

**THE ROLES OF SIGNED LANGUAGE INTERPRETERS IN POST-SECONDARY
EDUCATION SETTINGS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

by

Odette Belinda Swift

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SUPERVISOR: Dr K. Wallmach

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Student number: 31624111

I declare that “The roles of signed language interpreters in post-secondary education settings in South Africa” is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE
(Mrs OB Swift)

DATE

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dedicate - by Justin Schaefer

who do I dedicate these
things I write to?
these things that
pour from my soul onto
blank pieces of paper?

these things that are given
life and existence
by the thoughts floating
aimlessly around in my head

who do i dedicate
these things to that
fall from my skin
like droplets of
blood, sweat
and tears?

these things that
take flight and emerge
from the depths
of my mind and
experience?

who do i dedicate these
things to that claw
and scratch their way
through my flesh
to breath air and live?

these things who become
my children, my legacy and
my memory eternal?

who do i dedicate all
these things to?

i dedicate them all to you.

Abstract

Signed language interpreting in South Africa has not received much academic attention, despite the profession having undergone major transformation since the advent of democracy. This study aims to create a better understanding of signed language interpreters' behaviour in one specific setting in South Africa – post-secondary education. During the researcher's own practice as an educational interpreter at a post-secondary institution, she experienced role conflict and found little information available to assist her in making professional decisions on which direction to take. This provided the impetus to embark on this research. The study begins by outlining the field of liaison interpreting and educational interpreting, and examining the existing literature regarding the interpreter's role and norms in interpreting. It then goes on to examine authentic interpreted texts, filmed in actual lectures in post-secondary settings. These texts are analysed with reference to interpreter shifts and deviations from the source text, with particular focus on interpreter-generated utterances (additions), borrowing (fingerspelling), omissions (both errors and conscious choice) and various types of collaboration between the interpreter and primary participants. These shifts are examined in more detail to explore whether they indicate any change in the interpreter's role. Further, interpreters' own views about their practice, elicited from individual interviews, enable the reader to understand how the interpreters view the role(s) that they fulfil. The research will provide information for interpreter trainers about the roles assumed by SASL interpreters in higher education and provide a platform from which to scaffold future educational interpreter research and training.

Key terms

South African Sign Language, signed language interpreting, educational interpreting, liaison interpreting, interpreter role, interpreter shifts, translational norms, interpreting norms

Abbreviations used in this dissertation

AIIC:	International Association of Conference Interpreters
CHE:	Council on Higher Education
CIS:	Corpus-based interpreting studies
CODA:	Child of Deaf Adults
CTS:	Corpus-based translation studies
ESIT:	<i>École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs</i>
HEI:	Higher Education Institution
NQF:	National Qualifications Framework
SASL:	South African Sign Language
SATI:	South African Translators' Institute
SI:	Simultaneous Interpreting
ST:	Source text
TT:	Target text
UNISA:	University of South Africa
WASLI:	World Association of Sign Language Interpreters

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Transcription conventions

Since there is no standardised written form of South African Sign Language (SASL), transcriptions for SASL in this study will be done using an adapted sign gloss system. As expressed by Zimmer (1993), writing a sign gloss is often challenging as there is no word/sign correspondence. Despite this, the system proposed by Baker-Shenk and Cokely (1981) was used as a basis on which to formulate a gloss system that suited this study. The following conventions were used:

The gloss is written in capital letters.

Where it is semantically appropriate, an English word is used to represent a single SASL sign. At other times, when there is no exact English word – SASL sign correspondence, the most appropriate English word(s) are used.

If a single sign is represented by more than one English word, these words are joined using hyphens (e.g. DOESN'T-MATTER)

If the sign is a compound sign, the glosses for the two signs are joined using # (e.g. MOTHER#FATHER)

If two signs seem to run into one another without a noticeable break they are joined using ^ (e.g. ANY^TIME)

If two signs are produced simultaneously they are joined using / (e.g. GIRL/ PRO.3)

When a pointing sign is used as a pronoun it is glossed as PRO.1, PRO.2 or PRO.3 depending on whether the referent is a first, second or third person.

Determiners such as 'that' 'the' 'a' etc are glossed as DET

Lexicalised signs are preceded by # (e.g. #WOW)

The meaning associated with gestures are glossed in italics (e.g. *DON'T-KNOW*)

Signs that are produced using the non-dominant hand are glossed in "" (e.g. "PRO.3")

Fingerspelled words are shown with the letters separated by hyphens (e.g. J-A-R-G-O-N) and are given exactly as they are signed i.e. omitted letters are not shown.

Signs which are repeated are followed by "+" and the number of repetitions of the sign will be represented by the corresponding number of +s (e.g. DIFFERENT+++).

Plurals are indicated through the manner in which they are signed. This would either be through repetition of a word (using ++ behind the gloss of the word in singular form) or the use of a signed adjective will be indicated in the gloss before the singular form of the noun

(e.g. MANY BOY). If a sign exists for a plural form of a word this is glossed in the plural form (e.g. PEOPLE not PERSON)

If a sign is signed in a particular location this is indicated in a subscript (e.g. HOUSE_{lf}, CAR_{rt}). Similarly if an index sign is used to indicate the location of a particular noun, this will be reflected in a subscript (e.g. INDEX_{lt}). lf – left, rt – right, cntr - centre

Any additional information about the manner in which a sign is produced or if there are aspectual modifications to the sign, these will be inserted in lower case letters in parentheses after the sign gloss (e.g. BIG(emphatic), WORK(continually)).

