there is a discussion about the meaning of the term between participants 6, 7, 1, and 2, and the interpreter. The speaker, hearing the term in question, understands what the discussion is about and reminds the participants that this was mentioned before, which is his only intervention in this situation. In this excerpt, as in Excerpt 2, the whole discussion is between the participants and the interpreter, with almost no contribution of the speaker. The active participation of the interpreter is allowed and accepted by both parties. It is even encouraged by the participants as they keep asking questions to the interpreter. The participants' freedom to discuss things and interactivity throughout the sessions reflect the specific features of a training event. The intervention of Participant 6 is also observed in other situations (see Excerpts 9, 10, 22, and 45). He also comments on the interpretation at times and helps with

the translation, apparently having the best command of English among the participants. The participants directly address the interpreter in this example too and the interpreter replies and discusses the term with them. The interpreter is involved in the interaction, assuming translational tasks, as reflected above in her direct dialogue with the participants.

Excerpt 4 (Session 4 Section 2 / 1.15-1.30)

In this part of the session, the participants are discussing the duties and tasks within each profession under study. The contributions of the two ladies, Participants 1 and 2, who were the most active participants of the group work (see Appendix C), are observed in this excerpt.

- 1 P2 O decorate miydi neydi o?
What was that decorate?
- 2 I O i yerini dekore etmek.
It is decoration of the workplace.
- 3 P1 yerini dekore etmek, i organizasyonunun içine girer.
Decorating the workplace is included in organization.
- 4 I Design the decoration of the shop is included under organization.
- 5 S Here?
- 6 I Organizing. Uh uh we should cross that out.
- 7 P2 u en üstteki ne? To decorate nails.
What is the one at the top? To decorate nails.
- 8 I ey. Tırnak süslemek.
Well, to decorate nails.

During the exercise, Participant 2 asks the interpreter the meaning of an item written on a paper slip. The participant's question is addressed to the interpreter and this question, related to translation, is answered by the interpreter (2). Then, Participant 1 explains that the item is included in organization (3). The interpreter translates this and the speaker asks the interpreter, showing the item on the paper slip, whether it should be there. In turn 6, the interpreter replies and shows the speaker which item is to be crossed out. In this excerpt, the speaker also consults the interpreter. This question, the question by Participant 2 following it in turn 7, and also the answers to these questions are related to the content and flow of the interaction rather than the translation, unlike in the previous three excerpts. Here, the three questions related to the content of the training and asked by two participants and the speaker are directly addressed to the interpreter, who, as she answers their questions, is directly

assisting them during group work and assuming the role of second leader in the training. The parties involved in this specific event create room for the interpreter's active involvement, expecting her to go beyond her translational tasks and take over coordinating tasks as reflected at the utterance level in the above excerpt.

Excerpt 5 (Session 4 Section 2 / 3.20-4.10)

In this part of the session, the speaker and the participants are discussing the duties and which of them should be included under which profession. The interpreter assists them by finding the duties on paper slips and making the necessary changes. Participant 1 is one of the main interlocutors in this situation.

- 1 S [Make-up is there or not?
2 I [Makyaj yapmak?
[*Make-up?*
3 P1 O ayrı bir görev.
That is a separate duty.
4 I This is a separate one, separate duty.
5 S Ok.
6 P1 Bu görevler de i letmenin büyüklü üne göre de i iyor.
These duties change depending on the size of the enterprise.
7 I What about to organize workplaces?
8 S To organize workplace is there.
9 I Arrange equipments.
10 S Arrange equipments exactly. Hand care, measurements for the hair, and make-up.
11 I imdi unlar kaldı o zaman söyleyeyim: saç ekleme ... ondan sonra--
Now these are left, let me say: hair transplantation ... then--
12 P1 Saç ekleme mi, bunun içine mi girer o?
Hair transplantation? Is it included here?
13 I Bir dakika, sayayım mı hepsini? Mü teri memnuniyeti var, bu eklenecek saçların ölçülmesi demi iz, sonra bir de ey kaldı ikram, randevu alma, bir de ne vardı [ne vardı, ücret alma, fatura.
One moment, shall I count all? There is customer satisfaction, measurements for the hair we said, and then treat, making

appointments, and what else [what else—charging, invoice.

In this excerpt, while the participants and the speaker are discussing duties, the interpreter asks the speaker “what about to organize workplaces” (7) in order to find where the item is included. The speaker points to the item on the paper slip and replies that it is there. The interpreter’s question is obviously related to the content of the interaction and so is the speaker’s reply. The interpreter becomes an interlocutor and an active party not only with respect to tasks requiring skills in translation, but also with respect to those requiring expertise in the topic at hand, assuming the role of an assistant in the training. Later, the interpreter mentions another item, which is “arrange equipments” (9). The speaker agrees and repeats the item after the interpreter. Thus, the interpreter’s contribution in turn 9 is also self-initiated and certainly related to the content. She is assisting both the group and the speaker with her contribution beyond translational tasks and her attempts are taken for granted by the primary interlocutors. Then, the speaker counts other items (10) and in the interpreter’s rendition in turn 11 it is seen that she adds “Now these are left, let me say”. There is a point worth consideration in this addition: The first person singular here does not seem to be the “I” of the speaker, but rather that of the interpreter. The interpreter, in this specific situation, does not avoid speaking in her own “I”, getting involved in the flow of the interaction, as inferred from the following lines too. While the interpreter is trying to translate the items (11), Participant 1 intervenes and asks a question. At that moment, the interpreter, rather than responding to or translating the question, says that she wants to continue and counts all items (13). It is very important at this point to note that the items stated by the interpreter are not those listed by the speaker in turn 10, with the exception of “measurements for the hair”. She lists these items although the speaker does not do so either now or later in the interaction. It is the interpreter who manages the interaction, as explicitly seen in the above excerpt, not abstaining from making her own contributions and confirming this through her use of pronouns several times in the lines above. However, this is not the only point that deserves comment with regard to turn 13. As in turn 11, the interpreter is speaking in her own “I” in turn 13 too when she says “shall I count all?”. It is apparent that there is no reference to or identification with the speaker in the use of the first person singular. Moreover, her contribution—rather than rendition—continues as “measurements for the hair *we said*”. This use of the first person plural possibly refers to everyone in the room, to include the group and the speaker as well as herself. All in all, this excerpt is one of the most prominent examples (maybe even the most prominent one) of the interpreter assuming tasks other than translating. The interpreter is

actively involved through managing, controlling and coordinating the flow as well as contributing to the content of the training, and acts as the second expert in the room.

Excerpt 6 (Session 5 Section 1 / 13.39-13.56)

In this session, the speaker and the interpreter are standing in front of paper slips on the walls. The interpreter is taking notes and they are both using paper slips. The duties have been written on the paper slips. The speaker asks the participants to write the tasks on A4 sheets in group work. This session is one of the two in which there is a lot of interactivity between the participants. In fact, the speaker is one of the least active interlocutors when compared to the interpreter and some of the participants. Participants 1 and 2 are involved again, but participants 3 and 5 also make contributions.

- 1 I imdi üçüncüyü söyleyeyim mi?
Shall I say the third one?
- 2 P1 Söyleyin.
Yes please.
- 3 I Eh bıyık i te bıyık sakal ekillendirme.
Uh moustache, well, shaping moustache and beard.
- 4 P1 Sakal ve bıyık ekillendirmek.
Shaping beard and moustache.
- 5 P5 Dört?
Four?
- 6 P3 Sakal, [bıyık, ka .
Beard, [moustache, eyebrow.
- 7 I Dörde. stenmeyen [istenmeyen tüylerin alınması.
For four. To remove unwanted [unwanted hair.

In this excerpt, the interpreter is sight translating the duties written on the paper slips. However, it is still important for the purposes of this study that she is in direct dialogue with the participants and no contribution of the speaker is observed in this excerpt. Therefore, in fact the interpreter also takes on a coordinating role by deciding who is speaking in the interaction although coordinating relates to translation in this specific situation. Furthermore, the fact that she is not only sight-translating the items but also coordinating the interaction is also reflected in her pronoun use, when she says “Shall I say the third one?” (1). The first person pronoun here is not the “I” of the speaker but rather that of the interpreter. This

excerpt, like Excerpt 7, is a typical example of the section in which the interpreter sight-translates the items written in English into Turkish for the group and is therefore significant in terms of indicating how she performs coordination and translation tasks at the same time.

Excerpt 7 (Session 5 Section 1 / 16.59-17.30)

This excerpt is the continuation of Excerpt 6. The participants are still writing down the tasks with the help of the interpreter and there is much discussion between the speaker, the interpreter, and Participants 1, 2 and 5.

- 1 P2 Ayrı bir ey var çünkü [meslek var.
Because there is a separate [profession.
- 2 S [What will be the new?
- 3 I Both of them, both of them.
- 4 S No number 5.
- 5 I 5 numarayı [kaldırıyoruz.
We are removing [number 5.
- 6 P2 Yani makyajın içinde de olsun, [i lem olarak. Evet. Onu di erlerine
da ıtıyoruz yani.
*It can be within make-up, [as a task. Yes. We are distributing it under
the others.*
- 7 I We want to distribute it under the other duties.
- 8 S I see.
- 9 P1 Ama makyaj yapmak diye bir görev var mı?
But is there a task called doing make-up?
- 10 P2 Var makyaj yapmak. Makyaj yaparken de cilt bakımı ve masaj
yapılabilir, saç bakımı yaparken de.
Yes there is. One can do skin care and massage while doing make-up.
- 11 I imdi 6.
Now six.
- 12 P2 Evet. organizasyonu.
Yes. Job organization.
- 13 I organizasyonu [ya da i için hazırlık yapılması diye geçebilir.
We can say job organization [or preparation for work.
- 14 P5 [organizasyonu yapmak.

[Making job organization.

15 P2 Ama eyi de yazalım i için hazırlık yapmak da bunun içinde, gerekli hazırlıklar da bunun içinde.

But we should also write preparation for work, necessary preparation is included here as well.

In this excerpt, the participants decide that one of the duties should not be written as a separate duty but rather included within other duties. The speaker asks the interpreter what the new duty will be (2) and the interpreter replies that it should be both of the duties written before (3). The interpreter responds to the speaker's question without consulting the participants again, acting as a responder rather than a reporter. Participant 2 intervenes and comments on removing the duty at hand (6) and then the participants start discussing this point. In turn 11, the interpreter says the number of the next duty and in turn 12 Participant 2 says it is job organization. It is not the speaker who carries on with "item 6", but the interpreter. She decides the direction of the interaction and what is going to be written and discussed next. This attempt, however, is actually followed by one related to content, when the interpreter has a further remark on the item (13). She comments that both "job organization" and "preparation for work" can be used. Again, the speaker is not involved in the discussion. Moreover, Participant 2 takes the interpreter's previous comment into account and says that "preparation for work" is also included (15). In this excerpt, the interpreter's contribution is related to facilitating the group work by directing the flow and content of the training through her contribution to the ongoing discussion.

Excerpt 8 (Session 5 Section 1 / 19.00-19.12)

The excerpt below is taken from the same section. The interpreter is sight-translating what is written on the paper slips. The participants are to write these duties and they are discussing/deciding how it should be phrased. This excerpt is between the interpreter and Participant 2.

1 I imdi burda okuyorum ama hemen yazılmasın.

Now I'm reading, but please don't write immediately.

2 P2 [Onu biraz dü ünüp de orda güzel bir cümle kuralım çünkü o çok kapsamlı.

[Now let's express it well, because it is very comprehensive.

- 3 I [Mü teriyle ileti im var, mü teriyle etkile im var mü teri ili kileri var
bir de meslekta larıyla ileti im var.
*[There is communication with customers, interaction with customers,
customer relations and communication with colleagues.*

Here the interpreter first warns the participants not to write what she is reading immediately (1), again directing the flow of the interaction explicitly. Then she goes on sight-translating from English. In doing so, she both assists and coordinates the session, deciding what is (or is not) to be done. Particularly in Excerpts 6, 7, and 8, in which the interpreter is sight-translating the items to be written, tasks related to both translation and coordination are observed. In these excerpts, although the interpreter seems to be dealing with the issues of meaning and translation, she also manages the discussion, acting as a coordinator and a facilitator in addition to an interpreter.

Excerpt 9 (Session 3 Section 1 / 11.17-13.18)

In this part of the session, the speaker is talking about the features of Dacum workshop actors. The discussion is on how real-life practice can be different from occupational standards and regulations. The speaker explains that the important point is how to work closest to the laws and how to adjust laws to reality.

- 1 S I do not know your laws but uh I know one thing about the legislation
in principle. What is not sanctioned or regulated by the law, it is
allowed; so if it is not written there, you can write it and do it.
- 2 I Anladım neden öyle baktı ınızı. Eh imdi yasada e er bir eyler varsa
onları yapabiliriz demektir. E er yasaya eklenmesi gereken bir ey
varsa o zaman eklenir. <L2 But the point is the law says the correct.
L2>
*I understood why you are looking like that ((laughs)). Uh now if
something is mentioned in the law, then we can do it. If there is
something that should be added to the law, then it will be added.*
- 3 S Yeah I know.
- 4 I But there are some troubles in the [application.
- 5 P 6 [Ne dedi biliyor musunuz? Benim yasalarla ilgili bildi im bir ey var,
bilmiyorum Türkiye'de de bu aynı mı dedi. Eh kanunda yazılı olanlar

- yapılmalıdır, yazılı olmayanlar da yapılması izin verilen--
[You know what he said? He said there is something I know about legislation, I don't know whether it is the same in Turkey. Uh what is written in the law should be done. What is not written in the law is allowed--
- 6 P 4 Yasak yoksa [[açıkça.
If there is no prohibition[[explicitly.
- 7 P 6 [[Yani kanunda yasak açık yasak yoksa yapılabilir demektir, diyor ama tabi bu --
[[This means it can be done if there is no explicit prohibition but of course this--
- 8 I He is explaining [what you said.
- 9 P 4 Peki, burada nereye geliyor? [Bu yasaya müdahalesini söyledi ben meslek analizine müdahalesini sordum. Yasaya niye müdahale X onu söylüyorum.
But where is it here?[He is talking about the intervention in law, I asked about the intervention in job analysis. WhyX intervenes in law, that is what I'm saying.
- 10 P 7 Neyse yemek saati [[geldi aslında. Yemekten sonra.
In fact it is time[[for lunch. (We can go on) after lunch.
- 11 P 2 Uygulama esnasında [[onu söyleriz imdi örnekler üzerinden yapaca ız ya o zaman söyleyebiliriz. [Örnekli daha iyi olur. Uygulama esnasında daha iyi olur yeri geldi inde.
We can say it[[during practice, when we are working on examples. [It will be better with examples. When it comes up during practice it will be better.
- 12 P 7 Yemekten sonra. [nşanın kafası karı ıyor.
(We can go on) after lunch. [One gets puzzled.
- 13 S We continue [because we used already hour and a half.
- 14 I imdi bir buçuk saatimizi harcadık hâlihazırda.
Now we have already spent one and a half hours.
- 15 S Are we continuing now or [having a break, [[because it is planned to continue.

- 16 P 4 [Harcamadık, de erlendirdik. [[Harcama yok.
[*We haven't spent it, we made use of it.* [[*No spending.*
- 17 I Eh [[[imdi herkes aynı anda--
Uh [[[*now everybody is (talking) at a time--*
- 18 S [[[If it is an open discussion, we need to wrap up first before you--
- 19 I imdi açık tartı malar gerçekte tiriyoruz. Herkes aynı anda konu tu unda benim de dikkatim da ılıyor. Bazı eyler kaçıyor olabilir. Eh devam edeceksek e er edelim ama e er ilerleyeceksek o zaman bir toparlayalım bu konuyu sonra ba ka konuya geçelim, devam edelim.
Now we are having an open discussion. I am distracted when everybody is talking at a time. Some points might be missed. Uh if we are continuing, let's go on. If we will proceed let's wrap up then go on with another topic.

In Excerpt 9, turn 19 and Excerpt 10, turn 4 we find interventions by the interpreter that are related to neither translation nor content. In these examples, the interpreter adds her own comment, but more importantly, her identity and role as an interpreter at the event level are reflected at the utterance level. After answering the question of a participant on the practice of job analysis and occupational standards, the speaker is explaining his views on legislation and its implementation. Then, when it is the turn of the interpreter to talk, she says to the participant who had asked the question “I understood why you are looking like that”, commenting on the participant’s gaze (2). She carries on with the translation and later in the same turn she says to the speaker “But the point is the law says the correct”. This is also a self-initiated response rather than a rendition, but it is related to translation, like the one in turn 4. The speaker, responding to the interpreter says “Yeah I know” (3). Then, the interpreter replies “But there are troubles in the application” (4). In turns 2, 3, and 4, the discussion is between the speaker and the interpreter, without any contribution from the other party, which means that the interpreter is in direct dialogue with the speaker. The interpreter’s contribution so far is related to translational tasks, aiming to understand and render what is said. Then, Participant 6 intervenes (5) and, addressing the other participants, explains once more what the speaker has said quite differently. The interpreter reports the intervention of Participant 6 to the speaker, taking a distance from the participant and acting as a reporter. After this explanation, we see that there is a discussion going on between Participants 4 and 6,

and also Participant 7, who actually wants to go to lunch (see turns 10, 12). There is a lot of overlapping speech in the above excerpt (see turns 9-16), so the interpreter has difficulty in following the discussion. She attempts to say this (17) but is interrupted by the speaker. Then, in turn 19, the interpreter states that she is distracted and might be missing some points during this open discussion. It is at this point that she reveals her role as an interpreter at the event level, which means her contribution is not related to coordination, content or translation, but to her role as an intermediary trying to provide smooth communication. She also includes some parts of the speaker's utterances in turns 15 and 18. This deserves attention when viewed from the perspective of the speaker, as the speaker must be thinking that the interpreter is only rendering what is said. She in fact calls the group's attention to the fact that she is being prevented from performing her role as an interpreter. At any rate, in this excerpt, the interpreter speaks more than once on her own behalf (turns 2, 4, 17, and 19) for various reasons. The interpreter's involvement in the interaction might be influenced by the multi-level context in which the interaction is embedded.

Excerpt 10 (Session 1 Section 2 / 17.24-18.14)

In this excerpt, the speaker defines the term Dacum as a tool for job analysis.

1 S That is how we identify knowledge, skills, attitudes or traits. Uh again there will be terminology issue. And on all slides that will follow, there will be attitudes slash trades uh traits. Whatever it is.

2 P 6 Traits.

3 S Traits yes, traits.

4 I imdi terminolojiyle ilgili mutlaka sıkıntılar olacak. imdi ben bahsetti imde de olacak. Birazdan, ilerleyen slâytlarda da olacak. Eh bununla ilgili – imdi bunları ben söylüyorum – beni de uyarırsanız eh ben de bundan sonra do ru kullanayım e er bir yanlı lık olursa. imdi bilgi, yani bilginin, becerilerin, eh tavır ve tutumların belirlenmesi için kullanılan bir yöntem.

Now there will certainly be problems related to terminology when I'm referring to them or soon in the coming slides. Uh related to this – now I'm saying this – if there is a mistake uh please warn me, so that I will correct it. Now, it is a method used to determine knowledge, skills, uh attitudes and traits.

In this excerpt, as in Excerpt 9, the interpreter's own role as a professional at the event level becomes visible at the utterance level. In turn 1, the speaker mentions the problems related to terminology that may arise. The interpreter, while translating (4), intervenes and tells the participants to warn her if there is a mistake related to the terms used, so that she can correct them. She positions herself within the interaction saying "Now I'm saying this", calling attention to her presence, and asks for the participants' help if necessary in order to perform in the best way as an interpreter. She is very visible and she does not avoid revealing this by speaking her own words. This intervention is also an indicator of the fact that the interpreter feels responsible for smooth communication. She wants to ensure that everything is clear and she explicitly asks for the contribution of the participants related to terminology. It is seen in this excerpt that not only the speaker but also the interpreter expects the participants to be active in the interaction. At various points during the training, the participants are urged to intervene in and contribute to the sessions. Here, it is the interpreter who encourages interactivity by asking for help with the terms. This interactivity, to which the interpreter also contributes, is influenced by the context specifically at the event level because of the nature of the interaction.

Excerpt 11 (Session 4 Section 1 / 7.28-8.15)

Here the speaker is talking about a Dacum research chart used in San Francisco as an example.

- 1 S So we are not taking this chart as granted, as the perfect one.
- 2 I Yani bu mükemmel bir tablodur, bunu örnek alarak çalı malarımızı yürütmeliyiz demiyoruz.
So we are not saying that this is the perfect chart, or that we should take this as an example.
- 3 S There is always--
- 4 P 4 Bu uygulamada çıkan bir sonuç mu? Yani bilfiil uygulanmı bir çalı ma mı?
Is this the outcome of actual practice? Has this actually been applied?
- 5 I Is this actually applied?
- 6 S Yes. This is used there.
- 7 I Evet, kullanılıyor.
Yes, it is used.