Any grammatical structures other than declarative sentences, are indicated with a line over the utterance concerned and a symbol indicating the type of structure used. These symbols include:

wh-q: wh- question	<div style="text-align: center;">_____wh</div> (e.g. BOY LIVES WHERE)
rh-q: rhetorical question	<div style="text-align: center;">_____rh</div> (e.g. PRO.3 NAME WHAT SYMMETRY)
q: yes/no question	<div style="text-align: center;">_____q</div> (e.g. WANT LUNCH)
neg: negation (head shake)	<div style="text-align: center;">_____neg</div> (e.g. PRO.1 DRIVE)
aff: affirmation (head nod)	<div style="text-align: center;">_____aff</div> (e.g. PRO.1 DRIVE)
t: topicalisation	<div style="text-align: center;">_____t</div> (e.g. BOY FATHER LOVE)
cond: conditional	<div style="text-align: center;">_____cond</div> (e.g. SATURDAY RAIN, PARTY CONTINUE)
rb: raised brow	<div style="text-align: center;">_____rb</div> (e.g. PRO.1 HOPE)

Where spoken words are mouthed they are indicated in "" below the gloss. This is done to highlight the use of spoken language mouth patterns by interpreters. It is noted that generally this kind of use of mouthing is not considered grammatically correct for signed languages, but its extensive use by interpreters prompted the researcher to include it for possible use in further studies.

A comma is used to indicate a syntactic break (e.g. BOY FALL (emphatic), PRO.3 CRY++).

The use of an arrow (→) indicates the direction in which a sign moves when made (e.g. INFLUENCE_{rt→lt})

A pause which does not indicate a syntactic break, for example, if the interpreter is waiting for the full meaning of an utterance to become clear, is indicated using \. The more \s present, the longer the pause.

Comments not of a linguistic nature but related to the discourse process will be presented in < > parentheses.

Descriptions of facial expressions related to non-manual grammatical markers, used when a particular sign is signed, will be placed in () above the relevant sign gloss.

Interpreter sign to spoken language interpretations are typed in regular English font style and enclosed in "" (eg: "Maam, what page are we on?")

HStudents: indicates an utterance made by hearing students in the class

Chapter 1 – Introduction

*“In practice, interpreters can and do move between different role positions within a single interpreting assignment when necessary, depending on the clients and the situation.”
(Napier, McKee & Goswell 2006: 63)*

1.1 Introduction: The paradox of the teacher-interpreter

It is widely accepted among professional interpreter organisations that when an interpreter is present in a communicative event, she should take steps to ensure that she limits the effects of her presence on the discourse processes that unfold between the two interlocutors who do not speak the same language. It is also accepted that the ultimate goal of the interpreter is to ensure that the interpreted discourse processes that occur, in the end, ensure that all parties involved have clearly understood the message. Napier (2007) suggests that it is now accepted amongst discourse analysts that interpreters co-operate with the other participants in a communication event, and that we should now begin to analyse how this collaboration occurs in different contexts.

In the educational context, it can be hypothesised that if it is ultimately the role of the interpreter to ensure understanding, there may well be times when the interpreter shifts her footing in relation to the student and fulfils the role of a teacher, to ensure that the Deaf student has understood the content presented. This, it can be argued, is part of the role of the educational interpreter as an intercultural mediator. However, this view is controversial in light of the professional requirement to interpret accurately what is said by the source speaker and not to add or omit information. I have termed this dilemma the teacher-interpreter paradox. This dissertation draws on the analysis of authentic filmed lectures to determine whether the interpreter does in fact fall prey to role conflict and the teacher-interpreter paradox in a post-secondary educational context in South Africa.

1.2 The research problem

The work of signed language interpreters in South Africa has, for the most part, been done by untrained interpreters, often hearing children of Deaf adults (CODAs) or teachers of the Deaf (Deaf Federation of South Africa 2009). Formal training for South African Sign Language (SASL) interpreters was not available until fairly recently, and generally only

focuses on the fundamentals of interpreting, not on specific contexts. Institutions such as the University of the Witwatersrand offer a number of part-time short courses which together make up a SETA-accredited Diploma in Legal Interpreting, as well as postgraduate conference interpreting courses which lead towards an Honours/MA/PhD in Interpreting (personal correspondence: Dr K. Wallmach). However, the demand is currently mainly for first-level basic courses in interpreting. North-West University and Free State University also provide sign-language interpreter training, but again, due to interested students' financial constraints and unavailability to study full time, there is low demand or insufficient students to offer specialized courses in educational interpreting. Without standardized, formal training for these interpreters, and without sufficient would-be interpreters who are interested in specialist training, SASL interpreting will remain a field of work that displays great variation in the understanding of roles and functions.

In a report by the Council on Higher Education (2005:37) it was emphasised that "the provision of sign language support remains central to ensuring equity for deaf students." I therefore argue that in order for Deaf students to gain access to post-secondary education in South Africa, we need to ensure that there are sufficient, well-trained South African Sign Language (SASL) interpreters available to meet the demand.

In order to begin addressing the training needs of SASL interpreters, we need to have a thorough understanding of the context in which the interpreters work. Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006) argue that interpreters instinctively know that the dynamics of communication differ in different settings. The problem that needs to be investigated is whether this instinctive understanding of the communication dynamics in the post-secondary education setting is resulting in a uniform understanding of role among all SASL interpreters working in that environment.

The main research question to be answered is "What roles do SASL interpreters in post-secondary education institutions fulfil?" In order to answer this question, the following sub-questions will be investigated:

- What do educational interpreters believe their role to be?

- Do the interpreters' beliefs about their role correspond with their role in actual practice?
- What do the observed shifts in the interpreted message tell us about the actual roles the interpreters fulfil?

It is my assumption that there is no uniform understanding of the SASL interpreter role in higher education institutions (HEIs) in South Africa. Further, I expect that there will be a marked difference in the role of the interpreter and the level of involvement of the interpreter in the education process in the various different types of post-secondary education settings, such as universities, Further Education and Training (FET) colleges and Universities of Technology (UoT). I expect this will be so as the classroom setup, the educational models and teaching styles are likely to differ between the different forms of HEIs from almost completely theoretical, monologic discourse in the universities to more dialogic discourse and practical experience in the FET colleges.

1.3 Aim and rationale of the research

In this dissertation I aim to describe the context in which educational signed language interpreters work in South Africa and then to examine the work they do in practice compared to what they believe they do. The motivation for this study came as a result of my own sense of role-conflict as an educational interpreter. When I sought information on this issue in available literature, I found that there is a dearth of information regarding educational signed language interpreting in South Africa.

Thus, ultimately this research will fill a gap in our understanding of the educational SASL interpreter in South Africa, where there has hitherto been no research. We will better understand the context of the post-secondary educational signed language interpreter and the nature of the role(s) they fulfil whilst performing their duties. Further, data derived from this research can be used to develop and train current and future interpreters to ensure that Deaf students truly have equal access to post-secondary education studies.

1.4 The context of the research problem

Mason (1999) describes dialogue interpreting as interpreter-mediated communication in spontaneous face-to-face interaction. It is considered the opposite of conference interpreting, which is generally monologic and lacks face-to-face interaction. This research will be broadly based in this realm of dialogue interpreting. Although educational interpreters are based in a setting which may be considered more monologic since the teacher has the greatest amount of time in each communication turn, Seal (1998) argues that there is none the less turn-taking as the student communicates non-verbally with the interpreter to indicate whether the communication turn is being understood or not. Thus, educational interpreting can be considered dialogue interpreting, especially since many educational interpreters do not only interpret in lectures. Seal (1998) also describes various mechanisms which can be used to repair communication if there is a breakdown, and some of these include the interpreter initiating repair. This would require the interpreter to step out of the traditionally understood “neutral” role.

In addition, Napier (2010:68) describes educational interpreting as a ‘hybrid’ form of interpreting which includes elements of both community interpreting and conference interpreting. Although university interpreting is traditionally more monologic, there are times when there is dialogic discourse and multi-party discussions. These include lecturer-directed question and answer dialogue as well as group or paired work.

Extensive research exists internationally which highlights the changing understanding of the role of the interpreter. Roy (2000) and Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006) are among the many voices who have acknowledged that the interpreter is not a translation machine, but rather a bilingual, bicultural communication mediator who is responsible for understanding the communication process, the aim of that process and then guiding the communication in the direction that it was intended by the parties involved. Thus this research will be situated within a broad understanding of the variable role of the interpreter in general.

Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006) argue that the role of the interpreter is a fluctuating one as it depends on both the *function* of the interpreter as well as her *relationship* with the others in the interpreted context. In higher education institutions (HEIs) in South

Africa, the role of the interpreter is not clearly defined and as a result role conflict can occur due to differences in the expectations of the interpreter's role by the interpreter, the Deaf students, interpreter co-ordinators and hearing faculty staff who deliver the curriculum. This concurs with Napier's (2010:70) work acknowledging that the lack of standards and the existing confusion surrounding the role of the educational interpreter "can lead to conflict between expectations and professional interpreting standards".

Conrad and Stegenga (2005) further add that within the educational setting, interpreters are frequently required to make decisions about control – who has the control of communication? They argue that it is the task of the interpreter to assess the situation and decide which of the interpreting models (such as helper, conduit, communication facilitator or bilingual-bicultural broker) would best fit the situation. Once again this highlights the fact that interpreters are not neutral machines, but active decision makers in the communication process. This is true not only for the educational setting, however. Metzger (1999) details how the sign language interpreter in a medical interview shifts her footing in relation to the participants during the interaction and describes the interpreter-generated utterances which highlight examples of when this change occurs. The notion of 'footing' in an interpreted interaction is an idea first proposed by Erving Goffman in 1981. It refers to the roles and attitudes that participants in an interpreted situation have towards one another and these roles and attitudes can change several times during the course of an interpreted communication event.

The post-secondary educational setting contains not only content-specific lectures, but frequently also additional information about tests, assignments and so on and other information, unrelated to the academic subject content, may be talked about. Further, interpreters may be requested to interpret in other institutional activities such as residence meetings, student counselling sessions and consultations with lecturers. Deaf students and interpreters therefore may find themselves working together in a variety of contexts within an HEI and the dynamics of the relationship between the interpreter and student are likely to adjust to meet the needs of each communicative situation.

In the new, democratic South Africa, Deaf students are gaining more access to post-secondary education institutions than in the past. As the Council on Higher Education (CHE)

report above indicates, the primary accommodation to enable Deaf students to participate in this setting is the employment of SASL interpreters. However, in order to ensure that their access to verbally conveyed content is achieved, it is important to ensure that the interpreters and the Deaf students, as well as other parties involved in the educational process have a clear understanding of the role of the interpreter. In order to impart this information to these parties, it is essential to conduct an investigation into the current practices of interpreters in post-secondary education settings and analyse the situation. In this way we can obtain a clear and full understanding of the dynamics of SASL interpreter roles in this field in South Africa.

1.5 Research methodology

In order to identify what role(s) the signed language interpreters in South Africa's higher education institutions fulfil, it is necessary to observe and analyse their practices in the lecture venues of the institutions where they work. As broad a base of interpreters as possible was used and thus all major Universities, Universities of Technology and FET Colleges throughout South Africa were contacted to ascertain whether they employ SASL interpreters to assist Deaf students. The Deaf Federation of South Africa (DeafSA) was also contacted to find out if there are interpreters working in any private HEIs. Once interpreters were located at the various institutions, they were contacted individually to explain the research and request their participation in principle. Based on this information I planned a field visit to each institution to interview interpreters and film them working. Once at the institution, the interpreters' consent as well as the consent of lecturers whose lectures would be filmed, was obtained before any filming took place.

Before meeting with interpreters for an interview, each of them was asked to fill in a questionnaire. This was developed to gain background information about the interpreter and her understanding of her role. Once the questionnaire was completed I interviewed each of the interpreters and asked them questions that would require them to consider their reactions in certain situations. The interview and the questionnaire assisted me in understanding the view that the interpreters themselves have of the role they fulfil in the classroom, of what they believe their normative role should be (Goffman *in* Wadensjö

2002: 357), and enabled me to ascertain whether there is congruence between what they feel they should be doing and what they are actually doing.

All data collected was transcribed manually and translated where necessary. An adapted transcription system based on that proposed by Baker-Shenk and Cokely (1981) was used. The transcription standard is described on pages 7 and 8 above. Where the lecture was conducted in Afrikaans, the original text of the lecturer is given and then the translation is provided in italics. The transcription was done in Afrikaans first and then translated word for word into English. The mouthed words indicate the actual mouth patterns used by the interpreter and there are times when the interpreter has mouthed an English word in the Afrikaans classes.