- 8 S This is used there, [in San Francisco.
- 9 I Yani orda [Amerika'da kullanılıyor, [[San Francisco'da.
This is used there in America, San Francisco.
- 10 P5 [[Bu sayfadaki çalı ma Dacum'da mı çıkmı bir çalı ma?
Is the study on this page used in Dacum?
- 11 I Is this a Dacum chart that is used in San Francisco?
- 12 S Yes. Dacum research chart for the elementary teacher.
- 13 I Ne diyor: sınıf ö retmeni için hazırlanmı Dacum ara tırma tablosu.
What does it say: Dacum research chart prepared for class teachers.
- 14 S And here is key profile for elementary teachers. This is 2001.
- 15 I 2001 yılında hazırlanmı eh beceri profili. Eh ilkö retim ilkokul
ö retmeni için, biz sınıf ö retmeni diyoruz.
*Uh skill profile prepared in 2001. Uh for elementary teachers, we call
them class teachers.*

In turn 4, Participant 4 asks whether the study is the outcome of actual practice. The interpreter summarizes the question (5). Then, the same participant asks whether the chart is used in Dacum (10). The interpreter renders the question and the speaker defines the chart as “Dacum research chart for elementary teachers”. The interpreter reads the Turkish translation from the manual (13). Then the speaker shows the participants “the key profile for elementary teachers”. The interpreter renders this as skill profile (15), reading the Turkish version from the manual, although the speaker says “key profile” in turn 14. More importantly, the interpreter says, referring to elementary teachers, “we call them class teachers”. She makes an explanation so that the term is received accurately in the target culture, acting explicitly as a cultural mediator for the first time in this excerpt, as in Excerpt 12 below.

Excerpt 12 (Session 1 Section 2 / 15.00-16.08)

This part is the end of the introductory section. After talking about the aims and content of the training, profiles, concerns and expectations of the participants, the speaker starts to explain the terms.

- 1 S Uh things linked to the terms. What is Dacum, what is... Dacum
standing for? In different sources you will find two... definitions I
would say.

2 I Eh imdi terimlere bakalım. imdi Dacum dedi imizde eh ne ifade ediyor? Farklı kaynaklara baktı imızda Dacum'un farklı eh kelimelerin ba harflerinden geldi ini görebiliriz.

Uh now let's look at the terms. Now what does it mean uh when we say Dacum? When we look at different sources, we see Dacum consists of uh the initials of different words.

3 S Some X it is abbreviation from “developing a curriculum”. Other authors are saying “designing a curriculum”. Bottom-line is... that is a base to do a curriculum, whatever it is developing or designing.

4 I imdi eh ... ngilizce söylememiz gerekiyor. Çünkü Dacum orada, bazı kaynaklarda <L2 developing a curriculum L2>, yani e itim programı geli tirilmesi; eh bazı kaynaklarda da e itim programı tasarlanması <L2 designing a curriculum L2>. Ama burada e itim programının temelini olu turulmasından aslında bahsediyoruz.

Now uh ... we need to say it in English. Because Dacum is developing a curriculum in some resources, and designing a curriculum in others. But here we are talking about forming a basis for a curriculum.

Here the speaker is explaining the term “Dacum”, an abbreviation defined in two different ways. The speaker says (1) there are two definitions of the term. However, the interpreter, knowing what is to come, says it consists of the initials of different words (2) before the speaker says so (3). Thus, it can be said that the interpreter acts as the co-leader in the room by saying the meaning of a term before the speaker does. Also, the interpreter actually deviates from the original and says that the term is an abbreviation although the speaker is talking about its definitions in turn 1. This can, however, be due to her understanding of the word “definitions” as “the initials”. Then, in order to make the term easier to understand for the participants, the interpreter says that it is necessary to say it in English (4). She repeats the definition in English, then she explains what it means in Turkish. Thus, she makes an explanation to clarify the term as the term is an abbreviation, acting as a cultural mediator this time, in order for the term to make sense in the other culture. Her use of pronouns in this excerpt should also be taken into consideration. Turn 1 is a typical example of the speaker's aforementioned impersonal and elliptical style. He uses the pronouns “you” and “I” only in the last sentence of this turn. He continues to speak impersonally in turn 3 as well, without using the pronoun “we” at all in either. However, when we look at the interpreter's rendition

in turn 2 (adopting the interpreter's style), it is seen that she uses the first person plural many times, for the purpose of including everyone in the room with only one exception. That exception is the first sentence of turn 4. In this sentence, the purpose is not to include everyone any more, but to avoid "I" by using the less marked pronoun "we". Here and elsewhere, her use of the pronoun "we" constitutes a pattern, which is therefore considered as a strategic choice in this study. The choices of the interpreter at the utterance level reflect the way she positions herself at the event level, as influenced by the context of the interaction.

Excerpt 13 (Session 2 / 13.57-15.35)

In Excerpt 13, the speaker is talking about the actors involved in Dacum Workshop and their features. One of them is "technically competent" while another is "capable of peer recognition", as seen on the PowerPoint screen.

- 1 S I will skip on technically competent because I think we are all aware.
This is a really important thing, capable of peer recognition. [Ca-
- 2 I [Can you explain?
- 3 S Aha. Ok.
- 4 I Because I didn't understand it while I was translating.
- 5 S Uh peer is the person sitting around you next to you. Adults are a bit specific when learning, sometimes are not recognizing the person sitting next to him or her as a person, one X, and another thing is not respecting or recognizing professional expertise of the person sitting around you. So that is a issue that sometimes adults have a problem with.
- 4 I imdi muhtemelen bunun slayttaki çevirisi yanlış olmu tur çünkü anlamadım, anlamamı tım. Eh imdi burada eh ekranını ya da yanında oturan ki iyi, di er eh ki ileri diyelim e itimde bulunan di er ki ileri belki buna bir terim geli tirebiliriz, eh tanımak yani yeti kinlerde bu gibi problemler ortaya çıkabiliyor. Ö renirken daha spesifik davrandıklarından dolayı konuya odaklandıklarından dolayı yanındaki ki inin farkına varmayabiliyorlar. Ya da yanlarındaki ki ilerin, beraber çalış tıkları ki ilerin eh mesleki uzmanlı na saygı göstermeyebiliyorlar ya da bunun farkında olmayabiliyorlar. Bu nedenle tanıma yani... e ini, yanındakileri.

Now perhaps the translation of this term in the slide is incorrect because I didn't understand, I hadn't understood. Uh now, maybe we can develop a term for this, it is about uh recognizing uh one's peer, or other persons in the training, adults may have problems with this. As they are specific when they are learning or they focus on the subject matter, they may not recognize their peers. Or they may ignore or they may not respect the uh professional expertise of their peers, people they work with. Thus, it is to recognize ... one's peers, colleagues.

This excerpt is also relevant to the discussion in 8.4.1.2.2. The speaker uses the term “capable of peer recognition” in turn 1. The interpreter, having translated the handouts before the session, asks him to explain the term (2), as she had not understood it while she was translating, and the speaker explains the term. Her intervention in this case, too, is related to translation. In order to provide optimum communication, she wants to ensure she understands the term at hand fully and accurately. The interpreter in fact again makes use of the advantages of consecutive interpreting. Unlike in simultaneous interpreting, in consecutive mode the interpreter can consult the interlocutors if and when needed, unless she is instructed otherwise. While translating into Turkish, the interpreter inserts her own comment, informing the participants of the possible inaccuracy in the translation because of her lack of understanding of the term and she adds that a term can be developed for the word “peer” in Turkish. Then she translates the explanation. Here the interpreter first clarifies her understanding of the term by consulting the speaker. Thus, in this excerpt, having understood the term after consulting the speaker, the interpreter corrects her mistranslation due to a previous misunderstanding and takes the initiative of cooperating with the participants and acting as a cultural mediator in order for the term to be received accurately in the target culture. The interpreter has the freedom and control to take the initiative for optimum communication, granted by the complex set of factors constituting the interaction.

8.4.1.1.2. Primary interlocutors referring to the other party in the third person

The excerpts in this category include instances in which the participants refer to the speaker in the third person and therefore address the interpreter directly. It can be claimed that one can also address an intermediary directly. However, this would still not change the fact that the interpreter is regarded as a party, addressed directly as is expected in one-to-one communication, rather than as is expected in mediated communication.

Use of the third person by primary parties can be explained by the fact that they are “aware of the indirectness of the communication” between themselves and the other interlocutor and therefore choose to address the interpreter instead of addressing the speaker directly (Chang & Wu 2009:176). In the cases analyzed below, one of the primary interlocutors no longer “talks to” the other one, but “talks about” him. Therefore, the other party is no longer an interlocutor but becomes an “exhibit” (Wortham 1996).

Excerpt 14 (Session 2 / 19.52-20.10)

In this session, the speaker is explaining the methods for assigning the right personnel. Participant 7, who had asked questions in other situations too (see Excerpts 2 and 3), states that they have problems finding suitable personnel.

1 P7 Bunlar bunu nasıl bulabiliyorlar biz Türkiye’de bulamadık bu ekilde
de yani mesela bu test edecek ki ileri uzmanları nasıl bulabiliyorlar,
yapmı lar mı [daha do rusu?

*How can they find for instance the experts to test? We couldn’t find
them here. Or have they done this [so to say?*

2 I [Uygun ki iyi mi?
[*The right person?*

3 P7 Uygun ki iyi.
The right person.

4 I How do you find the people who are appropriate, who have these, who
are willing to accept? Because we couldn’t find.

While Participant 7 is asking about finding the right experts in turn 1, he asks the question directly to the interpreter. He says, referring to the speaker, “how can they find”, positioning the interpreter as a party in the interaction, as inferred from his pronoun use and choice of address. He is not “talking to” the speaker here, but rather “talking about” the speaker. Then, in turn 2, without rendering the question, the interpreter asks the participant whether he means the right person and the participant responds (3). The interpreter’s rendition is addressed directly to the speaker as seen in turn 4. While addressing the speaker, the interpreter uses “you” instead of the participant’s “they”. There is also a deviation from the original observed in the excerpt. The original does not include “willing to accept” whereas the rendition does. Also, “the experts to test” and the second question in turn 1 are left untranslated. The interpreter has paraphrased the question in a way that she thinks is more understandable to the

speaker. Another point that deserves attention is that although the interpreter refers to the participants as “they” many times, as analyzed below in 8.4.1.3., she renders the pronoun of this sentence as “we”, as the participant does, abiding by the “honest spokesperson” norm (see 8.4.1.3.) of sticking to the original pronouns. In this excerpt, the interpreter is observed to become a party in the interaction, as expressed through both the interpreter’s and the participant’s choice of address.

Excerpt 15 (Session 5 Section 1 / 1.50-3.35)

In this session, the speaker is explaining tasks and the links between them after the tasks are written down. The speaker asks whether there are tasks that overlap and this time Participant 4 makes a contribution.

1 P4 Burda metot olarak katkıda bulunmak istiyorum.

I would like to contribute as regards the method.

2 I I would like to contribute [something as regards the method.

3 P4 [Çünkü bir i i, görevi, veya i te i lem basama ı her neyse bir eylemi, birden fazla eylem ortaklı ından söz edebilmek için ya kullanılan araç – gerecin ortak olması lazım. Ya saf malzemelerden, yani gereç dedi imiz o saf malzemelerin ortak olması lazım. Kullanılan ortamın ortak olması lazım veya metodun ortak olması lazım. Bu ortaklıklardan biri veya birkaçı söz konusuysa onları gruplandırabilirli imiz söz konusudur. Dolayısıyla burda yapılan i lerde de tamam fakat aynı grup içindekiler artı benzer yanları olan i ler olabiliyor, yani bir kısmını aynı grup içerisinde bir kısmını metot olarak gruplandırırken bir kısmını araç gereç bakımından aynı grup içerisine sokmu olabiliyoruz. Bunlara ilerleyen a amalarda dikkat edilmesi gerekir mi? Öyle diyeyim. Ben sorumu öyle ba layayım ona bir söz hakkı verelim.

[Because in order to talk about common duties, tasks or actions, either equipment or environment or method should be common. If we have one of these commonalities, we can group them. Therefore some tasks may have similar aspects, we can group some of them according to method and others according to equipment. Should we take these into consideration? Now let’s give him the floor. ((Participants laugh.))

- 4 P2 Uzmanı yollayalım da siz verin bu semineri?
Let's send the expert so that you can give a seminar?
- 5 I For instance, we are going to identify the links between these duties and in order to have links between these two, we have to consider those from three aspects: there might be some common tools in equipment – used for these, common environment – used for these, and common methods – used for these. Do we have to consider these so as to link these duties and the next steps that might be taken into consideration in the tasks?

The contribution of Participant 4 in this situation is an extensive one. At the end of this explanation, he says “let’s give him the floor”, where “him” means “the speaker”. Thus, he addresses the speaker in the third person, turning him from an interlocutor into an “exhibit” again (Wortham 1996). The participant speaks about the speaker and, in doing so, excludes him from the conversation and addresses the interpreter directly. As for the use of “we”, it is seen that in this excerpt both the participant and the interpreter use the first person plural pronoun. As inferred from the participant’s use of the third person singular, the participant in fact addresses the interpreter, not the speaker. The participants regard the interpreter as one of the primary parties in the interaction, which is revealed through pronoun use throughout the interaction.

8.4.1.1.3. Interpreter referring to the primary interlocutors in the third person

It is a common and widely accepted strategy of interpreters to transfer what the speaker has said in the first person. In the situations analyzed below, however, the interpreter, while translating what one of the participants has said, refers to the participants as “they”. She does not conform to the general principle of speaking in the first person; rather she reports what the participants have to say to the speaker. In some of the examples below, she summarizes what is going on and reports the group’s actions to the speaker. Unlike in the previous subcategory, this time it is the interpreter who becomes an interlocutor, addressing an interlocutor directly and “talking about” the other interlocutor. According to Goffman’s participation framework, then, the other interlocutor takes the position of the unaddressed in the interaction among the ratified recipients.

Excerpt 16 (Session 2 / 27.21-27.54)

In this session, the speaker is talking about the interviewer who assigns personnel. Participants 4, 2, and 5 are discussing the objectivity of the interviewer.

- 1 P4 Görü mecinin tavsiyesi önemli.
The recommendation of the interviewer is important.
- 2 I [The recommendation of the interviewer is very important. [[He has to recommend.
- 3 P2 [Ben de görü meciden söz ediyorum zaten, yani ne kadar güvenilir?
[I'm talking about the interviewer too, how reliable is he?
- 4 P5 [[O ayrı o zaman.
[[But that is something else.
- 5 S Of course the interviewer is having this X. This is it.
- 6 P5 dealı bu ama çalı ır mı [çalı maz mı.
That is the ideal, but (I don't know) if it works [or not.
- 7 I [This is the ideal.
- 8 S Yes, of course of course. And the last one as you see it is indirect.
- 9 I X. There is a problem that they wanted to explain.
- 10 S This one? Size, type?
- 11 I Yeah that one.

The participants are discussing this issue among themselves in turns 1, 3, 4, and 6. The interpreter is rendering part of the discussion in turns 2 and 7. In turn 2, the interpreter adds the second sentence in order to strengthen the meaning. The speaker makes a remark in turn 5, part of which is inaudible. It is not clear whether he wants the interpreter to render his remark. If not, then he is talking to the interpreter, or thinking aloud. At any rate, the interpreter does not translate his comment. She also renders part of the participants' discussion and the fact that the interpreter can decide what to translate or not hints at the interpreter's freedom within this event, embedded in a broader institutional context. Following the next comment of the speaker in turn 8, the interpreter says "there is a problem that they wanted to explain", referring to the participants in the third person plural. By doing so, the interpreter positions herself as one of the main interlocutors in the interaction. She refers to the participants as "they", therefore addressing the speaker directly. She does not transfer the participants' utterances in the first person, but rather reports their point to the speaker.

Excerpt 17 (Session 4 Section 1 / 13.12-13.48)

In this section, the participants are called to do group work. They have been divided into two groups prior to this exercise. However, in order to inform everyone of their group, Participant 3 thinks the names of the participants in the two groups should be read. Participants 3 and 4 are involved in this situation.

- 1 P3 Bir grup isimlerini okuyalım, çünkü herkes bilmiyor.
Let's read the names of those in the groups, because not everybody knows.
- 2 I They will read the names because [not everybody has the plan.
- 3 S [Yes, please.
- 4 P3 [Birinci grup: enay, Hale Hanım, Eray Bey, Sait Bey, Metin Bey, Ural Bey. ikinci grup: Kenan Bey, Merih Bey, Erhan Bey, Leyla Hanım, Mert Bey, Hüseyin Bey.
[*First group:* enay, Hale Hanım, Eray Bey, Sait Bey, Metin Bey, Ural Bey. *Second group.* Kenan Bey, Merih Bey, Erhan Bey, Leyla Hanım, Mert Bey, Hüseyin Bey.
(With respect to the principle of confidentiality, the names of the participants are not real.))
- 5 P4 imdi bu seçti imiz mesle in bütün görevlerini mi çıkaraca ız yoksa
<X bazı X> görevlerini mi?
Now will we write all duties for the profession we have chosen, or <X only some X> ?
- 6 I X sample duties or all the duties?
- 7 S As much as possible.
- 8 I Bulabildi iniz kadar fazla.
As much as you can find.
- 9 S As much as possible.
- 10 P4 Süre ne kadar verecek?
How much time will he give us?
- 11 I What about the time?

The interpreter uses “they” instead of “we”, saying “they will read the names”, in her rendition of what Participant 3 said in turn 2. As the interpreter refers to the participants as “they”, she reports the group’s actions to the speaker, taking a distance from the participant

who asks the question. While reporting what is going on to the speaker and referring to the participants in the third person, in fact she addresses the speaker directly, though not explicitly. Then, although the speaker replies with “as much as possible” to the question of Participant 4 in turn 7, the interpreter translates it as “as much as you can find”, using a pronoun despite the speaker’s impersonal style. This is significant, as there are many instances in which the speaker does not use any pronoun, while the interpreter seems to avoid this impersonal style deliberately (or not), as discussed in 8.4.1.3. below. Then, in turn 10, Participant 4 asks about the time that will be devoted to the activity. While doing so, the participant uses “he” instead of you, thus addressing the interpreter directly and talking about the speaker. In Excerpt 17, the interpreter positions herself and is positioned by the parties as a party in the interaction, as revealed by the choice of address.

Excerpt 18 (Session 5 Section 1 / 9.57-10.31)

In Excerpt 18, the participants are instructed to write the Turkish versions of tasks on paper slips, as the interpreter reads them, translating from English into Turkish.

1 S Let’s say group 1 is taking ... odd numbers, Group 2 is taking even numbers.

2 I Eh birinci grup tek sayıları, ikinci grup çift sayıları alıp böyle bölü üp inceleyebilir.

Uh Group 1 can analyze odd numbers, Group 2 can analyze even numbers.

3 P2 Türkçe yazılınca da anlam ifade edecek.

It will be more meaningful in Turkish.

4 I <L2 Evet L2>. Because it will be more meaningful for them when it is written in Turkish.

Yes

5 S Of course.

6 I Evet tabii ki.

Yes of course.

7 P3 O zaman iki ka ıda siz okurken iki arkada [yazsın. Biriniz tek sayıları, biriniz çift sayıları.

Then while you are reading two friends can [write it. One of you can write odd numbers and the other even numbers.

- 8 I [I will be reading and they will be recording the Turkish version,
because nobody wrote when we were listing.
- 9 S Yes yes yes. Ok then. Can we go into groups to wrap up these and that
will be the day.

During the group work, the groups are sharing the material to work on. First, in turn 4, the interpreter confirms the participant's remark in turn 3 before the speaker does, acting as an interlocutor. Then, during her rendition of this remark in the same turn, she refers to the participants as "them" rather than "us". Here, she again takes a distance from the participants, reporting their actions to the speaker. Then, in turn 7, Participant 3 says, addressing the interpreter, "While you are reading, two friends can write it". It is the participant who asks for the interpreter's help with regard to writing down the tasks discussed in the session; however the speaker confirms this too, as seen in turn 9. As implied in turn 7, the participants expect the interpreter to act as an assistant or a facilitator, in addition to her tasks as a translator. Then the interpreter tells the speaker, "I will be reading and they will be recording", speaking explicitly on her own behalf and referring to the participants as "they". In this example, one can also see a hint of the interpreter's assistance during the interaction beyond the task of translating. As well as being a directly addressed party, the interpreter contributes to the interaction through other tasks and she is expected by the primary interlocutors to do so. Also, in turn 8, the interpreter adds "nobody wrote when we were listing" although there is no corresponding utterance in the original speech. Another point that deserves attention is to whom the interpreter refers when she is saying "we were listing". Here, she is obviously not referring to the group because she probably means the group when she says "nobody". She refers to herself and the speaker when she says "we were listing", including herself in the activity and aligning herself with the speaker. Excerpt 18 is another prominent example of the interpreter's strong active third party role and is significant in that it indicates the parties' approval of the interpreter's involvement. The interpreter's alignment with the speaker, on the other hand, and her readiness to be involved can be inferred from her pronoun use and wording in turn 8. The interpreter takes on the tasks of a co-leader and assistant in the training, which is accepted and encouraged by the parties involved.

Excerpt 19 (Session 5 Section 1 / 6.55-7.04)

Excerpt 19 follows the proposal of the speaker to do some practice, to observe the daily work of some professionals in their workplace. The professionals he mentions are the receptionist and the manager of the hotel where the training is held. Participant 1 thinks a hairdresser may be a possibility. However Participant 4 says there are none at the hotel.

- 1 P1 Otelde kuaför vardır?
There should be a hairdresser in the hotel?
- 2 P4 Yok.
No.
- 3 P1 Yok mu, [sordunuz mu?
No? [Have you asked?
- 4 P4 Eh eh.
Uh uh.
- 5 I [Maybe there is a hairdresser in the hotel?
- 6 S I don't know about the hairdresser, I was thinking of the same as the
receptionist and the hotel manager.
- 7 I Bilmiyoruz ama. <L2 No no, they asked no. L2>
We don't know but.

In Excerpt 19, Participant 1 says “There should be a hairdresser in the hotel”, addressing the other participants, and her intonation makes the sentence a question. As a response to her question, Participant 4 says no in turn 2. Then Participant 1, addressing Participant 4, says “No? Have you asked?” and Participant 4 nods. The interpreter translates the question of Participant 1 in turn 5, saying “Maybe there is a hairdresser in the hotel?”. As a response to her rendition, the speaker makes a related remark in turn 6. The first point worth discussing is that the interpreter translates the speaker’s utterance “I don’t know” in turn 6 as “We don’t know”. The interpreter shifts to the first person plural many times for different purposes in the interaction. In her use of “we” here, it is not clear whether she refers to herself and the speaker or everyone in the room. At any rate, instead of abiding by the norm of speaking in the first person singular, she includes herself in what is being said, resorting to a footing shift. Secondly, again, she reports the discussion going on between the participants to the speaker, referring to the participants as “they” in her rendition. The interpreter’s visibility and involvement are expressed in various ways that are traceable in how the three parties in the interaction address and refer to each other.

8.4.1.1.4. Discussion

The interpreter's active role was analyzed in instances in which she is directly addressing and addressed by the primary interlocutors, divided into three categories. The first category consists of excerpts in which the interpreter is in direct dialogue with the speaker and/or the participants. The second category includes those in which the primary interlocutors refer to the other party in the third person, therefore addressing the interpreter directly. The third category consists of situations in which the interpreter refers to one of the parties in the third person, therefore addressing an interlocutor directly. These instances reflect the interpreter's active third party role with respect to both tasks related to meaning, language, and translation and tasks related to the content and/or flow of the training.

At the utterance level, the interpreter's active role is traced in the pronoun use and choice of address by the interpreter and the primary interlocutors. It is observed in these excerpts that the interpreter is directly involved in the interaction through asking questions, commenting on the remarks of the parties, coordinating and even managing the flow of the interaction, and guiding the participants by answering their questions related to translation and content. The participants and the speaker, or the primary interlocutors, create this room for manoeuvre—as confirmed by the interpreter during the interview—by addressing the interpreter directly, asking her questions, therefore allowing for and approving of her involvement at the utterance level. As for the speaker roles, all of these excerpts include shifts in the interpreter's footing to principal or responder from the default footing of a reporter.

At the event level, the interpreter acts as a co-leader or co-trainer in the seminar, assuming responsibility and control and getting involved as if she were the second expert in the room. She is not only an intermediary facilitating communication, but also an expert facilitating the training session. She has control over the situation, over the flow of talk and interaction. The interpreter does not avoid assuming control and responsibility and her power and freedom during the interaction is far beyond the task of translating, which is what she thinks is expected from her in this situation. The perceptions and expectations of the parties in the interaction related to the interpreter's role give her the power, freedom and control to intervene. These perceptions and expectations are informed by the overall event and the institutional context in which the interaction takes place.

8.4.1.2. Interpreter consulting/consulted by the primary interlocutors

The involvement of the interpreter is also analyzed in the category of instances in which the interpreter consults or is consulted by the primary interlocutors. These include both questions

related to meaning and wording and questions related to the flow and content of the interaction. In the training seminars under study, there are many question-answer dialogues among the participants themselves and between the participants and the speaker, the latter mediated by the interpreter. However, those in which the interpreter is involved not merely as a translator but also as the addressor or addressee of the questions are relevant to this section. This main section of analysis includes three subsections based on who is addressing whom: interpreter consulting the participants, interpreter consulting the speaker, and parties consulting the interpreter.

8.4.1.2.1. Interpreter consulting the participants

The first subcategory consists of the instances in which the interpreter consults the participants. This again indicates that the interpreter has the freedom and time to ask questions to the participants to ensure optimum communication.

Excerpt 20 (Session 4 Section 2) 00.08-00.32

In this part, the interpreter is helping the speaker while he is writing duties/activities on paper slips on the walls. The participants state what needs to be written, the interpreter translates and dictates what is to be written and the speaker writes it. Participant 1 states the item to be written, Participant 3 and Participant 2 comment on this statement. Then the discussion goes on between the interpreter and Participant 1.

- 1 P1 Mesleki geli ime ili kin faaliyetleri yürütmek.
To conduct activities related to Professional development.
- 2 I To conduct activities related to [professional improvement.
- 3 P3 [Çok uzun cümle.
[Very long sentence.
- 4 P2 [O kadar uzun cümleye gerek yok. Yenilikleri takip etmek.
[There is no need for such a long sentence. To follow new trends.
- 5 P1 Mesleki geli ime ili kin--
Related to professional development--
- 6 I Takip etmek mi yürütmek mi?
To follow or to conduct?
- 7 P1 Yürütmek.
To conduct.
- 8 I To conduct activities [related to professional improvement.

9 P1 [Takip etmek altında i lem olurdu.
[*To follow would be a task under it.*

For professional development as a separate duty, Participant 1 says “to conduct activities related to professional development” (1) and Participant 2 says “to follow new trends” (4). The interpreter is not sure whether it should be conduct or follow and she consults the participants, without letting the speaker know. Here, she consults the participants in order to ensure that the meaning is conveyed accurately and completely in the rendition of the item to be written as a duty. In this specific situation, her initiative to ask the question is more related to her tasks as a translator than those as a facilitator. However, the tasks the interpreter assumes and is expected to assume are intertwined in such a way that it is not always possible to make a clear-cut distinction between the two. It is still significant for the purposes of this study that the interpreter takes over the responsibility and control to ask questions and consult the parties with respect to translation and/or content when necessary.

Excerpt 21 (Session 4 Section 2 / 4.09-4.26)

In the excerpt below, taken from the same section, the participants are discussing which duties are included within the task “job organization”. The interpreter, too, is involved in the discussion. Participant 5 states the items that should be included in organization, one of which is customer satisfaction. Participant 1 explains customer satisfaction.

- 1 P5 Randevu alma, mü teri memnuniyeti. Onlar hep i organizasyonunun içine girer.
Getting an appointment, customer satisfaction. They are all included in job organization.
- 2 I Öyle mi?
Are they?
- 3 P1 Mü teri memnuniyeti zaten eydir tavır, tutum, davranı tır. [Bir görev i lem de ildir.
Customer satisfaction is attitude, manner, behavior. [It is not a duty or a task
- 4 I [So customer satisfaction ... Where is it ... <L2 Bu organizasyonda mı L2>?
Is it within organization?

- 5 P4 Organizasyonda.
It is in organization.
- 6 I It is included in the organization. [It is there.
- 7 P1 [Organizasyonun içine girer.
[It is included in organization.

In Excerpt 21, firstly, the interpreter is not sure whether the duties of getting an appointment and customer satisfaction are included in organization, so she asks the participants to confirm this in turn 2. Secondly, in turn 4, while she is dictating in English, she looks for customer satisfaction on the paper slip, but she cannot find it. She first asks the speaker where it is included. Then, in the same turn, she turns to the participants again, asks whether customer satisfaction is within organization and Participant 4 and Participant 1 confirm this in turns 5 and 7. There is no contribution of the speaker during this excerpt. It is the interpreter who manages and coordinates the interaction. The interpreter's intervention is observed not only at the language level but also at the content level. This excerpt is another typical example of the interpreter taking on other duties in the interaction, indicating that she has knowledge of the topic and she assists the participants with the task at hand.

Excerpt 22 (Session 3 Section 1 / 00.40-1.12)

In this part of the session, the speaker is talking about respecting workforce attitudes by managers and owners of companies.

- 1 S For managers we need to have standards, for managers and for owners for ... respecting workforce attitudes.
- 2 I Eh yöneticiler ve irket sahipleri eh açısından eh i gücü eh tavırlarına saygılı olma mı [diyelim?
Uh in terms of managers and uh owners of companies, uh shall we say respecting uh workforce [attitudes?
- 3 P6 [Eme e saygıyı [[isteriz, talep ederiz.
[Respect for workforce, [[that is what we want and demand.
- 4 I [[Eme e saygı, evet beklentimiz o yönde olmalı.
[[Respect for workforce, yes, that should be our expectation.
- 5 P4 Ortamda baskın olmak [[[istiyorlar.
Because they want to be [[[dominant.

- 6 P6 [[[Evet evet genelde öyle.
 [[[*Yes yes generally they do.*
- 7 I Because they would like to be dominant.

In Excerpt 22, it is understood from the filled pauses of the interpreter that she is not sure of what she is saying. The interpreter translates “respecting workforce attitudes” literally, but she is not sure whether there is a better way to say it. Therefore, in turn 2 she asks the participants “shall we say respecting workforce attitudes”. However, the difference between the linguistic structures is worth mentioning here as in Turkish interrogative particles are at the end of the sentence. Therefore she has more time to decide whether she should turn it into a question. Thus, when it is translated, it is similar to “Respecting workforce attitudes, shall we say so?”, which means she first says what she thinks it is and then asks the participants. As in Excerpt 21, the interpreter asks a question to the participants related to meaning. She expects assistance from the participants with regard to terms and phrases and explicitly asks for their opinion related to the use of a phrase. In Turkish, there is a phrase with the same meaning that can be translated as “respect for workforce or labor”. Participant 6 uses this phrase as a response to the interpreter in turn 3. The interpreter agrees and uses the phrase in turn 4. Then the discussion continues between Participant 4 and Participant 6.

In this excerpt, in turns 2, 3, and 4 the activity observed is repair. The notion of repair, which is basically to remove or to fix part of an utterance for various purposes, was dealt with comprehensively by conversation analysts. Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) made an important distinction between types of repair according to the initiation and conduct of the repair. Accordingly, repair that is initiated by someone need not be performed by that person. Thus, there are four options according to the way repair is initiated and performed. These are self-initiated self-repair, other-initiated self-repair, self-initiated other-repair and other-initiated other-repair. In interpreting studies, the concept of repair was analyzed by authors such as Favaron (2009), Apfelbaum (2007) and Bot (2005) in (teaching) dialogue interpreting.

As seen in this excerpt, the notion of repair is relevant in consecutive conference interpreting too. The type of repair observed here is self-initiated other-repair, as the repair is initiated by the interpreter explicitly through a question and performed by a participant.

In fact, here the interpreter’s strategy depends on features of the event such as interactivity, (lack of) formality and time pressure, not to mention the parties’ willingness to share and cooperate. It is seen that this specific situation (embedded in the event and the broader context) provides room for interpreter questions and the interpreter actually makes

use of this. As for the first person plural “we”, there is a consistent use of the pronoun by the speaker, the interpreter and Participant 6 throughout the excerpt in turns 1, 2, 3, and 4. The interpreter’s “we” in “Shall we say” in turn 2 is in accordance with the speaker’s “we” in the previous turn and looks like the most appropriate choice.

Excerpt 23 (Session 3 Section 2 / 4.53-5.06)

In this section, the speaker is talking about the development in technology and the changes in the performance and assessment criteria of professions. He also refers to the classification used during the training.

1 S Uh this classification is according to uh CISCO, uh ISCO 88.

2 I Bu sınıflandırma eh--
This classification uh-

3 P2 ISKO 88.
ISCO 88.

4 I ISKO 88’e göre evet.
It is according to ISCO 88, yes.

The speaker refers to the ISCO 88 classification. The interpreter does not ask the participants explicitly, but hesitates and looks at the participants, thus revealing that she does not know the Turkish version of the acronym. Here, the interpreter apparently expects the participants’ help with the term and looks for an answer. Then Participant 2 intervenes and says “ISKO 88”. Thus, the participants, who infer the interpreter’s expectation from her intonation, filled pause and gaze, give her the answer she needs. Then the interpreter is sure that the acronym is used in the same way in Turkish and says “ISKO 88”. In this excerpt, a self-initiated other-repair is observed. The repair is initiated by the interpreter, albeit this time implicitly through hesitation and filled pause, and performed by an interlocutor. This brief example is another indicator of how the interpreter cooperates with the participants with regard to terminology to provide smooth communication.

Excerpt 24 (Session 3 Section 2 / 6.13-7.29)

The speaker, who is talking about the developing technology and the need to update skills and knowledge, gives an example from Macedonia.

1 S Many companies were brought from develo-, companies from

developed countries, and they brought new technology automated or robotized lines... and there were different jobs like machine mechanics, electric installations in machines mechanic, technicians for electronics, technicians for IT let's say... and if a huge automatic line stops because of something, there is a problem.

2 I Eh birçok irket, geli mi ülkelerden birçok irket geldi Makedonya'ya, tabiki kendi geli mi ülkelerinin teknolojilerini, yeni teknolojileri de getirdiler ve çok farklı eh i alanları, farklı eh dallar çıktı. Örne in, eh imdi ne diyelim ona, elektronik teknisyenleri, eh bilgi i lem teknisyenleri, eh <L2 machine mechanics >L2 'e ne diyebiliriz, makine--?

Uh many companies, many companies from developed countries came to Macedonia. Of course they brought with them the technologies of developed countries, new technologies. And various uh fields, various uh branches have emerged. For instance, uh what shall we call it, electronic technicians, uh IT technicians, uh what can we say for machine mechanics, machine--?

3 P2 Makine mekani i.

Machine mechanics.

4 I Mekani i diyelim eh ve tabiki bilgi teknolojilerinin kullanılmaları, diyelim ki her ey otomasyona dönü tü, bir hat var eh elektronik bir hat ve bu duruyor.

Mechanics let's say uh and of course with the use of IT, let's say everything is automated, there is a line, uh an electronic line and it stops.

In this example, the speaker refers to different jobs for which need has arisen recently. One of these branches is called “machine mechanics”. The interpreter, who is not familiar with the term, asks the participants twice what should be used for the term explicitly, saying “what shall we call it?” and “what can we say for machine mechanics?”. The interpreter’s question in this excerpt is related to terminology, for which she asks for help from the participants. Unlike in the previous example, here the interpreter asks the participants explicitly what should be used for the term. Participant 2, again, suggests “machine mechanics” and the interpreter uses the term. The interpreter’s question and the participant’s reply make this

example a self-initiated other-repair. Her expectation and the participant's response arise from the features of the specific event in which the interaction takes place as mentioned. Both have the freedom to intervene and speak on their own behalf in this specific event. The participants do not abstain from contributing to the interaction and assisting the interpreter with regard to the translation if and when needed.

Excerpt 25 (Session 5 Section 1 / 22.10-22.38)

In this section, the participants are discussing the duties and tasks included in professions. The interpreter is helping the participants to list the items and the participants are discussing. The discussion is between Participants 2, 1, and 3.

- 1 I Evet imdi sıradakini okuyorum makyaj.
Yes, now I'm reading the next one, make-up.
- 2 P2 Makyaj yapmak.
Make-up.
- 3 P1 Peki vücut bakımını çıkarınca makyajı da çıkaralım mı? Yok olmaz.
Ok shall we exclude make-up too, like we excluded body care? No.
- 4 P3 Çıkaramayız.
We can't.
- 5 I X
- 6 S No.
- 7 I Yani ey bu meslekte larla ileti imi nereye aldık peki?
So where have we included communication with colleagues?
- 8 P1 O eyin içine girebilir, meslek geli imine ili kin faaliyetlerin.
It can be included in activities regarding professional development.

In Excerpt 25, the interpreter is sight-translating the item in turn 1. In this situation, too, there is little contribution by the speaker. It is important that the speaker makes no remark preceding this excerpt. Rather, it is followed by a long discussion between the participants on the previous item. Therefore, it is neither the speaker nor the participants who decide to continue with the next item, but rather the interpreter who does so. Thus, in addition to sight-translating, she manages the flow and coordinates the interaction by deciding what is to be done next and when. The interpreter can be seen facilitating group work from the beginning of the excerpt too, in her remark in turn 1. Then, in turn 7, looking at what is written on paper slips on the wall, she asks the participants "Where have we included communication with

colleagues?” and Participant 1 responds. Although there is no preceding question by any party, the interpreter asks a question related to content of the training, not meaning. As for the pronoun use, in turn 1, one of the interpreter’s infrequent uses of “I” is observed. However, this seems like the most appropriate choice in this situation. She adopts her usual style in the self-initiated question in turn 7, using “we” to refer to everyone (where have we?). Excerpt 25 is a clear example of the interpreter’s active role within the interaction. In this excerpt, too, the interpreter’s intervention is not related to translation; rather, she assumes the role of co-trainer, getting involved in various ways.

8.4.1.2.2. Interpreter consulting the speaker

There are also some instances in which the interpreter is observed to consult the speaker, although not as many as the situations in which she consults the participants. In the situations analyzed below, the interpreter’s involvement is reflected in the questions she addresses to the speaker.

Excerpt 26 (Session 5 Section 1 / 4.33-5.35)

The speaker is talking about why duties should be separate to a great extent. Then he explains the task that he had considered assigning to the participants before the training.

1 S I was thinking this afternoon to try to do something fully different, but we needed some time to arrange that and it was not doable in a in a minute. It could have been done that you do some observation ... one group let’s say hotel manager, to come up through the observation process <X for other two X>. And second group to do observation of the let’s say receptionist and to come up with a list of duties.

2 I <L2 Shall I translate L2>? Eh aslında farklı bir ey yapmak vardı farklı bir görev vermek vardı size aklımda ama hani çok kısa sürede yapılamayaca ı için belki zaman yetmez diye söylemedim. Eh imdi bir grup otel müdürünü alabilirdi, otel müdürünü gidip gözlemleyebilirdi, görevlerinin neler oldu unu gözlem aracılı ıyla listeleyebilirdi, di er bir eh grup da resepsiyonisti alabilirdi, gidip gözlemleyebilirdi eh görevlerini bu ekilde listeleyebilirdi.

Uh in fact I had in mind doing something different, giving you a different task, but I didn’t tell you because of time constraints. Uh one group could observe the hotel manager and list his duties. Uh the other

group could observe the receptionist and uh come up with a list of duties.

As the speaker is continuing to talk and does not verbally or non-verbally tell the interpreter to translate, the interpreter is not sure whether she should intervene. Then, as soon as he pauses, she consults the speaker on whether she should translate and the speaker nods. It is not an unusual situation for an interpreter to be forgotten by the speaker. Instead, interpreters frequently encounter speakers who keep talking without allowing the interpreter to render what is said. Here, the interpreter attempts to start the rendition by asking the speaker if she should do so. Her intervention in this case is related to translational tasks, but she becomes visible by speaking her own “I” and intervening in the speech.

Excerpt 27 (Session 2 / 18.07-18.30)

The speaker is explaining to the participants how they can be sure that the personnel to be included in the workshops are suitable. While doing so, he tells them that the person should be capable of talking openly and accepting what others think.

1 P4 Bunu hangi ortamda yapıyoruz? Çalı ma ortamında 8-12 ki iyi topladı ımız zaman mı yapıyoruz o ki ilerle görü ürken?
When do we do this? When we have 8-12 people and when we are talking to them?

2 I Are we going to do this for instance in the groups with 12 people, one before or afterwards when do we do this, within the groups when?

3 P4 Grubu topladıktan sonraki.
After composing the groups.

4 S The groups are our groups are already composed.

5 I Ok ok. When do we do this? When we start?

6 S Uh at the beginning. This is at the beginning.

7 I lk ba ta. lk ba ta.
At the beginning. At the beginning.

Then Participant 4 asks in turn 1 when this happens and the speaker replies in turn 4 following the interpreter’s rendition. After that, the interpreter, who is apparently not satisfied by his reply, asks the speaker again in turn 5 without translating his reply. In Excerpt 27, although the interpreter’s question relates to meaning, she coordinates the interaction through her self-

initiated questions. Her intervention is related to content in the sense that she is the one who decides that the speaker's response in turn 4 is not relevant, which is also an indicator of the interpreter's competence in the thematic area. However, it is also related to the flow in the sense that she decides who will speak next in this situation. Another important point is the use of "we". The interpreter's use of "we" in turn 2 is conditioned by the participant's use of this pronoun in turn 1. An interesting use of the first person plural belongs to the speaker this time, who uses it rarely during the interaction. In turn 4 he says "Our groups are already composed" (after he starts with "the groups" first), possibly in order to emphasize that he is talking about this specific case. The interpreter's "we" in her own questions in turn 5 is in accordance with the rest of the excerpt and includes everyone in the room.

8.4.1.2.3. Parties consulting the interpreter

In the following excerpts, the participants are putting questions directly to the interpreter. Here, in addition to the interpreter's strong active role as a party in the interaction, it is seen that she answers the questions of the participants and helps them with the exercises during the session. The roles she assumes are not only those related to translation, but also those related to coordination and assistance within the flow of the interaction.

Excerpt 28 (Session 5 Section 1) 12.02-12.10

The speaker tells the participants to go into their groups and read the duties that have already been written down and check their wording. The participants are instructed to share the duties that they will work on.

1 P5 imdi biz çift sayıları mı yazıyoruz?

Now are we writing even numbers?

2 I ikinci grup çift sayılar birinci grup tek sayılar dedi ama--

He said the second group will write even numbers and the first group will write odd numbers but--

3 S Group 1 group 2.

4 I 1. Grup 2. Grup olsun.

Group 1 group 2.

Participant 5 asks the interpreter whether they will be writing even numbers as a group. The participants regard the interpreter as a party too and expect her to assist them in the training in addition to her translational tasks. The interpreter replies directly, rendering the speaker's instruction through reported speech, and then the speaker intervenes. The interpreter's

intervention in turn 1 can be considered in two respects. Firstly, she responds to the question asked by Participant 5, which is related not to translation but to the flow of the interaction, though it might not be considered as content. She acts as a facilitator and a coordinator, assuming an active role by directly answering a question addressed to her. She renders the speaker's answer in reported speech, but it is still her reply and she speaks on her own behalf. Secondly, the interpreter takes a distance from the speaker and reports what the speaker said to the participants, asserting her role as the third party in the interaction through pronoun use and address. Thus, the interpreter does not avoid contributing to the interaction by answering questions addressed to her, indicating that she is positioned as a party. Moreover, she positions herself as an interlocutor by talking directly to another interlocutor.