Ideally, both the spoken text and the signed text would have been fully transcribed to form a machine-readable corpus but unexpected difficulties were experienced in this regard, especially as relates to the transcription of the SASL utterances into a machine readable format to facilitate the use of corpus tools. Developing a specialised transcription standard for SASL that made use of tagging to annotate non-manual features, signer's perspective, role shift etc. was beyond the scope of this MA, but has in fact been achieved by Wehrmeyer (2012, forthcoming) in her D. Litt et Phil. study. However, as part of further research subsequent to this dissertation, the transcriptions and video footage will be placed as a sub-corpus in a parallel interpreting corpus – the South African spoken/signed language interpreting comparative corpus - developed by Dr Kim Wallmach, which in turn is part of a larger corpus developed by UNISA academics and which focuses on signed/spoken languages of Southern Africa. This sub-corpus can be used to compare and analyse original utterances with the interpreted rendition in the form of a multimodal corpus, using Multitool.

However it is acknowledged that even the comparison of simultaneous interpreting texts which are not yet machine-readable is not an easy task. Wallmach (2004) draws attention to the fact that, unlike translation, simultaneous interpreting happens in a specific environment and at a specific time, and these, as well as several other factors such as source text production, external noise and processing constraints (Gile 1999), affect the

interpretation. These factors were taken into account when analysing the extracts from the texts and are recorded in the transcription header (Appendix C).

The theoretical approach used in the analysis of the collected data is descriptive (Kruger and Wallmach 1997:121). Thus, the interpretations observed were not analysed as accurate or inaccurate, but were analysed by comparing the spoken message and the interpreted message and observing linguistic shifts that occur between ST and TTmessages. These were then categorised and the possible reasons for these shifts were then hypothesised by considering the specific educational environment, subject content and other relevant information concerning the setting of the interpretation. These shifts direct the researcher to draw conclusions about the norms that define the role that the interpreter fulfils by noting the kind of shifts that occur and the circumstances under which they occur.

The shifts were analysed as renditions of the original, similar to the types of renditions proposed by Wadensjö (2002), and include expanded, reduced, substituting and summarising renditions. Wadensjö (2002) also makes provision for cases where there is no rendition at all of the original. Napier and Barker (2004) note that omissions from the source message may or may not be a conscious decision on the part of the interpreter, and do not always result in a loss of meaning. They argue that an interpreter is well within their role to omit information in order to produce a pragmatic but semantically accurate interpretation. Barik (2002) also describes departure from the original text as occurring in three ways: omission, addition or substitution (which may be an error if it is too different from the original meaning). Note that in some instances there may be no exact equivalent sign for a source language item, in which case the interpreter may paraphrase into SASL using a hyponym i.e. more specific terms e.g. infrastructure = BUILDINGS, ROADS, ELECTRICITY. This type of interpreting strategy, to be used when the SL word is not 'lexicalised' in the TL, i.e. when the TL lacks an exact word for the SL word, is not considered to be an addition (cf. Baker 1992,1997), but rather as a paraphrase or the strategy of 'chunking down' elaborated by Katan (1999). Napier (2002) further highlights that some linguistic shifts indicate an appropriate translation style for a university lecture and therefore should not be considered in this study to indicate a role shift. The styles she

describes are free and literal, where free interpretation is an equivalence-based approach which provides conceptual accuracy while taking into account the culture of the audience, and literal interpretation is a more syntactical interpretation focussing on lexical equivalence. Less experienced interpreters often resort to a more literal interpretation, with extensive use of fingerspelling for difficult terminology, whereas more experienced interpreters are often more able to see the 'big picture' and make sense of the whole meaning of what is being said, thus interpreting more freely while retaining conceptual accuracy. These various units of analysis will help to identify whether the interpreter is assuming any particular role apart from the traditionally assumed role of neutral interpreter.

1.6 Organisation of the study

***Chapter One:* Introduction**

The first chapter introduces the notion of the teacher-interpreter paradox and establishes the research problem, aim and rationale of the study and the context of the research. The methodology used during this research is also briefly described.

***Chapter Two:* Interpreting Studies**

The second chapter explores the existing research in the fields of liaison interpreting, signed language interpreting, educational interpreting, discourse analysis and interpreting as a discourse process, norms in interpreting, and interpreters' roles.

***Chapter Three:* The educational context and educational interpreting in South Africa**

The third chapter describes the history of Deaf education in South Africa and highlights the current educational practices and policies in South Africa, both generally and specifically for the Deaf. This will include both basic education and post-secondary education settings. Educational interpreting is considered in post-secondary education settings for both Deaf and hearing students who study in dual-medium educational institutions.

Chapter Four:* **Methodology*

This chapter will introduce some background on research methodologies traditionally used in interpreting studies and will discuss the approach adopted in this study. The design of the study is described and the specific methodology is discussed, highlighting the research instruments, the types of data gathered and the data analysis processes. Finally the ethical considerations are discussed.

Chapter Five:* **Presentation and discussion of findings*

This chapter will introduce the findings of the data collected from the interviews and filmed lectures described in Chapter 4 and then provide an analysis of these findings as they pertain to the main research question “What roles do SASL interpreters in post-secondary education institutions fulfil?” as well as the sub-questions presented in section 1.2 above. Finally, the analysis of the findings is used to draw sub-conclusions regarding role fulfilment by post-secondary, educational, SASL interpreters.

Chapter Six:* **Conclusion*

This chapter will summarise the findings and draw conclusions from them. The significance of these conclusions will be discussed as well as the limitations of the study and finally suggestions for further research in this area will be made.

1.7 Conclusion

This introductory chapter has laid the foundation for this study. The concept of the teacher-interpreter paradox was introduced and the notion of role conflict was established. The research problem and questions were highlighted and the manner in which the study goes about attempting to answer these questions was described. In the next chapter, the reader will be able to access more detailed information on interpreting studies, specifically liaison interpreting studies and how educational signed language interpreting fits into this field of research.

Chapter 2 – Interpreting studies

“To the multi-tasking processes involved in all interpreting...is added constant (re-)negotiation of role, turn management and general monitoring of the unfolding of the talk exchange in which at least three parties are involved.”

(Mason 2001)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide a broad overview of the field of interpreting with a specific focus on research in liaison interpreting. I then focus on signed language interpreting, and on educational interpreting as a specific type of interpreting. Thereafter, I discuss the notion of interpreting as a specific discourse process and explore the various attempts to describe norms as they apply to the act of interpreting. I conclude by highlighting the numerous role descriptions that have been assigned to the professional work of an interpreter.

2.2 Liaison interpreting

2.2.1 What is Liaison Interpreting?

On a planet where information is exchanged over thousands of kilometers in a few seconds, where tele- and video-conferencing is common-place, where flights to and from hundreds of countries happen every minute, where human movement is common and where 6909 or so languages are spoken (Lewis 2009), it is to be expected that communication difficulties will occur. The economy is no longer the concern of a single state, but is a global concern, as is business activity and politics. In short, many more people need to communicate with one another than even 100 years ago. However, since there are so many languages spoken around the world, the task of communication can be a challenging one. Possibly the most extensively used way to solve this dilemma is through the use of interpreters.

According to Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006), the word *interpreter* is derived from Latin and refers to a person who, when others have failed to understand something, clarifies the meaning of what was said. More specifically, an interpreter is one who conveys spoken or signed messages, produced by the first interlocutor, into another language understood by the second.

In linguistics, the act of interpreting is often included under translation (Shlesinger 1998) as both activities involve interlingual processing. However, whilst the similarities between the two process are acknowledged, for the purposes of this study interpreting shall refer specifically to interlingual processing conducted orally or visually, while translation shall refer to the transfer of a written text from one language to another.

In the introduction to *Triadic Exchanges* (2001), Ian Mason describes two broad fields that exist within interpreting – conference interpreting and community interpreting. Community interpreting is also known as liaison interpreting or dialogue interpreting (Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002) as well as public service, ad hoc or bilateral interpreting (Mason 1999). Mikkelsen (2009) adds that educational interpreting is often included under liaison interpreting, although Napier (2010) argues that interpreting in the education setting is rather a hybrid of conference and liaison interpreting as the interpreter will be required to interpret in both monologic lectures and dialogic tutorials, student groups etc. In this study, the term ‘liaison interpreting’ will be used to refer to all interpreting that occurs when there is discussion between two or more interlocutors who do not share the same language. ‘Liaison’ is preferred in this study because, although some have argued that it refers mostly to interpreting in business settings (Merlini and Favaron 2003: 207) and would prefer to use the term ‘community interpreting’, the notion of community in South Africa has very particular connotations considering the history of language dominance in the country. This is highlighted in Erasmus (1999:50) where the author argues that the specific term chosen to define the genre of interpreting “often reveals a political predisposition towards the role and function which will be allocated to the interpreter” in any given situation. She argues that in South Africa particularly, but also in other countries, the term ‘community interpreter’ implies that there is an expectation that the interpreter is to be an advocate and a cultural broker in the discourse event.

Liaison interpreting is fundamentally different to the more monologic conference interpreting contexts for a number of reasons. Firstly, Mason (1999) explains that the defining characteristic of liaison interpreting is that there is interaction between interlocutors which is spontaneous and face-to-face. This means that there is seldom opportunity for interpreters to prepare for assignments and the interlocutors who do not

share the same language are conversing directly with one another. This is very different to a conference setting where the talk is generally monologic and there is no verbal interaction between the speaker and audience. The conference interpreter is also more likely to receive a written copy of the speech before the speech is delivered or to be given documents to prepare before the meeting begins and is thus able to prepare for the assignment.

Further, the liaison interpreter is also required to be able to interpret in various settings and about numerous topics. These encounters are professional and the settings may vary from police stations to doctor's rooms, from courts to business meetings. Mason (2001) explains that the task of the liaison interpreter is a particularly complex one, as not only does the interpreter need to deal with the inherently complicated task of interpreting, but also has to deal with constant role (re)negotiation, managing participant turns and monitoring of the dialogue in which at least three participants are present.

In his introduction to "Triadic Exchanges: Studies in dialogue interpreting", Mason (2001) describes what may be considered the beginnings of the professionalisation of liaison interpreting. The recognition of liaison interpreting as an object of study really only began in the mid 1990s. It was in 1995 that the first *Critical Link – Interpreters in the Community* conference was held. This conference brought together researchers, practitioners and trainers who all worked in the community, and who saw themselves as distinct from those whose area of interest was conference interpreting. Prior to the *Critical Link* conference, Mason (2001) suggests that liaison interpreting was seen as the "poor relation" of conference interpreting, which had been a field of extensive research and training for a considerably longer time.

In Australia and Sweden, liaison interpreters have state authorisation to practice as well as a union and professional status (NAATI 2009; Pöchhacker and Shlesinger 2002). However, this is not the case in South Africa, where interpreters are unregulated and accreditation for interpreting is only offered at the conference (simultaneous) interpreting level (South African Translators Institute 2007). In spoken language interpreting, a liaison interpreter tends to use short consecutive mode most often but can also used whispered

simultaneous interpreting if the speaker tends to speak for a long time. The liaison interpreter who specialises in consecutive interpreting can therefore not be accredited by SATI (South African Translators Institute), which is currently the only interpreter accrediting body in South Africa.

In the **consecutive mode** the interpreter has a turn after the speaker (monologic discourse) or after each speaker (dialogic discourse). In Roy (2000:105) she indicates what an idealised consecutively interpreted conversation would look like. In such a conversation there is usually the professional (P), the interpreter (I) and the citizen (C).