Excerpt 29 (Session 5 Section 1 / 22.54-23.00)

The participants have been writing down the duties with the help of the interpreter who sight-translates them.

- 1 P 5 Sıralaması do ru mu? Bunlar kuaförün i i de il ki?
Is the order correct? These are not the tasks of a hairdresser.
- 2 I Evet aynı sıralama. Ona göre yazdık zaten.
Yes, it is the same order. We have written according to it.

The discussion is going on when Participant 5 asks the interpreter a question about the order of the tasks of a hairdresser. The interpreter answers saying that it is the same order. In this excerpt, a participant asks the interpreter a question related to the content and the interpreter replies directly, becoming an interlocutor. It is important that the speaker is not aware of this question-answer dialogue, either before or after this situation, which means that the interpreter again acts as the co-leader in the training, with the implication that she has the relevant knowledge and expertise. Also, her use of the first person plural in the second sentence in turn 2 is worth considering. She includes herself in the activity using “we” and aligns herself with the speaker. The interpreter's perception of her own role as the second expert and the assistant in the room is evident in this example too.

Excerpt 30 (Session 5 Section 1 / 10.34-10.46)

The speaker tells the participants to go into groups in order to discuss the duties that have been listed, as stated above.

- 1 S Ok then. Can we go into groups to wrap up these and that will be the day.
- 2 I imdi gruplara ayrılalım, isterseniz bu çalı mayı yapalım, sonra da bugünü tamamlayalım, olur?
If you like, let's go into groups now, let's complete this task, then we will end today's session, alright?
- 3 P 3 imdi mi?
Now?
- 4 P 2 Gruplarımız belli zaten.
We know our groups already.
- 5 I Eh eh imdi.
Uh uh now.

Turn 1 is one of the rare instances in which the speaker is also observed to use the first person plural when giving the instructions for group work. Still, the speaker uses “we” only once in turn 1, whereas the interpreter uses it three times in turn 2, adding emphasis to this mode. In this specific situation, the interpreter’s use of “let’s” and “we” can be said to be influenced by the speaker’s use of this mode. However, this is not always the case, as discussed above in Excerpt 27. There are many instances in which the speaker uses no pronoun and the interpreter uses the pronoun “we” (see 8.4.1.3.). Then, the interpreter translates this instruction in turn 2. Participant 3 asks whether they should go into groups “now” and the interpreter confirms, without feeling the need to ask the speaker once again. The participant’s question addressed to the interpreter is related to the flow rather than the content of the interaction.

Excerpt 31 (Session 5 Section 1 / 15.30-15.36)

The participants are discussing the duties that have been listed and written on paper slips on the walls.

- 1 P 5 Bir katkıda bulunmak istiyorum müsade ederseniz imdi burda neydi tam ey?
I would like to make a contribution if you allow me. Now what was the thing (item) here exactly?
- 2 I Cilt bakımı ve... [o mu?

Skin care and.. [that one?

3 P 7 [Masaj.

[*Massage.*

4 I Cilt bakımı ve masaj.

Skin care and massage.

In the above excerpt, during a discussion on the tasks within the session, Participant 5 intervenes and asks the exact name of the item. The participant's question here can be said to be related both to translation, as these items are sight-translated by her, and to content, as they are part of the content of the training. The interpreter replies but, not being sure, she hesitates and asks whether it is "that one". Then Participant 7 confirms and she carries on with her reply without asking the speaker. Here, the interpreter is observed to assume tasks related to both the content of the interaction and the translation, as in this situation it is hard to make a distinction between the two tasks. Again, she acts like the second expert in the room, to whom people can address questions and ask for help.

8.4.1.2.4. Discussion

The interpreter's role has been analyzed at the utterance level in terms of the questions asked by or addressed to the interpreter, in which the interpreter adopts the speaker roles of responder or principal. It is observed that the primary interlocutors—especially the participants—do not abstain from addressing the interpreter questions related to meaning, flow and content during the training seminar. This indicates that the participants, too, are allowed and encouraged to contribute to the interaction, depending on the features of an event, such as interactivity, lack of formality and time pressure.

The interpreter's third-party role as a co-leader at the event level is reflected in her interventions at the utterance level with respect to questions. She acts as the second expert in the room and helps the parties with the task at hand, which also indicates that she has a good command of the subject. Thus, the interpreter has the power and freedom to intervene at the content level in addition to the translation level. It could be assumed that the features of the multi-level context in which the interaction is rooted have an influence on the interpreter's involvement as manifested in questions.

interpreter, on the other hand, turns this into a question saying “can we”. Through this use of the first person plural, the interpreter refers to everybody in the seminar, including herself. In this specific example, she uses the “all-inclusive we”, like a teacher addressing the students in class, instead of opting for the imperative like the speaker does. By doing so, the interpreter includes herself in the activity. With regard to this example, the interpreter stated that she preferred a pronoun here rather than the imperative as she did not want to be the person saying “do this or do that” to the participants. She thought this could be inappropriate and stated that this was an intentional choice.

Excerpt 33 (Session 2 / 11.25-11.45)

In this part, the speaker is going through Dacum phases, as seen on screen. After finishing phase 1, he says he will not go into detail in Phase 2 and 3.

1 S Uh I will briefly go through phase two and three because it won't be an issue we will work on, just for your information only.

2 I 2?

3 S This phase and 2. Uh two [and three.

4 I [<L2 Ok, ok L2>. imdi ikinci ve üçüncü a amalara bakaca ız ama detaylı üzerinde durmayaca ız, yalnızca bilginiz olması açısından.

Now we will look at the second and third phases but we won't work on them in detail, just for your information.

In Excerpt 33, the speaker uses “I” in the first part of turn 1, but the interpreter uses “we”. It is important that the speaker also prefers “we” in the second part of the sentence, although this is not the mode he is usually observed to adopt during the interaction. In this example, as in Excerpt 32, the interpreter considers everyone to be included and strengthens the sense of working together as a group. Considering that everybody in the seminar is going through the phases together, the interpreter resorts to a shift in footing, emphasizing the inclusion of everyone in the activity.

Excerpt 34 (Session 6 / 00.41- 00.58)

In this session, the speaker is standing again in front of the screen and the flip chart and the interpreter is standing next to him. They are following the slides on the screen during the session. In this part of the session, the speaker is talking about the techniques for job and task analysis as seen on the screen.

1 S Here is in this slide and the following few slides, there will be a number of methods that ... are recommended to be used.

2 I Eh kullanılması tavsiye edilen birkaç yöntemi de imdiki slâyтта ve bundan sonraki slâytlarda görece iz birlikte.

Uh we will see together the few methods recommended to be used in this slide and the following slides.

While introducing these techniques, the speaker uses neither “I” nor “we”, but opts for passive. The interpreter, in Excerpt 34 as well, shifts to “we”, which indicates that she considers everyone to be included. Unlike Excerpt 32 and Excerpt 33, she also promotes a sense of group unity explicitly in this example through pronoun use. The interpreter emphasizes the “we” of the group through saying “we will see together” and includes the participants as well as herself in the activity.

Excerpt 35 (Session 6 / 4.23-4.47)

Excerpt 35 follows the previous one. The speaker is talking about Dacum methodology and tells the participants that they can ask questions to the Dacum facilitators, one of whom is himself, until everything is clear. Then he starts explaining the survey method.

1 S Uh you all of you nicely described that there is a group of workers that need to be interviewed. ... [That need to be questioned through the questionnaire.

2 I [Görü- Zaten bir az önce her iki grup da anket yöntemini bize çok güzel bir ekilde anlattı. Eh burada bir i çiler var, eh bir grup ve bunlara bir eh anket formu veriliyor, onların da bunu doldurmaları isteniyor.

[Interv- Both groups nicely explained the method of questionnaire to us. Uh there are workers, uh a group, they are given uh a questionnaire and asked to fill it in.

Although the speaker says “all of you described”, the interpreter translates it as “all of you described to us”. In this excerpt, as in Excerpt 34, the interpreter’s addition and pronoun use reinforce the sense of group unity and emphasize the sense of “we” of the group. Although the interpreter’s use of the pronoun “we” in order to include everyone may serve the same

purpose implicitly in other excerpts, the sense of “we” is explicitly strengthened through pronoun use, as in the addition of “together” and “to us” in Excerpt 34 and Excerpt 35.

8.4.1.3.2. To avoid “I”

The second category of the interpreter’s use of “we” consists of the instances in which the interpreter is trying to avoid the speaker’s “I”, opting for the less marked pronoun “we”. The fact that there is a pattern related to the interpreter’s avoidance of “I” after the speaker uses it gives the impression that this is a strategic choice of the interpreter.

Excerpt 36 (Session 2 / 16.01-16.21)

In this part of the session, the speaker is talking about how the right personnel can be selected. He states a question that can be asked to the candidate.

1 S Uh I can think of something in this moment. One question can be, are you willing to accept what others think?

2 I Mesela eh öyle bir soru sorabiliriz ki inin buna uygun oldu unu anlayıp anlamamak için. Di er ki ilerin dü üncelerini kabul etmeye istekli misiniz?

For instance, uh we can ask a question like this to understand whether the person is the right one for this. Are you willing to accept what others think?

The speaker uses the pronoun “I” in the first sentence above and then asks the question. The interpreter, on the other hand, avoids adopting the speaker’s “I” explicitly and chooses the pronoun “we”, saying “we can ask a question like this”. Her choice seems to reflect a strategy. In this excerpt, rather than abiding by the norm of speaking in the first person in conference interpreting, the interpreter opts for the pronoun “we” again, though with a purpose different from the previous excerpts in this category. She makes a deliberate choice to avoid the speaker’s “I” and decides to use the less marked pronoun “we”.

Excerpt 37 (Session 4 Section 2 / 6.34-6.50)

In this part, the participants have a long discussion on the definition of communication as regards job analysis. They discuss whether it should include communication with staff or imply only customer relations. After this discussion, two separate views come up, explained by Participant 1 again, one of the most active participants, especially in group work.

- 1 S How should I write it?
Nasil yazalım? Ne diyelim yani hepsini kapsayacak ekilde?
- 2 I *How shall we write it? What shall we say in order to cover all?*
imdi iki fikir oldu. Bilmiyorum, [ne dersiniz?
- 3 P1 *Now there are two ideas. I don't know, [what do you say?*
- 4 I [There are two ideas. There are two ideas.
Biz onu organizasyonu içine [a-
- 5 P1 *We meant organization is [inc-*
- 6 S [Will I put uh put both?
Her ikisini de yazalım mı? Ayrı olarak.
- 7 I *Shall we write both, separately?*

In turn 1, the speaker uses “I” to ask how he should write it and the interpreter has a tendency to avoid speaking in the first person, using the pronoun “we”. She also adds another question in turn 2, making her “I” avoidance strategy even more emphatic. Moreover, the interpreter adopts the same strategy once more in the same excerpt, in turn 7, following the speaker’s question in turn 6. It is seen that the interpreter explicitly abstains from using the speaker’s “I”, as a matter of strategy. This was confirmed by the interpreter in the interview. She said that she did not want to say “I” and strengthen her own position, because the participants would then think she would write the inputs, believing that it was the interpreter who was speaking rather than perceiving her role as an instrument. Another point worth considering in this excerpt is the participant’s “we” in turn 5. This use of the first person plural makes sense when the broader situation is considered. There are two different views regarding the task at hand, as explained above, and this participant is explaining one of those views and what it includes, referring to part of the group as “we” and aligning himself with them. The interpreter’s “I” avoidance strategy is even more obvious in this excerpt. It seems that she consistently avoids using the speaker’s “I”, assuming control and responsibility in the interaction and making strategic choices.

Excerpt 38 (Session 1 Section 1 / 3.32-4.08)

In this part, after the participants have written their expectations and concerns on the training, the speaker also asks them to answer some questions on stickers in order to make the training session more efficient.

- 1 S In order to be able to use the best of your experience for this and the following weeks.
- 2 I ... Tecrübelerinizi bu hafta ve önümüzdeki haftalarda en iyi şekilde kullanabilmek için.
... In order to be able to use your experience in the best way this week and the following weeks.
- 3 S I will ask you in a similar way to respond on these questions on these stickers.
- 4 I u anda slâyтта görece iniz, birazdan çevirece im sorulara cevaplarınızı bu stikerlar üzerine yazmanızı rica edece iz.
We will ask you to write your answers to the questions which you will see now on the slide, and which I will be translating shortly.

In Excerpt 38, the speaker asks the participants to respond to the questions, using first person singular in turn 3. However, in turn 4, the interpreter translates it as “we”, saying “we will ask you” and explicitly not adopting the speaker’s “I”. An interesting point related to this excerpt is that the interpreter does not refrain from speaking in her own “I” in turn 4 when she says “which I will be translating shortly”, but turns the speaker’s “I” into “we”. This might indicate that she uses her own “I” so frequently that she intentionally avoids the speaker’s “I” in order to avoid confusion in the participants on whose “I” she is referring to. Thus, the interpreter resorts to a shift in footing in order to avoid “I”. The interpreter also agreed with this comment and confirmed that she opted for the less marked pronoun “we” rather than saying “I will ask you”. Again, she thought it could be inappropriate to ask the participants to do something directly using the pronoun “I”.

Excerpt 39 (Session 3 Section 1 / 6.55-7.00)

In this session, the speaker is standing in front of the screen and the flip chart. The interpreter is standing next to him and can be seen. The speaker is talking about the advantages and disadvantages of assigning experienced and unexperienced personnel. He says that experience can be an asset provided by the former, while fresh ideas can be added by the latter.

- 1 S Therefore I will go 50-50 to balance forces.
- 2 I Bu nedenle %50 %50 güçleri dengeleyelim.
Therefore 50-50%, let's balance forces.

In this example, too, the speaker says “I will go” but the interpreter turns it into plural saying “let’s balance forces”. Like the examples above, in Excerpt 39 the interpreter is observed to avoid “I” as a strategy, adopting the less marked pronoun “we” instead of speaking in the first person.

8.4.1.3.3. To avoid “you”

Another purpose of the interpreter’s use of “we” as a departure from the previous speaker was identified as being to avoid “you”. In the excerpts below in this subcategory, the interpreter abstains from confronting the participants through questions or statements using the pronoun “you”. Rather, she prefers to use the less marked first person plural, even in situations in which the speaker addresses the participants as “you” in a very emphatic way.

Excerpt 40 (Session 5 Section 1 / 1.44-1.48)

In this part, the speaker and the interpreter have already written the duties and tasks on the paper slips on the walls, with the contributions of the participants. Now the speaker is asking the participants to check whether there are aspects that are closely related or overlapping.

- 1 S Do you think that there is any [overlapping?
2 I [Var mı kesi me mesela, i te bu--
[*Is there any overlapping well this-*
3 S Serious overlapping.
4 I Kesinlikle hani çok benzer bu ikisi dedi imiz?
Anything we think is very similar?

In the above example, the interpreter says “we” although there is no “I” or “we” in the speaker’s utterance. Rather, the speaker asks the question using “you”. In Excerpt 40, the interpreter seems to avoid “you” this time, using “we” in a more didactic way instead of directly confronting the addressee like the speaker does. The interpreter’s use of “we” for this purpose can be said to be influenced by the context. Her consistent use of the first person plural in order to avoid “you” can be considered as a strategy linked to the learning environment, as in this excerpt.

Excerpt 41 (Session 1 Section 2 / 11.08-11.29)

In this excerpt, the speaker is talking about learning styles. First he tells the participants about his learning style; then he asks them about their ways of learning.

1 S Do you know what is your preferred way of learning? What what can you reflect from yourself? Can you think for, uh two minutes, let's say? What is your preferred way of learning?

2 I imdi eh bir iki dakika kendi kendimize bunun üzerinde dü ünmeye çalı alım. Biz eh ne ekilde ö renmeyi tercih ederiz? En iyi ne ekilde ö reniyoruz?

Now uh let's try to think about this for a few minutes. What is our uh preferred way of learning? What is the best way of learning for us?

The speaker would like to know the participants' learning styles, explicitly asking them about their preferred way of learning, emphatically using "you" and "your" several times in four questions in one turn. The interpreter, however, renders these questions using "we" and "our" in an equally emphatic way, explicitly avoiding "you" as a matter of strategy. This strategy may be reflecting her preference for a less marked and more didactic pronoun use, rather than asking questions or addressing the other party directly in the second person.

Excerpt 42 (Session 4 Section 1 / 9.12-9.26)

In this part of the session, the speaker is talking about a related study currently used in America and thinks this can be an example for the participants.

1 S So, it is something that is currently used there.

2 I Yani orada, Amerika'da bilfiil kullanılan bir ey.

So it is something actually used there in America.

3 S So, you have it as an example.

4 I Bir örnek olarak bunu göz önünde bulundurabiliriz.

We can take this into consideration as an example.

The speaker tells the participants that they have this research chart as an example. The interpreter says "we can take it into consideration" although the speaker says "you have it as an example". In Excerpt 39 and Excerpt 40, the interpreter's you-avoidance strategy was observed in questions, revealing her unwillingness to confront the addressee directly in questions. However, in Excerpt 42 and Excerpt 43 the interpreter is observed to use the same strategy in statements too, which is another indicator that this is an intentional choice. Her choices can be said to be influenced by the broader event: training sessions. Although the

purpose of this strategy is to avoid “you”, a sense of group unity is also promoted through the use of “we” in this learning environment.

Excerpt 43 (Session 1 Section 1 / 3.32-4.08)

In this part, after the participants have written their expectations and concerns on the training, the speaker also asks them to go into groups to discuss the term duty.

1 S You go in a group in a circle and throw, just throw thoughts. Duty is this. Without thinking how much that uh your idea is really a duty or not.

2 I Eh imdi gruplar içerisinde fikir ortaya koyuyoruz, sadece fikirlerimizi öyle rasgele söylüyoruz. Gerçekten bir eh görev midir yoksa de il midir çok fazla ilk ba ta buna takılmadan fikirlerimizi söylüyoruz.
Uh now we put forth ideas within groups, we just say our ideas randomly. We state our ideas without thinking too much whether uh it is really a duty or not.

3 S You might have 30.

4 I 30 tane olabilir mesela--
For instance we might have 30-

5 S Which is too much.

6 I dü üncemiz.
Ideas.

7 I Tabi bu çok fazla.
This is too much of course.

While explaining the method, the speaker uses “you” and “your”, as seen in turns 1 and 3. The interpreter, on the other hand, translates it as “we” and “our” repeatedly. In Excerpt 43, the interpreter’s you-avoidance strategy is explicitly observed several times in turn 2 and also in turn 4. She turns the speaker’s “you” into “we” in her rendition and opts for the less marked and impersonal pronoun “we” rather than confronting the participants with “you”, which is a strategic choice adopted by the interpreter.

Excerpt 44 (Session 1 Section 2 / 3.00-3.42)

The participants have written their expectations and concerns, the speaker has read them, and now they are evaluating them. While doing so, he also explains the content of the training.

1 S We will have ... wording, X what is duty what is task. But not only based uh sticking to that we are going to work through it. And all of you will be clear up with herself or himself what is duty what is task in order to be able to facilitate others.

2 I Eh imdi i lem ve görevin tanımlarını yapaca ız. Ancak eh bunlarla ilgili olarak da konu aca ız. Böylece hepimizin kafasına açıkça oturabilir bu kavramları ne anlamda kullandı ımız. Böylece kolayla tırıcı rolünü üstlendi imizde de biz de eh herhangi bir kararı ıklı a yol açmaksızın kullanabiliriz bu terimleri.

Uh now we will define duty and task. However, uh we will talk about these too. So all of us will be clear with these terms. So we can use these terms without causing uh any problems when we assume the role of a facilitator.

The speaker says he aims to clarify the concepts of task and duty for all participants. Although he says “you” and “herself or himself”, the interpreter renders the pronouns as “we”, deliberately avoiding the pronoun “you”. However, unlike in the previous excerpts in this subcategory, here the use of first person plural is counterproductive. The speaker wants the participants to understand exactly what they need to do, giving them explicit and precise instructions. However, the interpretation does not reflect this instructive attitude or provide any explicit instructions as the participants are not addressed directly. Here, the interpreter is observed to reduce the necessary emphasis, and therefore hinder full understanding, by using “we” as a you-avoidance strategy. Thus, her use of such strategies may have other implications besides serving the purpose of avoiding “you”.

8.4.1.3.4. To repair the impersonal

The fourth and last subcategory in which the interpreter’s “we” is analyzed includes the instances in which she chooses the first person plural in order to repair the impersonal. The speaker adopts an impersonal and elliptical style in certain situations within the interaction, as seen also in the above categories. The interpreter takes the initiative of repairing such usage at some points for the sake of clarity and understanding. In these cases, analyzed below, the interpreter’s pronoun shifts arise from the speaker’s style.

Excerpt 45 (Session 5 Section 1 / 9.11-9.57)

At this stage of the session, the speaker asks the participants to write the pre-determined duties on separate paper slips and stick them on the walls. He refers to these duties when he says “these ten”.