P:	Utterance 1 (majority language)
I:	Utternace 1a (rendition of U1)
C:	Utterance 2 (minority language)
I:	Utterance 2a (rendition of U2)
P:	Utterance 3
I:	Utterance 3a

Figure 1: Idealised consecutively interpreted conversation

Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006) emphasise that the consecutive mode is usually used by spoken language interpreters in liaison interpreting settings in order to avoid overlap of speech and confusion because of simultaneous talk. However, more recent studies have shown that sign language interpreters should also consider the use of the consecutive interpreting mode, as this has shown to improve the level of accuracy of the interpretation. Russell (2005) shows that in the legal setting, the use of the consecutive mode increases the precision of the target text message. She thus challenges the notion that just because the language modalities do not interfere all signed language interpreting should be executed in the simultaneous mode. In situations where accuracy is more important than fluency, she argues that consecutive interpreting should be used.

On the other hand, **simultaneous interpreting** is the mode whereby the audience or listener can hear the interpretation of the speech at more or less the same time as it is

delivered. In a conference setting, spoken-language interpreters usually make use of specialist interpreting equipment and they interpret from booths at the back of the conference hall. The audience who require interpretation to follow proceedings are required to use headsets which pick up the interpreted message from the microphones used by the interpreters. Although on the surface it may appear that the interpreter is interpreting as she hears the message, Paneth (2002) was among the first to discuss the lag time that occurs in this mode of interpreting. Simultaneous interpreting is the mode most often used by sign language interpreters in both conference and liaison interpreting contexts. This is because signed languages are communicated in the visual mode and there is therefore no verbal interference between source and target messages. As a result, there is no need for equipment as is the case for spoken language interpreters using the simultaneous mode for long periods of time.

The lag that occurs when the simultaneous mode is used is the time that occurs between the initial speakers' utterance of a message and the time the interpreter begins to interpret that message. This lag is necessary for the interpreter to hear enough information to understand the message before she begins interpreting (Napier, McKee and Goswell 2006). Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006) also note that the simultaneous mode creates greater cognitive demand because the interpreter is required to process two chunks of information at the same time (the incoming and outgoing messages) and there is a greater degree of interference between the two languages.

Thus it can be seen that liaison interpreting, although requiring the same skill and mental astuteness as conference interpreting, is fundamentally different in the contexts and manner in which it is carried out and can perhaps be more complicated because of the additional functions the interpreter needs to fulfil whilst working. However, because much research into interpreting has focussed on conference-level, monologic discourse, liaison interpreters are often left feeling confused about their role within the liaison contexts in which they work (Mason 1999).

2.2.2 Sign Language Interpreting

It may be assumed that as long as there have been Deaf people around, there have been those who assisted them with their communication needs. However, the recognition of signed language interpreting as a profession is a relatively new construct, linked perhaps to the lack of recognition of signed languages until relatively recently. Stewart, Schein and Cartwright (1998) inform us that prior to 1964, there was no offering of American Sign Language (ASL) at any educational institution in the United States. Perhaps the reason for the introduction of ASL in formal programmes in America, was the ground-breaking work of William Stokoe. His 1960 work (reprinted in 2005) showed for the first time that the language of the Deaf was not merely gestures and arbitrary signs, but a truly linguistic language which could be subjected to vigorous inspection. In South Africa, however, the formal teaching of SASL at tertiary level only began in 1999 with the introduction of SASL as a subject at the Free State University (Akach and Naudé 2008). In 2000, both the University of the Witwatersrand and the ML Sultan Technikon (now Durban University of Technology) introduced SASL courses and the North-West University began offering SASL classes at the start of the 2011 academic year. At the school level, at the present time, SASL is still not a recognised matric subject, and although taught informally at some schools for the Deaf, it is largely unregulated. However, work began in August 2011 on the writing of an SASL curriculum for SASL Home Language as a subject in schools from Grade R – Grade 12 (personal correspondence: Ms A.C. Swananck). Once this curriculum is approved and implemented it will represent the first time that Deaf people in South Africa will be able to study their own language at school level.

It can be inferred then, that without sufficient training in a signed language, many of the interpreters who helped the Deaf through voluntary services were children of Deaf adults (CODAs), family members or teachers who had learnt enough sign language to relay messages. This was confirmed by Frederick Shreiber, the executive director of the National Association of the Deaf (NAD) in America, in 1964 at the Workshop on Interpreting for the Deaf, at the Ball State Teacher College (in Stewart, Schein and Cartwright 1998: 15). He described how the use of children and teachers to interpret for the Deaf was inadequate as they did not understand the manner in which an interpreter functions but also because they were being taken advantage of as voluntary assistants. He suggested that only when

the interpreters are acknowledged for the professional work they do and are paid accordingly would there be any hope of establishing standards on which to base the profession (Stewart, Schein and Cartwright 1998: 15).

Perhaps one of the most significant moves in the professionalisation of signed language interpreting internationally was the establishment of the World Association of Sign Language Interpreters (WASLI) in July 2003 (World Association of Sign Language Interpreters 2010). The idea of establishing an international organisation was first mooted in 1975 at the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) congress in Washington, D.C. but only twenty years later were two interpreters selected to develop statutes on which to base an international association. In 1999, interpreters met during the WFD congress in Brisbane, Australia and set up a working group whose responsibility it was to expand the statutes into a draft governing document, share the information about the association as widely as possible, garner support from national interpreter associations and prepare for a further meeting at the next WFD congress (World Association of Sign Language Interpreters 2010).

Thus it was in 2003, at the WFD congress in Montreal, Canada, that sixty interpreters, representing twenty nations, met with the WFD General secretary to establish WASLI. At that meeting, South Africa offered to host the inaugural conference of the new association. This conference took place in Worcester, South Africa and was attended by 220 delegates from forty countries. The first board was elected and the governing documents were adopted. In 2007, WASLI met in Segovia, Spain for the second conference and during this conference the need to expand the work of WASLI into areas such as Africa, South America and the Balkans was highlighted. WASLI returned to South Africa ahead of the WFD Congress in Durban in July 2011 (World Association of Sign Language Interpreters 2010).

According to the WASLI governing document (World Association of Sign Language Interpreters 2005), the aim of the association is to advance the profession of sign language interpreting worldwide. Supported by a number of objectives and activities, WASLI endeavours to create an international network of information and best practice in the field and develop interpreters by supporting the establishment and sustainability of national sign language interpreter associations. So although the professionalisation of signed

language interpreting is a fairly recent phenomenon, much has happened to create international awareness in the field in a short space of time.

Perhaps part of the reason for the relatively slow recognition and professionalisation of signed language interpreting is that it often happens in “less glamorous” settings. Research has shown that signed language interpreting is undertaken in both the conference and liaison settings but that there is predominance of liaison interpreting over conference interpreting (cf Cokely 1981; Napier & Barker 2003).

2.2.3 Educational interpreting

Interpreting in the post-secondary education setting, especially for Deaf students, has grown over the last few decades, as more and more Deaf students gain access to higher education institutions once completing school. Internationally, this was brought about by legislation that ‘guaranteed’ that deaf children who use sign language as their primary language would be provided with interpreters in local schools and postsecondary institutions of learning (Marschark, et al. 2005a:38). This is reiterated by Napier (2010:69), who explains that the ‘mainstreaming’ of deaf students and the increase in numbers of deaf students accessing postsecondary education, is a consequence of various pieces of legislation which seek to eliminate discrimination against disabled persons.

In South Africa, similar legislation exists although the extent to which deaf students access higher education is far lower. South Africa is well known for its promotion of multilingualism and the result is that in higher education specifically, institutions have sought ways to provide greater access through the provision of spoken-language interpreters (See Chapter 3.3 for more detail).

Despite the seemingly enabling intention of the policies which ensure interpreter provision for Deaf students in mainstream education settings, several authors have questioned whether this is indeed the most suitable method by which to educate Deaf learners. Harrington (2001:74) describes the effect that the mainstreaming phenomenon had in the United Kingdom. He mentions that several projects were initiated to provide for the needs

of Deaf students such as creating awareness among staff and hearing students of the needs of the Deaf students, purchasing the necessary mechanical equipment and ensuring that all the needs of the students are provided for, such as providing sign language interpreters. He, however, highlights that at no time was research undertaken to investigate whether the provision of the various forms of assistance was achieving its desired outcome – the understanding of the educational message by Deaf students. Winston (2004) highlights that interpreters may in fact have a negative impact on the Deaf student not only because of the social challenges as a result of mainstreaming, but also educationally because of a lack of direct teaching, lack of opportunity to participate due to lag time and teaching styles which do not accommodate the student's visual learning needs.

Harrington's (2001) concern was also raised by Marschark et al. (2005a:39) who highlight that the provision of interpreters is based on the unproven assumption that educating Deaf learners alongside their hearing peers is as appropriate or better for their educational development than being educated in special education settings, such as schools for the Deaf. This concern is given support by the research findings of Johnson (1991) who found that the teaching pedagogy for hearing students resulted in miscommunication when interpreted for Deaf students. This relates specifically to the different "cultural norms for accessing and expressing information" (Johnson 1991:25). Marschark et al (2005b:74) state that there is "convincing evidence" that Deaf students do not comprehend as much as their hearing peers in class. They suggest a number of possible reasons for this including poor language skills, different information processing strategies, different backgrounds and the effects of direct instruction vs mediated instruction. Ultimately, they put forward that without adjustments to the way in which content is presented by the teacher and without interpreters understanding the various factors that impact the learning of Deaf students, success rates among Deaf students in mainstream settings are likely to remain low (Marschark et al 2005b:76).

These findings are supported by Monikowski (2004:56) who highlights the difficulties experienced by Deaf children in mainstream classrooms with an interpreter in relation to their delayed language acquisition. She highlights that language is learnt through natural

and spontaneous interactions and that the interpreted classroom interaction (mediated instruction) does not provide this type of language use. She therefore concludes that until such time as changes occur in the education of Deaf children and until interpreters are more fully qualified to understand the language acquisition and education processes, Deaf children's reading levels will remain low. This reality is likely to be the reason that Lawson (2010) emphasises that one of the roles of a sign language interpreter in the K-12¹ educational setting, is that of a language role model. This is because for many of these children, the interpreter may be the only fluent sign language user they will interact with. In South Africa, although most Deaf children will attend school in a school for the Deaf, the vast majority of teachers in the schools are not fluent SASL users (Parkin 2009). Thus Deaf learners in schools for the Deaf in South Africa are also experiencing less than adequate language models. All the aforementioned studies clearly show that the effectiveness of provision of education for Deaf students via an interpreter needs closer examination to avoid continued challenges for these students..

Napier (2010:70) points out that much of the existing research on educational interpreting concerns the roles and responsibilities of the educational interpreter and that the effectiveness of the use of interpreters to achieve equal education for Deaf students has not been adequately researched. However, even among the studies which have reviewed the roles of the educational interpreter, it can be seen that there is no uniform definition of what the responsibilities include. Among others, she highlights the research done by Jones, Clark and Soltz (1997), which showed that K-12 educational interpreters in three states in the USA had varying responsibilities to fulfill as part of their job. These responsibilities included both interpreting and non-interpreting related duties and the extent to which the non-interpreting related duties were exercised varied across the three states. Metzger and Fleetwood (2004:171) argue that there is an urgent need to begin to develop more uniform standards of practice for educational interpreters to ensure effective service provision. Further, they contend that without clear standards, there can be no accountability. Controversially, Marschark et al (2005b:75) go so far as to suggest that the differentiation of the interpreting role and other roles (such as tutoring if the

¹ K-12 setting in America is roughly equivalent to the 13 years of schooling in South Africa from Grade R to Grade 12.

interpreter is knowledgeable in the subject content) in the educational setting may actually be “less of a service to deaf individuals”.

In the K-12 setting, the effects that this unclear role has on the interpreters and the potential harm it can cause is highlighted by Langer (2004). Her research into the perspectives of educational interpreters showed that 84 percent of those interviewed felt that when teachers do not understand the interpreter’s role clearly, the interpreter is negatively affected. However, the interpreters in that study also stated that they felt it was their responsibility to clearly outline their role to the teachers at the beginning of the year to avoid later confusion. Some of the interpreters also expressed a desire that national interpreter organisations would work on ensuring greater consistency in the standards and role definitions of educational interpreters.