- 1 S Uh these. These ten, [so meanwhile think of any rephrasing need.
- 2 I Bunları, [on tane görevimiz oldu. Bu s- eh yazarken de dü ünebiliriz hani farklı ekilde ifade edilmesi gereken varsa farklı ekilde de ifade edebiliriz.
These, [we have ten tasks. Me- uh we can also think while writing and we can express them differently if needed.
- 3 S So maybe first to talk in the groups you were. Group 1 and group 2. To read them again and to think if any rephrasing is [needed.
- 4 I Gruplar halinde bunu okuyabiliriz. ki gruba ayrıldı tık ya [ilk ba ta.
We can read this in groups. We had two groups [at the beginning.
- 5 S [[In five minutes.
- 6 I [[Uh five minutes?
- 7 S In five minutes.
- 8 I Hani be dakika içerisinde bir tekrar okuyup mesela unu öyle ifade etsek daha iyi olur dedi imiz yerler var mı bir bakalım.
Let's go through it again in five minutes and see if there is anything that we should reconsider.

In this excerpt, the speaker's style is so impersonal and elliptical that the use of the pronoun “we” seems to be the appropriate choice for the interpreter. In turn 1, the speaker uses the imperative and the interpreter uses “we” several times in turn 2. It is also important that the interpreter makes an addition and renders the original in a more comprehensible way. The speaker's impersonal style is even more obvious in turn 3. He neither forms complete sentences nor uses any pronouns. However, the interpreter turns them into sentences and adopts the first person plural to address the participants. She only omits the part on the need to rephrase in turn 4, possibly because she had already stated that in the previous turn. The interpreter makes another lengthy explanation in turn 8 using “we” again, following the original that says only “in five minutes”. Thus, the interpreter's style is in fact conditioned by the speaker's style and the reason for the shift is the impersonal and elliptical style of the speaker. The interpreter's shift to “we” in this case can be interpreted as resulting from her

preference to be more explicit and less impersonal/elliptical as a departure from the speaker, and she does not refrain from making additions to and changing the style of the original. The interpreter prefers comprehensibility at the expense of faithfulness, which is reflected through her pronoun use and choice of address and her additions in Excerpt 45.

Excerpt 46 (Session 2 / 20.48-21.28)

The speaker now is telling the participants about situations in which they may need to work with egoistic people.

- 1 S Uh you will be in situations to work with people that are not accepting others, maybe.
- 2 I Di er ki ileri, di er ki ilerin dü üncelerini kabullenmeyen ki ilerle çalı mak durumunda kalabileceksiniz bazı durumlarda.
In some cases you will work with people who do not accept others.
- 3 S Therefore two or three sessions on Friday we are going to have about these things.
- 4 I Bu nedenle Cuma günü bir iki oturum bu konu üzerinde eh odaklanacak.
Therefore on Friday a few sessions will uh focus on this.
- 5 S How to work with adults.
- 6 I Yani yeti kinlerle nasıl çalı abiliriz, bu konular üzerinde Cuma günü daha detaylı duraca ız.
How can we work with adults, we will spend more time on this on Friday.
- 7 S Dos and don'ts. What to do, what never to do.
- 8 I Neyi yapmalıyız, neleri asla yapmamalıyız.
What we should do, what we should never do.

In this excerpt, in turn 2 the interpreter addresses the participants directly using the pronoun “you”, as the speaker does in turn 1. It is also interesting that the interpreter, who has a clear tendency to use “we” much more often than the speaker, does not adopt the speaker’s “we”, as seen in turns 3 and 4. However, the speaker adopts an impersonal and elliptical style in turns 5 and 7, and the interpreter chooses the first person plural in turns 6 and 8. As in Excerpt 45, here the interpreter’s use of “we” is an obvious and natural choice conditioned by the speaker’s impersonal style.

Excerpt 47 (Session 5 Section 1 / 4.34-6.32)

In this part, the speaker offers a way to practice the methods of observation and interview which the participants have just learnt.

1 S I was thinking this afternoon to try to do something put it different, but we needed some time to arrange that and it was not doable in a minute. It could have been done that you do some observation, ... one group let's say hotel manager, to come through the observation process <X for other two X>. And second group to do observation of the let's say receptionist and to come up with a list of duties.

2 I <L2 Shall I translate L2>? Eh aslında farklı bir ey yapmak vardı farklı bir görev vermek vardı size aklımda ama hani çok kısa sürede yapılamayacağı için belki zaman yetmez diye söylemedim. Eh imdi bir grup otel müdürünü alabilirdi, otel müdürünü gidip gözlemleyebilirdi, görevlerinin neler oldu onu gözlem aracılığıyla listeleyebilirdi, di er bir eh grup da resepsiyonisti alabilirdi, gidip gözlemleyebilirdi eh görevlerini bu ekilde listeleyebilirdi.

Uh in fact I had in mind doing something different, giving you a different task, but I didn't tell you because of time constraints. Uh one group could observe the hotel manager and list his duties. Uh the other group could observe the receptionist and come up with uh a list of duties.

3 S And afterwards to ask hotel manager for fifteen minutes or half an hour to talk with the group, with all of us, whether those are really his or hers duties.

4 I Sonra otel müdürünü buraya çağırıp görüşebilirdik hep beraber on be dakika ya da yarım saat otel müdürü, bizim belirlediklerimizin gerçekten görevleri olup olmadığını burada anlatabilirdi.

Then we could invite the hotel manager here to come here and talk to all of us, to explain for fifteen minutes or half an hour whether what we determined are really his duties.

5 S The same goes with the receptionist.

6 I Aynı ekilde resepsiyonistte de bunu yapabiliydik.

We could do this with the receptionist too.

7 S And that is the best way to test how these things are working and how observation method is combining with the interview.

8 I Böylece gözlem yöntemini görü me yöntemiyle eh birle tirmi olurduk. Hem de eh yaptıklarımız gerçekten geçerli eylemler mi bunları da en iyi şekilde test etmi olabilirdik.

Thus we could integrate uh observation with interview. And uh we could test in the best way whether what we do is really working.

In this excerpt, it is observed that the interpreter is faithful to the speaker's use of the subjects "I", "one group", and "the other group" (turns 1 and 2). However, the speaker's impersonal style is again very obvious in turns 3, 5, and 7. The interpreter, on the other hand, has a consistent tendency to use "we", as observed in turns 4, 6, and 8. The only exception with respect to the speaker's impersonal style in these turns is the phrase "all of us" in turn 3, which is, interestingly, retained by the interpreter too. The interpreter's repeated shifts in footing are again conditioned by the speaker's style with the purpose of being more explicit. The interpreter is free to adopt strategies, as reflected at the utterance level through shifts of footing.

8.4.1.3.5. Discussion

In this category, the interpreter's use of the pronoun "we" as a departure from the interlocutor's phrasing was analyzed. It is observed at the utterance level that the interpreter opts for the first person plural for various reasons, but with the same main purpose: to "signal commonality of purposes" within the interaction (Merlini & Favaron 2005: 279). Unlike in the previous categories, in all excerpts in this category the interpreter's footing is what Merlini and Favaron (2005) describe as a "pseudo-co-principal".

With her first person plural use as a departure from the interlocutor, the interpreter includes everyone in the seminar as well as herself in a certain activity, emphasizing her visible and active role through her choice of pronouns. The interpreter also confirmed in the interview that she was involved in group work and discussions. Furthermore, she stated that through the use of "we" she was mostly trying to avoid the participants' resistance, which she had witnessed before in a similar event. The participants were resistant to learning, claiming that they already knew what was being taught. Therefore, she tried to bring the expert closer to the participants, forming a group atmosphere. She also added that she adopted this strategy in this specific event because of factors such as user expectations and the informality and

interactivity of the seminars. The fact that her use of “we” forms a pattern and is a strategic choice also indicates that the interpreter has the freedom and power to adopt strategies and to make strategic choices. The interpreter’s room for maneuver is thus expanded by the multi-level context in which the interaction takes place.

8.4.2. Divergent renditions

The categories of analysis given below consist of divergent renditions, which refer to the differences between the source text utterance and the interpreter’s rendition. The type and number of divergent renditions identified in each section are indicated in the table below and discussed with respect to each category afterwards.

Table 12. Divergent renditions in Event 1.

	Session 1	Session 2	Session 3	Session 4	Session 5	Session 6	Total
Non-renditions	4	9	6	26	24	3	72
Zero renditions	6	1	3	6	3	4	23
Substituted renditions	2	3	2	4	0	1	12
Reduced renditions	3	0	6	5	5	1	20
Expanded renditions	16	25	20	20	17	37	135
Summarized renditions	0	2	1	3	9	0	15

8.4.2.1. Non-renditions

In these communicative occurrences, the interpreter’s utterance does not correspond to any utterances in the source text. Although the number of non-renditions in Sessions 1, 2, 3, and 6 is not significantly different, it is observed that in Session 4 and Session 5 the number of non-renditions increases considerably. These two sessions include group work, and the interpreter’s assistance and involvement are much more apparent in Sessions 4 and 5 than in the other sessions. Non-renditions in particular are the instances in which the interpreter asserts her visibility by saying what is not said in the original speech. Obviously, they are the instances in which the interpreter adopts the footing of a principal or responder no matter

what the purpose is. When the total amount of each type of divergent renditions is considered, non-renditions are the second most frequently observed type after expanded renditions. This may be because the interpreter's assistance and contribution with respect to meaning, language and translation as well as content and flow in the training are allowed for and approved of throughout the interaction. In addition to user expectations and needs, the features of the thematic setting, the overall event and the institutional context might have an influence on the interpreter's room for maneuver.

8.4.2.2. Zero renditions

There are also some instances in which the interlocutors' utterances are left untranslated. These include the participants' discussions among themselves and other instances in which the interpreter does not feel the need to render or misses the original utterance. Zero renditions are less frequent than expanded renditions and non-renditions, and more frequent than substituted, reduced, and summarized renditions. The most important reason for the frequency of zero renditions, as mentioned, is the fact that the interactions involve group work and discussions of participants, part of which are not translated by the interpreter. However, because of the highly interactive nature of the event, they are far fewer than non-renditions and expanded renditions.

8.4.2.3. Substituted renditions

Substituted renditions consist of both reduced and expanded renditions, implying that the rendition includes both more explicit and less explicit information than the original. The sessions in Event 1 involve few substituted renditions in comparison with the rest of the categories and they are the least frequent type of divergent renditions observed in this event. This may be because the interpreter has the freedom to ask questions and consult the interlocutors when necessary, which means that she often does not need to substitute the original word or phrase. Another factor may be that accuracy is easier to achieve as the training does not include highly technical knowledge or specialized terminology.

8.4.2.4. Reduced renditions

Reduced renditions include less explicit information than the original. A number of reduced renditions were identified in each session too, though far fewer than expanded renditions. These include situations in which the interpreter renders part of the original. Although the

interpreter chooses to be more explicit, as inferred from the high number of expanded renditions, she does the opposite when she considers the rendered part as explicit enough or when she misses part of the speech and does not feel the need (or have the time) to ask.

8.4.2.5. Expanded renditions

In these communicative occurrences, the interpreter provides more explicit information than the speaker. Expanded renditions are observed much more frequently during the interaction than other types of divergent renditions. The most obvious reason for this is the fact that the interaction consists of training seminars in which understanding is of great importance. The interpreter, whose contribution is tolerated and even expected, does not abstain from making explanations and clarifications. Another reason, though less important, is the speaker's elliptical style. The interpreter might have found it an appropriate—even an obvious—choice to make explanations and clarify the fuzzy and unclear points. When the total numbers of each type are compared (see Table 12), expanded renditions are by far the most frequent type of divergent renditions identified in the corpus. The features of the event, such as high interactivity and lack of formality, play an undeniable role in the frequency of expanded renditions.

8.4.2.6. Summarized renditions

Summarized renditions, in which two or more original utterances by the same interlocutor or by different interlocutors are summarized by the interpreter, are seldom found in the corpus. These renditions usually correspond to the situations in which the interpreter reports the group's actions to the speaker. She does not render every detail of discussions in these instances, but prefers to summarize them, as analyzed in 8.4.1.1.3. However, the fact that summarized renditions are few in number is due to the interpreter's general strategy of being more explicit than the speaker.

8.4.2.7. Discussion

In Event 1, divergent renditions reflect the interpreter's active involvement in the interaction. The most obvious indicator of the interpreter's active role is the high number of expanded renditions. The interpreter's tendency to be more explicit, conditioned by the speaker's style, might have been influential in the high number of expanded renditions identified in the corpus. Her choice is also influenced by user expectations and the features of the event,

embedded in the broader institutional context. According to the interpreter, this was related to the user expectations and the high level of interactivity in this specific event. Other types of divergent renditions, which are zero, reduced, summarized and substituted renditions, in descending order of frequency, are similar to each other in frequency, for the reasons discussed above. Thus, the interpreter's involvement, influenced by a range of intertwined factors, is reflected through divergent renditions.

8.5. Analysis of the transcriptions: Event 2

The second event, as described in detail in 8.3.2., includes much less interactivity than the first event although the mode is the same. The transcripts are analyzed in terms of pronoun use and divergent renditions and examples of findings are presented within the flow of talk because there are examples of more than one category in one communicative act. Moreover, speaker turns are much longer in this event than in the previous one. The interaction will be presented in longer excerpts than in the analysis of Event 1 in order to provide a more holistic view of the interaction.

8.5.1. Pronoun use

In terms of pronoun use, four footing shifts were identified in the whole speech. These shifts are marked in bold below. In the first footing shift observed in turns 3 and 4, the interpreter shifts to "I" from the speaker's "we", by adding "I'd like to state that" to the original. Conversely, in the second footing shift in turns 5 and 6, she shifts the pronoun from "I" to "the meeting", not rendering "I'd put especially that" in the original. These two footing shifts are contrary to each other and neither of them leads to a significant change in meaning.

The third and the fourth footing shifts, observed in turns 18 and 19, and 20 and 21, respectively, are similar in that they both include the interpreter's shifting to the pronoun "we". There is an exception in the former, which is the interpreter's apology when she corrects her wording (policy-program) in turn 19. These two examples are also similar in the sense that the interpreter adopts the first person plural by adding "we see that", "we can say that", and "we were informed that". However, this does not imply a departure from the speaker, as this is the speaker's usual mode throughout the interaction. As a matter of fact, the

speaker uses “we” repeatedly in turns 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, and 15, indicating that the interpreter’s choice is a continuation of the speaker’s mode rather than a self-initiated strategy. However, an exception is observed in turns 18 and 20, where the interpreter adopts the strategy of shifting the pronoun through expanded renditions in order to gain time and/or adopt a more didactic/formal way of speaking, as discussed below.

8.5.2. Divergent renditions

Divergent renditions identified in the transcripts of Event 2 (except zero-renditions, since they exist only in the original) are indicated in the target text below. Divergent renditions are underlined in the source and target texts and in the translation of the interpreter’s rendition. The categories of analysis and the number of examples for each category are as follows:

8.5.2.1. Non-renditions (4)

8.5.2.2. Zero renditions (5)

8.5.2.3. Substituted renditions (14)

8.5.2.4. Expanded renditions (9)

8.5.2.1. Non-renditions

Few examples of non-renditions were identified in the corpus. These comprise an apology (one) and reference to previous parts of the speech (three) rather than the interpreter’s contributions. They do not reflect the initiative of the interpreter and do not consist of her own responses or questions, which can be attributed to the features of the event as well as the expectations of the parties in the interaction.

8.5.2.2. Zero renditions

Examples of zero renditions in which the speaker’s utterance(s) are untranslated are also observed in the transcripts. They correspond to situations in which the interpreter is not sure of the meaning of a certain utterance or part of an utterance. As the nature of the event does not allow for interventions by either the interpreter or the participants (or in this case one could say the audience), the interpreter does not have the chance to ask questions for clarification. However, zero renditions are not frequent, perhaps because the interpreter was able to work on the material and get prepared beforehand.

8.5.2.3. Substituted renditions

Substituted renditions are the most numerous instances in which divergence from the source text was observed. This may be because the interpreter does not have the chance to consult the speaker or the participants in this event. Whatever she has understood from the original speech has to suffice. The constraints at the event level such as the formality of the event, lack of interactivity, and other contextual elements embedded in the broader context of the interaction are reflected at the utterance level through substituted renditions.

8.5.2.4. Expanded renditions

Expanded renditions are more frequently encountered in the transcriptions than non-renditions and zero renditions. However, they are far fewer in number than substituted renditions. Expanded renditions in Event 2 consist of the instances in which the interpreter prefers to be more explicit than the speaker. There are also instances in which the interpreter makes use of expanded renditions as a strategy in order to gain time and/or add to the formality of the speech, as seen in the examples below.

Session 1 (00.58 – 14.43)

The following excerpts are presented in order to provide a holistic view of the interaction. Divergent renditions and footing shifts are indicated on the text and discussed briefly after the excerpts, which constitute the audible part of the whole speech.

Excerpt 1

1 S Before talking about the cultural policy survey, I'd just like to speak briefly a bit about some of the work we have underway as a civil society organization around the convention and to talk about the possibility of Turkish cultural organizations getting involved in those exchanges with groups in other countries.

zero rendition

2 I imdi kültürel politikaların tekrar gözden geçirilmesiyle ilgili çalı malardan bahsetmeden önce, sivil toplum organizasyonu olarak yaptığımız çalı malardan bahsetmek istiyorum ve tabii ki Türkiye'de bulunan kültürel organizasyonlar, yurt dışındaki diğer benzer organizasyonlarla nasıl bir alı veri içerisine girebilirler, fikir alı veri i anlamında, bununla ilgili yorumlarda bulunmak istiyorum.

expanded renditions

Now before talking about the attempts on revising cultural policies, I'd

like to talk about our work as a civil society organization and to talk about how cultural organizations in Turkey can make exchanges, exchanges of opinions, with similar organizations abroad.

3 S This is our first exchange with the Turkish cultural organizations. Yesterday a colleague from Setam mentioned the meeting with the French coalition organized some years ago, we are working towards a second congress or coalitions in Brazil at the end of May, May 29 to the June first. We have already established contacts with some other cultural organizations in different regions, recently in the coalitions established in Djibouti, Caribbean regional coalitions and their works. In both those cases, we are very hopeful that they will be present at our congress which will take place in Salvador, in the state of Baja, in Brazil and if there is interest flowing out of the 2 days of discussions we have had today **we** would certainly hope that a representative of the Turkish cultural media can join us as well.

4 I Türkiye'deki kültürel organizasyonlarla aslında bu anlamda ilk fikir alışverişini bu toplantı çerçevesinde gerçekleştirebildik. Tabii ki bunun öncesinde dün Setam başkanının da bahsettiği gibi Fransız koalisyonu ile birlikte bir araya gelinen ve yapılan bir toplantı oldu. Bununla ilgili olarak da ilerideki, gelecekteki çalışmalarımızdan bahsetmemiz gerekirse 2009 yılında, yani bu yıl 29 Mayıs- 1 Haziran arasında Brezilya'da 2. kongremizi gerçekleştireceğiz ve farklı ülkelerden temsilciler katılacak. Örneğin, Djibouti'de yeni bir koalisyon kuruldu. Karayipler'de yeni bir koalisyon kuruldu. Bunların da bu 2. kongremize katılacaklarını ve böylelikle fikirlerimizi onlarla da paylaşabileceğimizi düşünüyorum. Salvador'da, Brezilya'da gerçekleştirecek bu kongre ve bu 2 günlük yaptığımız toplantı sonrasında, eğer ki sizler de bu konuya ilgi duyuyorsanız, bu kongremizde Türkiye'den de bir temsilcinin bulunmasından mutluluk duyacağımızı belirtmek isterim.

expanded
rendition

In fact this meeting is our first exchange of opinions with cultural organizations in Turkey. And as yesterday the head of Setam mentioned, a meeting was held also with the French coalition. Related

footing shift

to this, to mention our future studies, in 2009 we will have our second congress in Brazil between May 29 and June 1 and representatives from different countries will participate (in this congress). For instance, a new coalition has been established in Djibouti. Also a new coalition was established in the Caribbeans. I think they will, too, attend our 2nd congress and thus we will have the chance to exchange opinions. This congress will be held in Salvador, Brazil and after this two-day-meeting here, if you are interested in this issue, I'd like to state that we'd be glad to have a representative from Turkey with us.

This excerpt follows the introduction to the meeting, which is not given here in accordance with the principle of confidentiality. In the introductory part, the speaker introduces himself and the other expert at the meeting and greets the audience with a few sentences. In this excerpt, the speaker is talking about what has been done in relation to the convention and what can be done in Turkey. The interpreter does not refer to the convention at all, but makes a lengthy explanation with regard to similar efforts that might be undertaken in Turkey (2). In the latter divergent rendition the interpreter prefers to be more explicit than the speaker, whereas in the former she does not translate “around the convention”, possibly because the convention had already been mentioned in the introduction. Following this zero rendition and expanded rendition, the interpreter substitutes “a colleague from Setam” with “the head of Setam”, depending on her own previous knowledge (4). In this case, through a substituted rendition, the interpreter gives more specific information. Also, in the same turn, the interpreter adds the underlined phrase related to future studies, which is not mentioned by the speaker. At the end of turn 4, the interpreter resorts to a shift in footing, changing the speaker’s “we” to “I”. She also expands the original utterance by adding “I’d like to state that”. This addition might imply a strategy that the interpreter adopts in order to gain time or to speak in a more formal way, both of which are possible in Turkish. Thus, Excerpt 1 includes one zero rendition, one substituted rendition, one non-rendition and two expanded renditions as well as a footing shift. Although divergences from the original speech exist, they are not visible to the audience and the speaker as interpreter interventions.

Excerpt 2

5 S That meeting, I'd put especially that meeting is no by no means makes ratification of the convention by the government of Turkey a

zero-rendition precondition in no way. / A number of coalitions are from countries that have not yet ratified the convention. But what be the congress will be about as we had into the next 2 years of implementation. It was about setting up a network to exchange information about different policy models being used different countries. The perspective of the cultural professional organizations have had turned their experience into different policy approaches effective or not, so that in the countries where coalitions are fastened and there are a number of certain countries, we can just reach the awareness of different approaches that will be take taken to foster its broader cultural sectors of the national level.

6 I substituted rendition expanded rendition non-rendition Tabi ki toplantıya katılmak hiçbir ekilde Türkiye'nin bu sözleşme taraf olması sürecini etkilemeyecektir. / Çünkü u anda sözleşme henüz taraf olmamı , sözleşme henüz onaylamamı olan ülkelerin koalisyonları da bu kongreye katılacaktır. Burada bu kongremizin temel amacı, u anda hepinizin de bildi i gibi uygulamanın 2. yılına yaklaşıyor ve bu 2 yıllık süre boyunca edinilen deneyimlerin paylaşılması, bilgi paylaşımında bulunulması ve farklı politika modellerinin sağladığı avantajların, dezavantajların tartışılması. Çeşitli kültürel organizasyonlar, profesyonel organizasyonlar katılacak ve deneyimlerini paylaşacaklar bu kongre çerçevesinde, ve hangi politikalar etkili olmuş . Tabi ki buraya farklı gözlemci ülkeler de katılacaklar ve amacımız farklı yaklaşımların paylaşılması.

footing shift non-rendition *Of course the meeting will not affect the process of Turkey's being a party to this convention. / Because coalitions from countries that are not parties to the convention yet, that have not yet ratified the convention will attend this congress. As you all know it is almost the second year of implementation now and the main aim of this congress is to share the experiences acquired in these 2 years, exchange information and discuss the advantages and disadvantages of different policy models. Various cultural organizations, professional organizations will attend and share their experiences on which policies have proved useful. Other countries will also attend to*

observe and our aim is to share various approaches.

7 S Except from that, we certainly hope to establish ongoing contacts with the cultural organizations in this room among whom in the past couple of days a number have expressed interest in being put in touch with different organizations / within France or Canada or elsewhere. Many of you, I think, have copies of the brochure I have brought with me of our website ifccd.com. But if you haven't already taken a card, by all means take one of my cards, feel free to e-mail me if you are looking for information. We have an international website, ifccd.com, complementary to a Canadian site, culturaldiversity.ca. / If you give us your contact information, we will be glad to put you on our distribution list and invite you to the cycle inside as well.

zero rendition

zero rendition

8 I Bunun dı ında, tabi ki u anda burada bulunan ve Türkiye'de bulunan kültürel organizasyonlarla sürekli temas halinde olmayı isteriz. Zaten hali hazırda imdiye kadar sizler de bizlerle temasa geçmek istedi inizi ya da daha önceden farklı yabancı organizasyonlarla temasa geçmi oldu unuzu belirttiniz. Bro ürler getirdim, e er bu konuyla ilgileniyorsanız bu bro ürleri alabilirsiniz. Bu bro ürlerde de bizim internet sitemizi göreceksiniz, cfccd.com ya da benim kartvizitimi alabilirsiniz ve lütfen buradaki e-mail adresine herhangi bir konuyla ilgili bilgi danı mak olsun, bilgi payla ımı için e-mail atmaktan lütfen çekinmeyin. Bunun dı ında uluslararası bir web sitemiz de var: culturaldiversity.ca ve buradan da tabi ki bu siteler aracılı ıyla da bilgi sahibi olabilirsiniz ve bizler de ilerleyen süreç içerisinde temalarımızı sürdürebiliriz.

substituted
rendition

substituted
rendition

Besides this, we'd like to be in continuous contact with cultural organizations that are here now and that are based in Turkey. Some of you have already expressed their interest in getting in contact with us or that they have contacted different foreign organizations before. I have brought brochures with me, if you are interested in this issue, you can have these brochures. You will see our website in these brochures, cfccd.com or you can have my card. Please feel free to e-mail me if you need information or to share information. Besides, we have an

international website: culturaldiversity.ca so you can get information through these websites and we can stay in contact in the future.

In turn 6, the interpreter shifts the footing from “I” to “the meeting”. She also slightly changes the first sentence in which the speaker says the ratification of the convention is not a precondition of the meeting and the interpreter renders it as “the meeting will not affect the process of Turkey’s being a party”. Following this substituted rendition, in the second sentence in turn 6 related to the meeting to be held, the interpreter prefers to be more explicit than the speaker. In the next sentence, she also adds a phrase that does not exist in the original text, “discuss the advantages and disadvantages of different policy models”, although the speaker is talking only about exchanging information on different policy models. Another divergent rendition in the same turn is a zero rendition in the very last sentence, in which the interpreter leaves part of the original sentence untranslated. In turn 8, she substitutes part of the first sentence in turn 7 and she does not translate “within France or Canada or elsewhere”. She also does not translate one of the two websites that the speaker mentions in turn 7. The interpreter does not have the chance to go back and ask the speaker what the other website was. Thus, the strategies adopted by the interpreter are conditioned by the features of the event. Whether intentionally or not, she is less visible in the eyes of the speaker and the audience than in Event 1, although she does diverge from the original speech at times for various reasons.

Excerpt 3

9 S As I think we would have made clear yesterday, we certainly hope that in the mid-term Turkey will ultimately ratify the convention. Obviously we fundamentally respect that this is essentially the sovereign decision of the government of Turkey. Obviously the best people to make the case smoothly X are the organizations X from the cultural milieu. In the conversations we have, we were happy to serve as an information resource about what is happening in other countries, what is happening with the intergovernmental process at Glasgow in terms of implementing it at the X

zero rendition

10 I Tabi ki dün burada konu ulanlar çerçevesinde de sizin fikirlerinize katıldı ımı ve Türkiye’nin umuyorum ki ilerleyen süreç içerisinde bu sözle meyi onaylamasını bekledi imizi söyleyebilirim. Ama tabi ki bu

substituted renditions

hükümetin kendi ko ulları çerçevesinde de erlendirerek verece i bir karardır. Tabi ki burada çok önemli bir rol oynuyorsunuz. Sizler kültürel çevrede faaliyet gösteren organizasyonlar olarak, acaba bu sözle meye taraf olunmalı mı, olunmamalı mı konusunda. Bu süreçle ilgili olarak bizim size sunabilece imiz tabi ki di er ülkelerde ne gibi uygulamalar benimsenmi ve bununla birlikte ne gibi bilgiler ortaya çıkmı ve hükümetler arası anlamda, uygulama boyutunda ne gibi çalı malar yürütülmü , bununla ilgili sizlere bilgi kayna ı olmaktan büyük mutluluk duyaca ız.

I can say that I agree with the ideas expressed here yesterday and we hope that Turkey will ratify the convention in the future. However this is a decision that the government is going to take considering its current conditions. Of course you have a very important role in this process as organizations working in the cultural milieu, on whether Turkey should be a party to the convention or not. We will be happy to be an information resource and give you information on the practice adopted in other countries, what kind of information exists and what are the attempts at the intergovernmental level in practice.

11 S I hope we will have some more discussions, so I'd just like to briefly close by providing a few kind of headlines around the cultural policy survey that Turkey has initiated within the framework of a longstanding process of the Council of Europe.

12 I Umuyorum ki, dün de oldu u gibi tartışmalarımıza bilgi alı veri imizle devam ederiz ve imdi daha fazla zamanınızı almadan konu mamın ba nda belirtmi oldu um gibi Türkiye'nin hali hazırda Avrupa Konseyiyle birlikte gerçekle tirmekte oldu u uzun vadeli bir program olan kültürel politikalar anketi, kültürel politikaların yeniden gözden geçirilmesi sürecine ili kin birkaç bilgi sunmak istiyorum sizlere.

expanded
renditions

I hope we will continue our discussions with exchange of information and now before taking more of your time I'd like to give brief information on the cultural policy survey and the review process of cultural policies, a long-term study Turkey carries out with the

Council of Europe, as I mentioned at the beginning of my speech.

13 S One of the reasons we talked to Christine Merkel about being at this meeting was that she is the Vice Chair of the Cultural Committee with the Council of Europe and is actually directly involved at the council level with the review process that is going to be taking place in Turkey from here until 2010.

14 I Dün sayın Merkel'le de konu uyorduk, acaba bu toplantıda neler sunabiliriz sizlere konusunda ve u anda Christine Merkel bir kültür komitesinin başkan yardımcısı ve konsey düzeyinde de aslında u anda bahsetmekte oldu um yeniden gözden geçirme, Türkiye'nin u anda bahsetti oldu u ve 2010'a kadar sürecek kültürel politikaların yeniden gözden geçirme sürecinde konsey düzeyinde görevli bir ki i.

We were talking yesterday with Ms Merkel yesterday on this meeting, on what to present here. Christine Merkel is now the vice-chair of a cultural committee and is involved at the council level in the cultural policies review process that Turkey has just initiated and will continue until 2010.

Though part of the original speech is inaudible in turn 9, it is clear that the interpreter translates the part about the decision of the Turkish government in a slightly different way. Likewise, she substitutes “in the mid-term” for “in the future”. Then, she does not render “at Glasgow”, which is another zero rendition. As a result of this zero rendition, the audience is not made aware of the location of the intergovernmental process whereas the original speech involves that information. Again, the interpreter does not have the time or the opportunity to go back and check. On the other hand, in turn 12, the interpreter translates the original speech in a more detailed way, which is another expanded rendition. The interpreter chooses to be more specific and explicit than the speaker at certain instances, whereas at others she is more elliptical.

Excerpt 4

15 S Unfortunately our conversation was so rich yesterday that we, Christine actually did not have time to get to the presentation on the survey, however she gave me the core elements of it, so I will relay those to you now.

- 16 I Christine bu konulardan bahsetmek istiyordu size, bir takım bilgiler sunmak istiyordu, ancak dün tabii ki çok canlı tartışmalarımız ve bilgi paylaşımımız oldu undan dolayı zamanımız maalesef yetmedi. Kendisi sunmak istediklerini bana bıraktı ve u anda elimden geldi ince ben de sizlere onları sunmaya çalışacağım.
Christine wanted to talk about these issues and give some information, however we had very rich conversations and exchanges of information yesterday, so unfortunately we did not have enough time. She gave me what she wants to present and I will try to relay them to you now.
expanded rendition
- 17 S By way of background, **the Council of Europe policy review exercise** goes back to 1985 and since that time **some 28 member states** have gone through the cultural survey process.
- 18 I Avrupa Konseyi çerçevesinde, ulusal düzeyde kültür politikalarının yeniden gözden geçirilmesi politikasının – programının özür diliyorum – 1985’lere dayandı mı tarihinin görmekteyiz ve u ana kadar 28 ülkenin kültürel politikalarının yeniden gözden geçirilmesi çalışmalarını gerçekleştirmiş oldu onu söyleyebiliriz.
We see that the Council of Europe cultural policy review policy – program I am sorry – at national level goes back to 1985 and we can say that so far 28 countries have gone through the cultural policy review process.
non-rendition
expanded rendition
footing shift
- 19 S **The first surveys or the first methodology** was belonging to the surveys taken in 1986 with France and Sweden and subsequently played a very important role from a cultural perspective connecting Europe after 1989 and 1990. **Good and recent examples of surveys** are Ukraine and in the near future possibly Bulgaria.
zero rendition
- 20 I İlk gerçekleştirilen çalışmalara baktığımızda, bunlara Fransa ve İsviçre’de gerçekleştirilmiş oldu onu görmekteyiz. 1989, 1990’lara varan yıllarda bunların tamamlandı mı söyleyebiliriz ve önümüzdeki yıllar içerisinde Ukrayna’da ve Bulgaristan’da da benzer çalışmalar yapılacağı bilgisine ulaşmış bulunmaktayız.
When we look at the first surveys, we see that they were conducted in France and Switzerland. We can say that these studies were completed
substituted rendition
expanded rendition

footing shift

in 1989 and 1990s and we were informed that similar studies will be carried out in Ukraine and Bulgaria in the coming years.

Another expanded rendition is observed in turn 16, when the speaker talks about the presentation of the previous day. In this case, the interpreter is more explicit than the speaker. In turn 18, the interpreter apologizes for her mistranslation, which is the only non-rendition in this excerpt. Also, in the same turn, she uses the pronoun “we”, whereas the original utterance is impersonal, adding “we see that” and “we can say that”. Two similar expanded renditions are observed in turn 20 when the interpreter switches to “we”, using “we see that”, “we can say that” and “we were informed that”. However, these imply a continuation of the speaker’s style in the interaction rather than a divergence from it. The strategy of the interpreter observed in turns 18 and 20 might merely be a device to gain time. It is important to note that in Turkish the verb is at the end of the sentence. Therefore, the interpreter might be gaining time to think about what she is going to say next. Another possibility is that the interpreter prefers a more didactic way of speaking than the speaker, making the speech more formal. This style adds to the formality of the speech in Turkish. In the same turn, the interpreter leaves “in 1986” untranslated. Thus, the audience is not made aware of the date of the first surveys. Following this zero rendition, another substituted rendition is observed when she translates the part about Ukraine and Bulgaria differently. Although it is inferred from the original text that the survey in Ukraine is a recent example and the one in Bulgaria is a prospective one, according to the rendition both are future surveys. The interpreter does not stop the speaker and ask questions. She carries on with the translation even when some divergences occur—an approach that is closely related to the features of the event.

Excerpt 5

21 S The process that has been used for Europe and for Turkey will be based on a new format established by the Council of Europe Cultural Committee in 2008. Turkey is taking place as here, and next it will be followed by the Russian Federation.

22 I Türkiye’nin bu anlamda, bu program çerçevesinde geçirece i süreç Avrupa Konseyi’nin Kültür Komitesinin 2008 yılında belirlediği yeni bir format çerçevesinde gerçekleştirilecektir ve Türkiye ile ilgili çalışmalar tamamlandıktan sonra Rusya Federasyonu’yla ilgili çalışmalar başlatılacaktır.

The process for Turkey within this program will be based on a new format established by the Council of Europe Cultural Committee in 2008 and after the process for Turkey is completed, the process for the Russian Federation will be initiated.

23 S Fundamental starting point for such a review is an expression of interest by the state itself, so these are initiated by the member states rather than posed by the Council itself.

24 I Tabi ki burada temel ba langıç noktası, ülkenin bu konuyla ilgili, ilgili oldu unu belirtmesi, yani bu süreç hiçbir ekilde Konseyin dayatmasıyla ba latılmıyor, ülkenin kendisinin bu konuda, bu sürecin ba latılması konusunda iste ini belli etmesi, ifade etmesi gerekiyor.

Of course the fundamental starting point here is the expression of interest in this issue by the state. This process is not imposed by the Council, the country itself should express, make clear its will to start this process.

25 S The member state and the Council of Europe Cultural Committee then have a discussion to establish a scope, a time frame and any special conditions or priorities that they would like to see addressed in the report.

26 I Bu çerçevede, üye devlet ve Avrupa Konseyi Kültür Komitesi bir araya gelerek, ilgili gözden geçirme sürecini, kapsamını, zaman dilimini ve ülkenin ko ullarıyla ilgili öncelik verilmesi gereken hususları belirliyorlar.

substituted
rendition

In this framework, the member state and the Council of Europe Cultural Committee come together and determine the related review process, a scope, time frame and the priorities of the country according to its conditions.

27 S The process then proceeds to the preparation of the national report by the state itself and my understanding is that the initial report from the government of Turkey is expected sometime this spring, so sometime March, or within, fairly soon, I do not have a precise date.

28 I Bunun sonrasında süreç u ekilde ilerliyor: öncelikle üye devlet kendisi bir ulusal rapor hazırlıyor. Türkiye'nin bu çalı mayı ba latmı

non-rendition

oldu unu daha önceden belirtmi tim ve u anda beklentiler Türkiye'nin kendi hazırladı ı bu ulusal raporun 2009 yılının ilkbahar aylarında, tam kesin tarihi bilmiyorum, ama sanıyorum gayet yakında, Mart ayı içerisinde sunulaca ı.

Then the process unfolds as follows: first the member state itself prepares a national report. I had mentioned that Turkey has initiated this process and it is expected at the moment that Turkey's national report will be presented in spring 2009, I do not know the exact date, but I guess quite soon, around March.

In Excerpt 5, there is a substituted rendition with respect to the conditions to be addressed in the report in turn 26. This substituted rendition, however, is more related to the wording than the content. In turn 28, the interpreter adds that Turkey has initiated this process although the speaker does not say so, which is another non-rendition. The interpreter may have wanted to emphasize that the process has already started in Turkey, as this was mentioned before. During the divergences from the original speech, the interpreter does not become visible through questions or corrections, i.e. she does not speak her own "I".

8.5.2.5. Discussion

Patterns of footing shifts and strategic use of pronouns as a departure from the speaker have not been identified in this event. Likewise, the involvement of the interpreter revealed through the way the interpreter addresses and is addressed by the speaker and the audience was not observed at the utterance level. As for divergent renditions, substituted renditions are the most frequently encountered type, for the reasons discussed in 8.5.2.3. Other types are also observed, but they are fewer in number. Each of these divergences from the original speech can be explained, as discussed above with respect to each category. Likewise, the (in)frequency of these divergent renditions can be attributed to various factors, from the interpreter's preparation before the meeting to the (im)possibility of asking questions during the meeting.

At the level of overall event, one cannot say that the interpreter is not active, as an interpreter assuming the task of interpreting cannot be inactive because of the nature of the task. However, one can explore the degree and type of involvement of the interpreter throughout the interaction, as reflected at the utterance level through certain patterns, as is intended here. In Event 2, the involvement of the interpreter is rather low, conditioned by the

features of the event (formality, lack of interactivity) and the expectations of the parties, which are in fact intertwined and rooted in the broader context in which the interaction takes place.

8.6. Comparison of the findings obtained from two events

The analysis carried out in this chapter focuses on pronoun use, i.e. how the interpreter addresses and is addressed by the interlocutors in the interaction, and divergent renditions, i.e. the differences between the original speech and the interpreter's renditions as indicators of active involvement. The findings of the first event, which consists of training seminars, indicate that the interpreter's involvement is reflected at the utterance level through pronoun use and divergent renditions.

In terms of pronoun use, it is observed that the interpreter addresses and is addressed by the participants for various purposes in different footings with regard to both meaning, language and translation, and to flow and content of the interaction. The interlocutors' expectations of the interpreter, revealed through their pronoun use and choice of address at the utterance level, point to the implicit assumption known by everyone involved in the interaction: that the interpreter is a party. Divergent renditions reflect the same assumption. The interpreter's wide room for manoeuvre is revealed in particular by expanded renditions, which are by far the most frequent type of divergence from the original.

During the retrospective interview, the interpreter stated that her relationship with the interlocutors in this event was quite informal. She was involved in group work and discussions. Moreover, the expert left the setting at some point, leaving the interpreter with the participants. Therefore, the interpreter participated in group work without the speaker while she was sight translating what the expert had written. She was literally treated as a party in the interaction, especially during group work. Thus, at the event level, the interpreter acted as the second expert or the co-leader in the training, in addition to her translational tasks as an intermediary facilitating communication. On the other hand, in the second event, which was a formal meeting, the interpreter's involvement revealed through choice of address and pronoun use by the interpreter and the interlocutors was not observed. The few footing shifts identified do not constitute a pattern and do not reflect strategic choices of the interpreter. However, the interpreter's shift to "we" through expanded renditions in Event 2 might be considered a

strategic choice made in order to gain time and/or add to the formality of the speech, unlike the use of “we” in Event 1 to include everyone in the room, to avoid “I” or “you”, or to repair the impersonal. As for divergent renditions, substituted renditions are identified as the most frequent type of divergence because of the impossibility of asking questions, whereas in the first event substituted renditions were the least frequent type because of the high level of interactivity: i.e. the interpreter was able to ask questions. Likewise, expanded renditions were observed very frequently in Event 1, because of the wider room for manoeuvre for the interpreter’s explanations and clarifications, but were infrequent in Event 2. Non-renditions, more prominently, were the least frequent type of divergent rendition in Event 2, whereas they were second highest in Event 1 after expanded renditions, again emphasizing the interpreter’s active role and involvement in the interaction. According to the interpreter, who was also shown the video-recordings of Event 2, her attitude in this formal meeting was very different from that in Event 1. She stated that it seemed as if there were two different interpreters in these two events, thus emphasizing the importance of expectations and context. All in all, the analysis of the interpreter’s role through pronoun use and divergent renditions in two different events with a varying degree of formality and interactivity but with the same institutional context, the same mode, and the same interpreter indicates the influence of context (the nature and the features of the event, including user expectations) on the interpreter’s role.

9. Conclusion

This final chapter of the thesis provides a review of the research objectives, theoretical framework and methodology and a summary and discussion of the results.

9.1. Review of research objectives, theoretical approach and methods

Consecutive interpreting in conference settings and conference-like situations has not received as much scholarly interest as simultaneous interpreting. A considerable part of the literature on consecutive interpreting is primarily concerned with note-taking and other skills in relation to training. The interactional issues arising in face-to-face communication and the interpreter's role and involvement have mostly been discussed in relation to interpreting in community-based institutional settings, whereas consecutive interpreting in settings like diplomatic negotiations, business meetings and training seminars, which are characterized by dialogic communication and the bidirectional mode, have been largely neglected.

This study set out to explore the consecutive interpreter's role in relation to context in conference settings and conference-like situations, aiming to discuss interactional issues that are also relevant to dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting. This role is considered to be influenced by a complex network of factors, including user expectations, interpreters' perceptions of their role, and context. Context is conceived as a dynamic, multi-level framework that forms and is formed by the interactions between the interlocutors. The macro-context consists of the socio-cultural and socio-professional contexts, whereas the micro-context is constantly negotiated and re-negotiated between the parties in the interaction through the way they address each other. The event or the interaction itself constitutes the third level, located between the macro- and micro-contexts.

This thesis aimed to explore potential contradictions between the interpreter's initial or acquired habitus and strategies of interpreting in real-life situations. Habitus and context therefore formed the overall theoretical framework for the analysis of role. The notion of role was approached on the basis of Goffman's social interaction model. In the analysis of pronoun use and choice of address, participation framework and production roles were also used as practical tools.

All contextual levels were analyzed in order to provide a rich description of the interpreter's role in context. The particular context that the present study aimed to explore was that of interpreter-mediated events held within the framework of the Turkey's development towards EU accession. Revealing different levels of the multi-layer context, the role of the interpreter in these events was analyzed through the triangulation of several sources and types of data and different research methods and settings. Adopting a fieldwork strategy and a mixed-methods approach, this case study intended to provide a deeper understanding of the interpreter's role in context based on both quantitative and qualitative data.

In accordance with the fieldwork strategy, the focus was on real-life contexts and naturally occurring data, including user and interpreter surveys, interviews and video-recordings of interpreted interactions. My aim was to find out the difference between the normative role of interpreters and the typical role that they adopt in real-life situations. The findings obtained from two events with varying degrees of formality and interactivity within the same macro-context were compared to establish differences and similarities between different user groups. The interpreter perspective was obtained from surveys and interviews that aimed to explore the role perceptions of interpreters with experience in the types of event under study, in order to reveal how interpreters perceived their own role and how they positioned themselves in relation to the other interlocutors in the interactions.

In order to determine the divergences and convergences between what is said on a normative level and what is done in an actual interpreting situation, the user perspective and the interpreter perspective were compared and contrasted with real-life interpreting data. To this end, the video-recorded performances of the same interpreter in two events with different levels of formality and interactivity within the same macro-context were examined. The transcripts, video-recordings, field notes, and a retrospective interview with the interpreter were analyzed to explore the degree of involvement of the interpreter, reflected in various patterns and strategies at the utterance level. The main categories of analysis—pronoun use and divergent renditions that indicate the active role and involvement of the interpreter—were studied by close observation of the transcripts.

9.2. Summary and discussion of findings

9.2.1. Conceptual and theoretical foundations

Chapter 2 defined the key concepts and how they are perceived in this study. On the basis of various definitions and criteria, consecutive interpreting in conference settings and conference-like situations was compared with dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting and fundamental similarities and differences were discussed. The similarities, including the core features and the basic skills needed, outnumber the differences and exactly the same techniques are used in certain types of consecutive conference interpreting and in dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting. It is concluded that different forms of interpreting cannot always be defined by features of the situation or by features of the event. The boundaries between the categories are somewhat fuzzy and the interactional issues arising in face-to-face, dialogic communication can be as relevant to consecutive conference interpreting as they are to dialogue, liaison, and community interpreting. Therefore, real-life interpreter-mediated events should be approached on the basis of their position on a continuum rather than within rigid categories.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature on interpreting, with a focus on consecutive. As the perspective adopted in the present study approached interpreting as a context-based, face-to-face communicative activity, it positioned itself within the Dialogic Discourse-Based Interaction Paradigm, characterized by particular emphasis on context and the interactional dimensions of cross-cultural encounters. In terms of the emphasis on context, this study is also close to the position of the Target-Oriented Text Production Paradigm, which shares the same concerns of interaction and norms traced in actual discourse, expectations and codes of ethics as the Dialogic Discourse-Based Interaction Paradigm. The review of the literature in this chapter revealed that the dynamics of cross-cultural communication in consecutive interpreting in relation to broader issues of role and context has received no scholarly attention. The existing models of consecutive interpreting focus on cognitive processing operations rather than interaction-related issues. The situational dynamics of cross-cultural encounters, on the other hand, have been studied in community-based dialogic rather than conference settings.

9.2.2. The socio-cultural and socio-professional contexts

The macro-context, consisting of the socio-cultural and the socio-professional context, was set forth in Chapter 5. The analysis of the macro-context indicated that the role of translators and interpreters has become central in Turkey's current development process. As a candidate

country, Turkey has assumed the responsibility of translating the existing legislation of the Community into Turkish. The Translation Coordination Unit established in 2002 aimed to increase the quality, consistency and amount of legislation translated and to increase the number of experts who are highly qualified and able to perform consistent revisions of the translations. Accession also requires a considerable amount of interpreting for meetings, conferences and negotiations. The crucial responsibility of translating, interpreting, and training translators and interpreters takes us then to the socio-professional context, in which various actors are involved. An overview of the history of conference interpreting in Turkey indicated that the 1960s marked a turning point because of the considerable increase in the number of international meetings and conferences in that period. The most significant effort towards the institutionalization of conference interpreters came in the late 1960s, with the establishment of the Conference Interpreters Association, now called the Conference Interpreters Association of Turkey (TKTD). Through its efforts on issues such as ethical rules and working conditions, as well as cooperation with training institutions, this association played an instrumental role in the adoption of international standards in conference interpreting in Turkey. Likewise, the TKTD's close cooperation with international institutions has had significant implications for practitioners, teachers and students of conference interpreting, especially at a time when the need for competent professionals and quality interpretation is on the increase with the EU accession process. The increase in the number of members (80 as of April 2011) indicates the expanding coverage and representativeness of the TKTD, whose efforts are crucial not only for the members but for all interpreters, interpreter candidates and teachers of interpreting in Turkey.

The turning point in training came in the 1980s when translation and interpreting departments were established at Hacettepe University (1982) and Boaziçi University (1983). Today, there are 31 translation and interpreting departments that train interpreters at undergraduate level in 23 universities (Diriker 2007: 115), indicating that training in translation and interpreting in Turkey has come a long way.

Research on interpreting constitutes another important dimension of the socio-professional context. However, a review of the existing literature has shown that interpreting is still an under-researched area in Turkey, particularly with regard to consecutive interpreting, showing the clear need for more studies exploring the interpreter's role in real-life settings based on actual discourse.

9.2.3. User perspective

The first objective for the empirical component of this study was to explore user expectations, which are among the complex factors that shape the interpreter's role, and to consider whether and how the general definition of the interpreter's role differs from specific strategies he or she is expected to assume in the interaction (Chapter 6). To this end, the survey on user expectations, consisting of 10 questions on the role, task, and position of the interpreter and on quality criteria, was applied in two events within the same macro-context of consecutive interpreting in Turkey and within the same institutional context. To allow comparison, the events chosen had varying degrees of interactivity and formality.

Event 1 was a training seminar on vocational education organized by the European Commission and the Turkish Ministry of Education for principals and vice-principals of vocational education and training institutions. These seminars, with a high degree of interactivity, included group work and Q&A sessions, which gave the interpreter a pivotal role. Project training sessions were usually held with groups of 25-30 people and with more than one group, so more than one interpreter was needed. There were two interpreters at the final seminar in which the survey was carried out. The questionnaire distributed on the second day of the two-day seminar was filled in by 52 users.

Event 2 was a conference on the Turkish tourism sector organized by the Department of Tourism of Akdeniz University's Faculty of Business Administration, the Alanya municipality and the World Bank. Participants included academics, students and professionals in the field and were around a hundred in number, 71 of whom participated in the survey. This conference was more formal than Event 1 and the degree of interactivity was lower. The participants were not allowed to intervene during speeches and presentations and discussion was limited to Q&A sessions at the end of each speech. The conference was scheduled for three days, with plenary sessions for the opening and closing speeches and three separate sessions at other times. Each session was held with two interpreters, making six interpreters in total.

The analysis of the survey conducted in Event 1 reflected the gaps between the general opinions of users on the role of the interpreter and the way users expect the interpreter to behave in certain situations. Users described the role of the interpreter as one of full compliance with the rules of fidelity to the original speech, neutrality, and non-involvement in the communicative process. However, they also expected interpreters to intervene when necessary to facilitate communication by clearing up misunderstandings arising from cultural

differences and/or lack of shared knowledge, indicating the considerable *role distance* between the normative role and the typical role of the interpreter.

The analysis of the survey on user expectations conducted in Event 2 confirmed the difference between the general definitions of the interpreter's role and the strategies that the interpreter is expected to resort to, though this difference was not as obvious as in Event 1. The users in this event, too, defined the interpreter's role as faithful, neutral and uninvolved but they tolerated and sometimes even expected interpreter interventions.

When the results for the two groups were compared, similar tendencies were observed in all but two questions: the one on description of the interpreter's task and the one on interpreters' correction of the speaker's mistakes. Most users in Event 2 expected the interpreter to translate as faithfully as possible, whereas most users in Event 1 expected the interpreter to act as a mediator and to bridge the gaps arising from cultural differences. Also, fewer participants in Event 2 were in favor of correction of speaker's mistakes. This difference might indicate the effect of contextual factors on user expectations. In all, the analysis of the responses of the user groups in the two events indicated that users' general perceptions regarding the interpreter's role (the task, the position, and the general strategy of the interpreter) differ from the expectations of users in specific situations. The interpreter was defined as an uninvolved, neutral agent whose task is to translate as faithfully as possible and whose general strategy should be to render almost every detail. However, most users thought that the interpreter should make explanations or refer to the target culture in order to facilitate communication in case of cultural differences. The majority of the users in both events also assumed that interpreters should make use of body language, intonation, and communication skills. In addition, most users in both events agreed that interpreters should add their own explanations to the speech to clear up misunderstandings.

The user surveys from the two events indicate that role perceptions vary depending on the interactional context (group and event), even within the same institutional context. They also offered insights into differing perspectives of users regarding the general role definitions of interpreters and the strategies that they are expected to adopt in certain situations, indicating the gap between the normative role and the typical role of the interpreter. These findings made it clear that the interpreter's role definition should be reconsidered through research among different user groups in various events and institutional contexts in order to draw a broader conclusion on this aspect.

9.2.4. Interpreter perspective

The data on the interpreter perspective were obtained through surveys and interviews. 40 interpreters whose A language was Turkish were surveyed. The results were similar to those of the user surveys. Most interpreters described their position as neutral and uninvolved in the interaction, with the aim of rendering the original as faithfully as possible. Though interpreters, even more than users, expected the interpreter to take an active role during the interaction, when it came to defining that role they abided by the prescribed criteria of neutrality, faithfulness and non-involvement. This indicates the distance between interpreters' normative and typical role and suggests that the role of the interpreter needs to be redefined, taking into account different types, different user expectations and different needs.

The semi-structured interviews with four interpreters who had experience in both types of events under study provided detailed information on their perceptions of their role, the effect of interpreting mode on role, quality criteria, the influence of user expectations and context, neutrality, and interpreting strategies. First of all, the interviews showed that the interpreters assumed an active and involved role in the interaction under certain conditions. A variety of factors, from mode and user profiles to expectations and features of the event, had an influence on their involvement. The interpreters considered neutrality as the ideal, but they forwent this principle under certain conditions. In addition to not remaining neutral in the interaction, the interpreters also assumed that giving explanations and correcting mistakes could be the appropriate choice at times. With reference to their own professional experience they stated that even partisanship—explicitly taking sides—can be acceptable, for instance, when they have to compensate for the speaker's mistakes or hide deficiencies of one party. The interviews revealed that interpreters may be forced to assume control and responsibility in the interaction for various reasons, or choose to do so of their own accord. Besides expectations and the social and interactional context, interpreters' backgrounds and role perceptions are significant factors affecting their role.

9.2.5. The consecutive interpreter in (inter)action

The performance of the interpreter in cross-cultural encounters was analyzed in order to obtain a more holistic understanding of the interpreter's role in context. Video recordings were preferred for observation so as to account for nonverbal communication in relation to

interactional issues such as who is addressing whom. The performance of the same interpreter in two events with different levels of formality and interactivity within the same macro-context was analyzed.

Event 1 consisted of training seminars with Turkish trainees and a Macedonian expert. The seminars were held with consecutive interpreting between English and Turkish for a group of about 20 participants, who were teachers in vocational training schools in Turkey. The trainer was an expert in vocational training from Macedonia. The main topic of the seminars was task analysis and job analysis. All sessions were held with the same speaker and the same interpreter. A prominent feature of these seminars was the high degree of interactivity: they included group work, Q&A sessions, and group discussion, which gave a pivotal role to the interpreter.

Event 2 was a meeting on the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Heritage organized by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the expert speaking on stage was from Canada. The interpreter rendered his speech consecutively. There were two speakers involved, the expert and the moderator, and 25 participants. Unlike Event 1, there were no question and answer dialogues in this meeting. This meeting aimed to introduce the new convention on cultural heritage to target groups and stakeholders and to inform them about developments in the revision process of cultural policies that was in progress in Turkey in 2008. The meeting was held in a conference hall. The stage and the use of a microphone also contributed to the formality of the situation.

The audio-visual data obtained from Event 1 consisted of 6 sessions of video recordings, each lasting half an hour, amounting to a total of 180 minutes of interpreted speech. The analysis of Event 2 included approximately 30 minutes (29' 28") of video recordings.

Event 2 was closer to the category "consecutive interpreting proper" (Dam 1993: 311), as it involved long stretches of talk, unidirectionality, and lack of interactivity. Unlike Event 1, in which the participants were actively involved in group work and discussions, only those on stage were allowed to talk and there was no indication that the participants were active in Event 2. These events, however, were embedded in the same socio-cultural, socio-professional and institutional context.

The active role of the interpreter related to meaning and translation and/or content and flow was traced in the use of pronouns and divergent renditions at the utterance level, and the overall impression created at the event level was discussed for each event and then compared. The findings obtained from Event 1 showed that the interpreter was directly involved in the

interaction through asking questions, commenting on the remarks of the parties, coordinating and even managing the flow of the interaction, and guiding the participants by answering their questions related to translation and content. The participants and the speaker, or the primary interlocutors, created this room for manoeuvre by addressing the interpreter directly and asking her questions, therefore allowing for and approving of her involvement at the utterance level; this was confirmed by the interpreter during the retrospective interview. Besides shifts of footing observed in the way she addressed and was addressed by the primary interlocutors, the interpreter emphasized her visible and active role with her use of the first person plural as a departure from the interlocutor, for various reasons. Furthermore, her use of “we” was a deliberate choice aimed at avoiding the participants’ resistance and bringing the expert closer to the participants by forming a group atmosphere. According to the retrospective interview, she adopted this strategy in this specific event because of factors such as user expectations and the informality and interactivity of the seminars. Therefore, the interpreter’s use of “we” as a strategic choice was proof of her freedom and power to adopt strategies.

In Event 1, divergent renditions also reflected the interpreter’s involvement in the interaction. The most obvious indicator of the interpreter’s active role was the high number of expanded renditions. The interpreter tended to be more explicit, possibly conditioned by the speaker’s style and influenced by user expectations and the features of the event, embedded in the broader institutional context. According to the interpreter, this choice was related to the user expectations and the high level of interactivity in this specific event. The relatively high number of non-renditions, in which the interpreter asserted her visibility by saying what was not said in the original speech, was another indicator of the interpreter’s involvement. This choice may have been influenced by the fact that the interpreter’s assistance and contribution to the training with respect to meaning, language, and translation as well as content and flow were allowed and approved of throughout the interaction. Other types of divergent renditions (zero, reduced, summarized and substituted renditions, in descending order of frequency) were significantly less frequent than expanded renditions and non-renditions (see Table 12). The interpreter’s involvement, influenced by a range of intertwined factors, is reflected through divergent renditions as well as pronoun use at the utterance level.

At the overall event level, the interpreter acted as a co-leader or co-trainer in the seminar, assuming responsibility and control and getting involved as if she were the second expert in the room. She was not only an intermediary facilitating communication, but also an expert facilitating the training session and her power and freedom during the interaction was far beyond the task of translating. Interestingly enough, she thought this was expected of her

in this specific situation. The expectations of the parties in the interaction, informed by the overall event and the institutional context in which the interaction took place, gave her the power, freedom and control to intervene. It could be assumed that the features of the multi-level context in which the interaction is rooted have an influence on the interpreter's involvement as manifested in pronoun use and divergent renditions.

In Event 2, patterns of footing shifts and strategic use of pronouns as a departure from the speaker were not identified. Likewise, the involvement of the interpreter revealed through the way the interpreter addressed and was addressed by the speaker and the audience was not observed at the utterance level. As for divergent renditions, substituted renditions were the most numerous instances in which divergence from the source text was observed and are explained by the fact that the interpreter did not have the chance to consult the speaker or the participants in this event. Surprisingly, expanded renditions were greater in number than the other types. However, there were also instances in which the interpreter made use of expanded renditions as a strategy in order to gain time, which means that not all expanded renditions were intended to be more explicit than the original speech. For instance, the interpreter's shift to "we" through expanded renditions might be considered a strategic choice made in order to gain time and/or add to the formality of the speech, unlike the use of "we" in Event 1 to include everyone in the room, to avoid "I" or "you", or to repair impersonal forms. The constraints at the event level, such as the formality of the event, lack of interactivity, and other contextual elements, were reflected at the utterance level through substituted renditions. The (in)frequency of these divergent renditions, therefore, can be attributed to various factors, such as the interpreter's preparation before the meeting or the (im)possibility of asking questions during the meeting. At the level of the overall event, the involvement of the interpreter was rather low because of the features of the event (formality, lack of interactivity) and the expectations of the parties, which are in fact intertwined and rooted in the broader context in which the interaction takes place.

The few footing shifts identified in Event 2 did not reflect strategic choices of the interpreter as in Event 1, with the exception of her shift to "we" through expanded renditions in order to gain time and/or add to the formality of the speech. As for divergent renditions, substituted renditions were identified as the most frequent type of divergence in Event 2, whereas in the first event they were the least frequent type because of the high level of interactivity (the interpreter was able to ask questions). Likewise, expanded renditions were observed very frequently in Event 1, because of the wider room for the interpreter's explanations and clarifications, but were infrequent in Event 2. Non-renditions were the least

frequent type of divergent rendition in Event 2, whereas they were the second highest in Event 1 after expanded renditions, again emphasizing the interpreter's active role and involvement in the interaction. According to the interpreter, who was shown the video-recordings of both events, her attitude in Event 2 was very different from that in Event 1. She felt as if there were two different interpreters in these two events, underscoring the importance of expectations and context. All in all, the analysis of the interpreter's role through pronoun use and divergent renditions in two different events with a varying degree of formality and interactivity but with the same institutional context, the same mode, and the same interpreter indicated the great influence of context on the interpreter's role.

9.3. Key results

While exploring the role of the interpreter and the relationship between the performance of interpreters and the multi-layer context surrounding them, this thesis also emphasizes the need to reflect on and revise the normative definitions of the interpreter's role, task, and position as well as different types and categories of interpreting and the criteria defining them. Drawing attention to the fuzziness of borders and the difficulty of distinguishing types, it undertook to problematize and discuss the prescribed assumptions.

First, the findings of this study have reinforced the view that interpreting is a socially situated activity conditioned by socio-cultural, institutional, and interactional contexts in which the interpreted interaction takes place. In order to determine whether there is a gap between what interpreters say and what they do in actual interpreting situations, it is necessary to observe and analyze the interpreter's role and interpreting behavior in relation to context, as it would be naive to analyze interpreting in a void. This perspective of linking the choices and decisions of the interpreter related to meaning, translation, and coordination at the utterance level to issues of role and power informed by ethnographic information at the interactional and institutional levels is fundamental to the study of interpreting as a socially situated activity. Accordingly, actual interpreting behavior is linked to broader issues of society, institution, and event and hence to user expectations that constitute the interpreter's normative role. Therefore, context in interpreter-mediated events should be analyzed within a multi-level framework that involves both the micro-context shaped by speech, and speech itself, as

continuously negotiated by everyone involved in the interaction, and the macro-context consisting of the socio-cultural, institutional and interactional contexts.

Second, the empirical findings reveal that there is a gap between the generic role definitions of interpreters and the strategies interpreters are expected to employ as defined by users of interpreting and interpreters themselves. Users perceive and define the interpreter's role as neutral, faithful and uninvolved, but they tolerate and sometimes even expect interpreter interventions, allowing the interpreter to take responsibility and assume control in the interaction when necessary. Moreover, user expectations in two events with different features within the same macro-context also vary, showing that the group and the event have an influence on the way the interpreter's role is perceived. Interpreters, even more than users, abide by the prescribed norms defining their role, but they also feel that interpreters should adopt strategies that reflect an active role and involvement. They consider neutrality as the ideal but are ready to forgo this principle for various reasons and under certain circumstances. The background and role perceptions of the interpreter must also be taken into account.

Last but not least, the findings of this thesis indicate the difference between the role of the interpreter observed in two different events with varying degrees of interactivity and formality within the same macro-context. Moreover, the role definitions of interpreters (what they say they do) differ from their real-life performance (what they do). The study of user expectations, interpreters' role perceptions and actual interpreting performance reveals the gaps between what is said on a normative level and what is actually done in a particular instance of interpreting in context. This finding confirms the assumption that contradictions may and do arise between the initial or acquired habitus of interpreters and the norms of interpreting accepted (or taken for granted) in interpreter training and practice.

9.4. Final remarks

This study on the interpreter's role and the complex, intertwined contextual factors shaping that role is intended as a contribution to the ongoing debate about the ambivalent role of the interpreter. In community-based institutional settings, in particular, research on the interpreter's role in relation to contextual and situational factors has been on the rise. The present thesis makes the case that interpreting in international conference settings and conference-like situations shares much common ground with interpreting in community

settings and that research on inter- and intra-social situations might have a joint focus. Therefore, this thesis is yet another step toward broadening the perspective of interpreting research and promoting an integrative view on this field of study.

In addition to the theoretical contribution made by this thesis, its innovation lies in the fact that it gathers a rich body of empirical data consisting of video-recordings, surveys, interviews and field notes, highlighting the benefits of triangulating data and methods in fieldwork on interpreting in real-life contexts. It is obviously impossible to describe all local and broader socio-cultural elements of a context that may impact on the interpreter's role. Nevertheless, I hope that this case study of interpreter-mediated pre-accession events in the Turkish context will prompt further research on consecutive interpreting along similar theoretical and methodological lines, complementing and deepening our understanding of the interpreter's role in context.

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Appendices

A. Survey on User Expectations of Conference Interpreting

This survey is part of a research project on the subject of conference interpreting and the interpreter's role.

1. Please rate the importance of the following quality criteria in interpreting on the scale from 3 (= most important) to 0 (=least important).

- | | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| • Completeness of information | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Correct terminological usage/word choice | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Fluent and pleasant delivery | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • Fidelity to the original speech | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Other (please specify):

- | | | | | |
|---------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| • | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| • | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. When foreign institutions or culture-specific items without a direct equivalent in the target language are mentioned, which of the three options below should be the interpreter's general strategy?

- Repeat the name of the institution/cultural item in the foreign language
- Replace the item with the closest equivalent in the Turkish system/culture
- Explain the term

3. Which of the following two options better describes the task of the interpreter?

- The interpreter should translate as faithfully as possible
- The interpreter should act as a mediator and bridge gaps arising from cultural differences

4. Which of the following two options better describes the position of the interpreter during the mediated interaction? Please rate.

- | Absolutely neutral and uninvolved | | | | Actively shaping communication | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. Should the interpreter imitate gestures of the speaker?

Yes

No

Sometimes

6. Should the interpreter imitate the intonation of the speaker?

Yes

No

7. Should the interpreter correct the speaker if he or she has made a mistake?

Yes

No

Sometimes

8. Should the interpreter add his or her own explanations in order to clear up misunderstandings?

Yes

No

9. Which of the following two options should the interpreter generally prefer?

Render every detail

Express the gist of the message

6

5

4

3

2

1

0

10. Do you have any further comments?

Please write the following information.

Age:

Sex: M F

Profession:

Level of English:

advanced

good

reasonable

basic

none

Listening Comprehension

Speaking

Reading

Writing

B. Transcription Convention

(Adapted from Du Bois *et. al.* 1993: 45-89)

[Square brackets indicate the onset of overlapping speech.
[[and [[[Double and triple square brackets are used when several overlaps occur in rapid succession within a short stretch of speech.
-	A single hyphen indicates a truncated word, where the end of the predicted word is unuttered.
--	A double hyphen indicates a broken off intonation unit, where the predicted contour is incomplete.
...	A sequence of three dots represents pauses.
<X X>	A pair of angle brackets marked with capital X indicates a good guess at an unclear word or phrase.
X	Capital X represents inaudible passage.
<L2 L2>	A pair of angle brackets with L2 indicates the stretches in which there is a shift into the other language involved in the interaction.
(())	A pair of double parentheses contains the transcriber's comment.
()	A pair of parentheses contains words and phrases unuttered by the Turkish speaker(s), but inserted by the transcriber to give the exact meaning of what was said.
<i>Italics</i>	Word in italics represents the author's translation of the utterances in Turkish.
<u>underlining</u>	Text underlined indicates a divergent rendition.
Bold	Text in bold indicates that there is a footing shift.

C. Transcripts of Session 4, Section 2/10'12''

- 1 S So, you want to put a separate [duty.
2 I [O zaman ayrı bir görev.
[*Then it is a separate duty.*
3 P3 Evet, ayrı bir görev.
Yes, it is a separate duty.
4 P1 Mesleki geli me ili kin faaliyetleri yürütmek.
To conduct activities related to professional development.
5 I To conduct ... activities ... related to ... [Professional
improvements.
6 P3 [Çok uzun cümle.
[*Very long sentence.*
7 P2 [O kadar uzun cümleye gerek yok. Yenilikleri takip etmek.
[*There is no need for such a long sentence. To follow new trends.*
8 P1 Mesleki geli me ili kin--
Related to professional developments--
9 I Takip etmek mi yürütmek mi?
To conduct or to follow?
10 P1 Yürütmek. Takip etmek altında i lem olurdu.
To conduct. To follow would be a task under it.
11 I To conduct activities related to professional improvement.
Mesleki geli me ili kin faaliyetleri yürütmek derdik.
12 P1 *We would say to conduct activities related to professional development.*
13 P3 Kopya çekme, kopya çekme.
Don't copy, don't copy.
14 P2 Moda, kataloglar eh.
Fashion, catalogues uh.
15 I And the catalogues, fashion trends. All are there.
16 P1 Onlar standart; u, organizasyon.
They are standard; this one, organization.

- 17 S To follow and to have fashion magazines.
Kataloglar filan dergiler [var.
- 18 I *There are catalogues, [magazines.*
- 19 S [To follow fashion trends.
Moda trendlerini takip etmek vardı.
- 20 I *To follow fashion trends.*
Fuarlara katılmak. [Fuar, festival. Hizmet içi eğitimlerine katılmak.
- 21 P1 *To participate in fairs. [Fairs, festivals. To participate in in-service training.*
- 22 S [X
- 23 I To participate in fairs. To participate in [in-service training.
[O decorate miydi neydi o?
- 24 P2 [*What was the meaning of that decorate?*
- 25 S Fairs. In-service training.
O i yerini dekore etmek.
- 26 I *It is decoration of the workplace.*
yerini dekore etmek, i organizasyonu içine girer.
- 27 P1 *Decorating the workplace is included in organization.*
Design the decoration of the shop is included under organization.
- 28 I
- 29 S Here?
- 30 I Organizing. Uh we should cross that out.
u en üstteki ne? Decorate?
- 31 P2 *What is the one at the top? To decorate?*
- 32 I <L2 Nails L2>. ey tırnak süslemek.
Well to decorate nails.
- 33 P2 [O ayrı.
[*That is separate.*
- 34 P1 O tırnak bakı-[
[El ayak bakımı ve tırnak süslemek ayrı evet o ayrı.
- 35 P2 [*Hand and foot care is separate from decorating nails yes that is separate..*

- 36 S To participate at fairs.
Fuarlara katılmak.
- 37 I *To attend fairs.*
- 38 P2 O da ey--
That one is--
Mesleki geli ime.
- 39 P1 *In professional development.*
- 40 S To follow technology [and technological trends.
[Teknolojiyi takip etmek.
- 41 I [*To follow the technology.*
- 42 P3 O da mesleki geli im.
That is professional development too.
- 43 S It is also there.
- 44 I Yes.
u be inci faaliyete giriyor el ayak bakımı diyece im, ama kızacaksınız yani. Hani cilt bakımı, masaj var ya. El ayak bakımı da oraya giriyor aslında.
- 45 P2 *I would say hand and foot care is included within the fifth activity, but you will be angry with me. Because skin care and massage are there. In fact hand and foot care is included there too.*
O zaman vücut bakımı yapmak diyece iz. Bence ayrı o. El ayak bakımı yapmak, altına manikür yapmak, pedikür yapmak.
- 46 P1 *Then we would say body care. I think that is separate. Hand and foot care, below that manicure, pedicure.*
- 47 P2 Öyle yapalım. Tamam ayrı olsun.
Ok let's have it separate.
- 48 I Ok. A separate duty now.
- 49 S Ok.
[Bunun tek bir eysi yok. eye göre o an toplanan grubun beklentisine göre de i ir.
- 50 P1 [*There is no one way to do this. It depends on the expectations of well, the group there.*

- 51 I Two. [Hand and its care.
- 52 S X
- 53 I Hand and feet.
- 54 P5 Aslında bir meslek de buraya ayarlanması gerekiyor.
In fact a profession should be included here.
- 55 P2 Öyle bir şey X söylemedi ki bize.
X *haven't told us to do that*
- 56 I X ((laughs))
Zaten kuaförler çok güzel ifade edemiyor, [sen toparlıyorsun cümleyi.
- 57 P1 *In fact hairdressers can't express it well, [you put the sentence together.*
- 58 I [Manicure, pedicure--
- 59 S Are these, these stuff done in the hairdresser's?
- 60 I Bunlar yapılıyor mu kuaförde?
Are these done at the hairdresser's?
- 61 S Hand and feet care?
- 62 I El ayak bakımı yapılıyor mu kuaförde?
Is hand and feet care done at the hairdresser's?
İmdi öyle. Bazen [bazen başka bir eleman bulunuyor orada.
Bazen de aynı eleman yapıyor.
- 63 P2 *Now well. Sometimes [there is another personnel for that. Sometimes the same personnel does it.*
- 64 P1 [Altına manikür pedikür diye geçer.
[*Under that manicure and pedicure.*
- 65 I [Manicure and pedicure. Sometimes they have separate staff for this. Sometimes the hairdresser does this.
- 66 P2 Eğitim olması gerekiyor.
They should have training.
- 67 I They have to have training.
- 68 S So this is out.
- 69 I Decorate nails.
- 70 S Decorate nails.

- 71 P1 Makyaj yapmayı almamı lar.
Make-up is not included.
- 72 S [Make-up is there or not?
- 73 I [Makyaj yapmak?
Make-up?
- 74 P1 O, ayrı bir [[görev.
That is separate [[duty.
- 75 I [[This is a separate duty.
- 76 S Okay.
- 77 P1 Bu görevler de i letmenin büyüklü üne göre de i iyor.
These duties vary according to the size of the enterprise.
- 78 I What about to organize work places?
- 79 S To organize work place is there.
- 80 I Arrange equipments?
- 81 S Arrange equipments exactly... Hand care... Measurements for the hair... And make up.
imdi unlar kaldı o zaman söyleyeyim: Saç ekleme, [ondan sonra.
Now these are left, let me say: Hair transplantation, [and then.
- 83 P1 [Saç ekleme mi bunun içine mi girer o?
Hair transplantation? Is it included here?
- 84 I Bir dakika sayayım mı hepsini? Mü teri memnuniyeti var, bu eklenecek saçların ölçülmesi demi iz, sonra bir de ey kaldı ikram, randevu alma, bir de ne vardı [ne vardı--
One moment, shall I count them all? There is customer satisfaction, we said measurements for the hair, and then treat, making appointments, and what else [what else--
- 85 P5 [organizasyonu.
Job organization.
- 86 I Ücret alma, fatura.
Payment, invoicing.
- 87 P1 [organizasyonu.
Job organization.

- 88 P5 [Randevu alma, mü teri memnuniyeti. Onlar hep i
organizasyonunun içine girer.
*[Making appointments, customer satisfaction. They are all
included in job organization.*
- 89 I Öyle mi?
Are they?
- 90 P1 Mü teri memnuniyeti zaten eydir tavır, tutum, davranı tır. [Bir
görev i lem de ildir.
*Customer satisfaction is well, attitude, manner, behavior. [It is
not a duty or a task*
- 91 I [So customer satisfaction... Where is it? <L2 Bu
organizasyonda mı L2>?
Is it within organization?
- 92 P4 Organizasyonda.
It is in organization.
- 93 I It is included in the organization. It is there.
- 94 P1 Organizasyonun içine girer.
It is included in organization.
- 95 P2 öyle, bence mü teri ili kilerini yürütme eh ya da eh [beraber
çalı tı ı ki ilerini ili kilerini yürütme anlamında ileti im
gerektiriyor.
*Well, I think communication is needed in order [to run
customer relations uh or uh relations with the staff.*
- 96 I [Customer relations it requires communication.
97 S [[Definitely it requires communication.
O tavır tutumun dı nda, [[bir ileti ime yönelik bir ey olması
gerekti i için ayrı tanımlayıp [[[yazmalı.
98 P2 *As it needs to be something[[related to communication, other
than attitude and manner, it should be separately defined and
[[[written.*
- 99 I [[[We should define it separately, write it separately.

- 100 P5 Mü teriyle ileti im kurmak olabilir.
It can be to communicate with the customers.
- Çevre yani çalı anlar ya da mü teriyle ileti im [kurması
gerekıyor.
- 101 P2 *He needs to communicate with the environment, which means*
[people or customers.
- 102 I [Communicating with other staff and [[communicating with the
customers. So customer relations we may say.
- 103 P1 [organizasyonunun altında.
[It is within job organization.
- 104 P2 [[Yok bence ayrı.
[[No I think it is separate.
- 105 P1 Mü teri ili kileri gibi bir ey olabilir.
It can be something like customer relations.
- 106 I So [customer relations
[Mü teri ili kileri de olur, ama sadece mü teri ile ileti im
kurmuyor. Çalı anlarla da [[ileti im kurması gerekiyor.
- 107 P2 *[It can be customer relations, but he does not only communicate*
with customers. He also needs to [[communicate with the staff.
- 108 I [[But they are also communicating with the other staff.
leti ime yönelik bir görev olması lazım.
- 109 P3 *It should be a duty related to communication.*
- 110 I So there should be a duty for communication.
Biz öyle yapıyorduk. Onları açıyorduk.
- 111 P1 *That is how we did it. We explained them.*
Ço umuzun çünkü ileti im yüzünden terk etti imiz kuaför çok
yani.
- 112 P2 *There are many hairdressers most of us quit going due to*
communication.
- 113 I There are many hairdressers which we quit going because of
[problems in communication.
- 114 P1 [te biz ona tavır tutum diyorduk. İlgili i leri de [[i
organizasyonu içine atıyorduk.

- [*We called that attitude and manner. And included the* [[*related tasks in job organization.*
- 115 S [[In appointing or working with. In the appointment uh process, problems or in doing services.
- Eh hizmet verilmesinde de olabilir. Mesela, randevuların alınmasında da di mi [ileti im gene problem yaratabilir?
- 116 I *Uh it can be also in service. For instance communication can cause problems again* [in making appointments right?
- [Tabi tabi. Telefonla da ileti im kuruyor, yüz yüze de ileti im kuruyor.
- 117 P3 [*Of course, of course. He communicates both on the phone and face-to-face.*
- 118 I By phone. And face to face communication.
- Ama ileti im kurmak tavır tutum de il midir?
- 119 P1 *But isn't communicating attitude and manner?*
- 120 S So, how do we do it for this?
- O zaman ne yapalım, ne yapalım? Yani imdi ne yazalım dersiniz?
- 121 I *Then what do we do, what do we do? What shall we write, what do you say?*
- İli kileri yürütme aslında. Mü teri ve çalı anlarla ili kileri yürütmek olabilir mi?
- 122 P2 *In fact to run relationships. Can it be to run relationships with customers and staff?*
- İleti im sağlamak olur mu?
- 123 P1 *Can it be to ensure communicate?*
- Ensure communication some say, some say to manage uh
- 124 I [customer relations. To arrange, to organize customer relations and--
- [Mü teri ili kilerini düzenlemek deriz di mi?
- 125 P2 *We say to arrange customer relations, don't we?*
- 126 S We are speaking only uh to the communication with the customers?

- 127 I Yalnızca burada mü teriyle kurulan ileti imden mi bahsediyoruz?
Are we talking about the communication with the customers only?
- 128 S Or communication [X in general sense?
- 129 I [Yoksa genel anlamda meslekta larla da mı ileti im var?
[*Or with colleagues also in the general sense?*
- 130 P2 Tabi tabi. Hepsiyle ileti im.
Of course, of course. Communication with all of them.
- 131 I In general, all types of communication.
- 132 P1 [Ki isel ileti im.
[*Personal communication.*
- 133 P5 [Personel ili kileri. Personellerin kendi aralarındaki ileti imi.
[*Personnel relationships. The communication of personnel among each other.*
- 134 I Onlar da var?
Are they included?
- 135 P5 Eh eh.
Uh uh.
- 136 I It also includes the staff communicating with each other.
- 137 S Uh. Some personal qualities.
Yani ki isel niteliklerle ilgili bir eyler söylemi oluyoruz. O zaman ne diyoruz?
- 138 I *So we say something related to personal qualities. Then what do we say?*
- 139 S How should I write it?
- 140 I Nasıl yazalım? Ne diyelim yani hepsini kapsayacak ekilde?
How shall we write it? What shall we say in order to cover all?
- 141 P1 imdi iki fikir oldu. Bilmiyorum, [ne dersiniz?
Now there are two ideas. I don't know, [what do you say?
- 142 I [There are two ideas. There are two ideas.
- 143 P1 Biz onu organizasyonu içine a-
We meant including o-

- 144 S Will I put uh put both?
- 145 I Her ikisini de yazalım mı? Ayrı olarak.
Shall we write both, separately?
Mü teri ili kilerini düzenlemek ya da mü terilerle ileti imi
sa lamak.
- 146 P2 *To arrange customer relations or to provide communication
with customers.*
To ensure communication with customers. Communication with
customers. Eh eh.
Ama iki fikir öyle, yazılmadan önce. Onlar, arkada lar
ileti imin ya da bu ili kilerin organizasyonun içinde tavır-tutum
oldu unu iddia ediyorlar. [Biz de bir görev oldu unu iddia
ediyoruz.
- 148 P2 *But the two ideas are as follows: before we write them. They,
our colleagues claim that communication or relationships are
attitudes and manners within organization. [We claim that it is
a duty.*
[Eh there are two opinions: One says that these are attitudes and
traits included under organization. The other group says that
these eh these are separate duties.
Then we can keep whatever versions of the document you want,
no problem at all, when we are working tomorrow on tasks and
then we try to break down these into details I would say. Or to
associate different tasks to the duties. Then we will know where
do we stand.
sterseniz imdi eh isteyenler bunun altına eklesin. steyenler
ayrı bir görev olarak yazsın. Yarın i lemleri belirleyece iz ya.
lemler üzerinde çalı aca ız daha detaylı. O zaman karar
verelim.
- 151 I *If you like, now uh those who want can add it under this. Others
can write it as a separate duty. We will define the tasks
tomorrow. We will work on them in detail, so let's decide then.*
- 152 P2 O zaman mü teri ve çalı anlarla ili kileri yürütmek gibi bir ey

söyleyelim.

Then let's say something like to run relationships with customers and staff.

153 I So, let's say now as a X, communicating with customers, communicating with uh the other staff.

154 I Biri dokuz biri on oldu.

One is nine, the other is ten.

155 P2 Bence tek olabilir.

I think it can be included in one.

156 I It may be included, both included in 9. We can cross out that one.

Görü farkı ondan kaynaklanmıyor. Mü teriyi kar ılamak, [mü teriyi u urlamak, randevu vermek di mi?

157 P2 *That is not the reason of the difference between our opinions. To greet the customers, [to see the customers off, to make appointments, right?*

158 S [*Customer?*

159 I Eh eh. Meslekta larla, [mü terilerle ileti im.

Uh uh. Communication with colleagues [and customers.

160 P2 [Çalı anlarla bilgi payla ımında bulunmak... Bunların hepsi.
[To share knowledge with the staff... These are all (included).

Aslında öyle, yanında çalı anları e itmek var, mesela bir i lem mesleki geli imin altına girer. Veya i ba ı e itimi yapmak yine belki i organizasyonu içine girer. Yazmadı ımız eyler var.

161 P1 *In fact there is a task, training the staff. It is within professional development. Or on-site training is perhaps within job organization. There are things we haven't written.*

Ben mümkünse buraya e itim verilme konularının hiç girmemesi gerekti ini dü ünüyorum, çünkü e itim verme deyince biraz üst düzeye gidiyor. O X üzerine çıkıyor. Ama bilgi payla ımı evet.

162 P2 *I think training shouldn't be mentioned here, because when we*

say training it is the next level. It is above the X. But there is sharing of knowledge yes.

- 163 I They are discussing.
- 164 S X
Ama mesela bir kuaförü dü ünün, yanındaki ki iye i i ö retiyor,
e itim veriyor.
- 165 P1 *But for instance think of an hairdresser, he teaches the work to his apprentice, he trains him.*
Öyle ama sen imdi öyle dü ünürsen i veren X diyorsun
elemana.
- 166 P3 *Yes but if you see it that way, then you say employer X to that staff.*
Biz yeti mi eleman alıyoruz e itimci yeti tirmiyoruz. Onu
meslek elemanına benzetiyoruz.
- 167 P2 *We train personnel, not trainers. They become personnel for vocations.*
[Meslek elemanı yeti tiriyoruz e itimci yeti tirmiyoruz ki.
[*We train personnel for vocations, not trainers.*
- 168 P1 X [They are analyzing the job. They are training those who will
work in this sector. [[They are not going to be teachers.
- 169 I X [They are analyzing the job. They are training those who will
work in this sector. [[They are not going to be teachers.
- 170 S No, they are not.
X [[Meslek elemanına sen altındakine üstündekine e itim ver
diyemezsin.
- 171 P3 X [[*You can't tell a personnel to train those who work for him.*
Ama sonuçta öyle bir ey yok mu?
- 172 P1 *But this happens doesn't it?*
- 173 P4 X
eyler girer oraya mü teri ili kileri.
- 174 P3 *Customer relations are included there.*
- 175 I Eh. Mü teri memnuniyeti mi?
Uh customer satisfaction?
- 176 S So, customer satisfaction is there.

- 177 I Var, eh eh orda.
Yes, uh uh it is there.
- 178 P2 Sonra ey. Hesap kitap vesaire var.
Then well, there are fees, invoices etc.
- 179 I To prepare invoices, get the fees.
- 180 S So it is again not only the communication.
- 181 I Yalnızca ileti im de il yani.
It is not only communication.
- 182 P2 Evet.
Yes.