In a study by Kurz and Langer (2004:18) which gained the perspectives of Deaf persons who had used interpreters during their education, it was found that younger students in elementary school, saw the interpreters as teaching assistants and tutors, whilst the more senior students felt more strongly that the interpreter should do nothing more than interpret. However, they also found that even in the senior years, there was still a fair amount of disagreement about other issues related to the interpreter’s role such as befriending the students. Deaf students also felt that interpreters should not be disciplinarians, should interpret everything in class (even informal chatter), should not do things on behalf of the students, should ensure an accurate and representative sign to spoken language interpretation and should not step into the role of the teacher. These perspectives of the Deaf students are valuable when formulating educational interpreter programmes which accurately address the needs of the primary consumer of the service.

At the postsecondary education level, it would appear that the role of the interpreter is assumed to be a little more clear-cut. Napier (2010:74) highlights the research of Leeson and Foley-Cave (2007), who liken university interpreting to conference interpreting due to the more formal register and generally unidirectional discourse. She also draws attention to the fact that as far back as 1975, Sutcliffe was already suggesting that in university and conference settings, the same translation style should be applied. However, it should be

noted that not all postsecondary education settings, specifically in South Africa, have the same type of discourse. Whilst the observations during data collection certainly seemed to support the theory that university lectures are generally more monologic, the classes at the FET college and within the school of education in a university tended to include a lot more dialogic discourse.

Further research by Napier (2002:293) has shown that in the university setting, interpreters may select either a more literal or more free interpreting style. She advocates for explicit instruction on the theory surrounding these interpreting styles for interpreting students as she suggests that switching between the two styles is an appropriate linguistic strategy within the university discourse process. This knowledge, she believes, will empower the interpreter to adopt an “interactive model” of interpreting (Napier 2002:295).

A significant element concerning the suitability of interpreted education for Deaf learners which has received some attention in research to date, is the area of interpreter qualifications and the effect that this may have on the service provided by the interpreter. Jones (2004:120) highlights the very low number of interpreters in the K-12 setting who hold a degree of any sort and half have no sign language interpreter certification. Additionally, the study showed that more than half the interpreters were also not evaluated for competency before being hired and were given no training in-service. As a result, Jones (2004) argues that it is unthinkable that society holds high expectations for Deaf learners yet have no (or minimal) expectations concerning the interpreters who provide the Deaf students with access to education. It is for this reason that he recommends that specific targeted training and assessment be offered to K-12 interpreters, as this is a specialised field of interpreting. This belief is also held by several other sign language interpreting researchers. Napier (2010:72) summarises these findings and indicates that research has questioned whether in fact, interpreted education for children is suitable at all. The reason for this is that the children’s access to language is limited when using interpreters, their cognitive development may be stifled and ultimately the deaf learner is likely to be left behind. Part of the reason that Schick, Williams and Kupermintz (2006:17) surmised that Deaf students were left behind compared to their

hearing peers, was that the interpreters were underprepared to provide full access for the students to all aspects of the learning experience. Qualification, it seems, impacts on the extent to which an educational interpreter provides access to information for Deaf students in mainstream classroom settings.

The need for additional support for un- or under- qualified interpreters working in the American school system, especially in rural areas, was highlighted by Yarger (2001:25). She acknowledges the fact that many of these interpreters work in remote settings where there is no local college or university to engage in formal studies and proposes that there be state-paid residential workshops held regularly as well as tuition and support through remote-teaching methods. In this way the effectiveness of the interpreters work may increase.

In the United Kingdom, Harrington (2001b) discusses the qualification for 'communication support workers' (CSW), tracing its historical construction and highlights the unsuitability of the CSW to continue to work as an educational interpreter. The qualification itself lacks consistency in entrance requirements and signing skills at completion across various institutions, and the multiple roles assigned to a single CSW, Harrington (2001b:99) argues is no longer meeting the needs of the modern Deaf student.

Further, Davis (2005) describes the varied needs of Deaf learners in educational settings. He highlights the various preferred communication methods of Deaf learners and the fact that interpreter preparation programmes (IPP) neither provide specialist educational interpreting training, nor expose future interpreters to alternate communication methods such as manually coded English. He highlights the need for interpreter education to continue post IPP completion, through mentorships and more specialised training. An additional aspect of educational interpreter training that needs attention according to Schick (*in* Napier, 2010:73), is to ensure educational interpreters have a clearer understanding of the discourse of education. Schick terms this 'teacher speak' and this is a vital tool used by educators to control the classroom environment and ensure that teaching and learning takes place. She argues that if interpreters do not fully understand

this discourse, they are likely to exclude important elements of the educational message from the target message text.

Thus a clear understanding of the role of the educational interpreter at the various levels of education and the importance of ensuring interpreters are suitably qualified through specialised educational interpreter training programmes have been strongly argued for in existing research. However, the issue of whether interpreted education for Deaf learners is a suitable method remains an area which still requires further research.

2.3 Research in interpreting

Interpreting as an object of study has a relatively brief history. According to Pöchhacker (2004) the first attempts to record the history of interpreting were published in the mid 1950s. Since then, many other historical accounts of the interpreting profession have emerged that have expanded our understanding of the history of the profession. This historical perspective informs us of the origins of interpreting but do not provide any analysis into the actual task and process of interpreting.

Central to understanding how interpreting as an object of academic study has emerged, is the importance of tracing its professionalisation. Pöchhacker (2004) describes how interpreting moved from a service provided as a favour by bilinguals who happened to be available at the time, to a profession regulated by ethics and recognised as a specialist service. This process began in the late 1910s when the League of Nations employed a corps of interpreters who were responsible for all interpretation during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and thereafter. In 1931, Sanchez produced the first piece of scientific research on interpreters and interpreting, based on the setting of the League of Nations. Training schools for interpreters and translators in Europe began to be established from 1930 onwards, many specifically focussing on simultaneous interpreting which was put to the test during the Nuremburg Trials in 1945-6.

As a result of the introduction of interpreting studies at various universities and schools, and the large number of graduates who studied at the institutions, professional organisations for translators and interpreters began to be established from the 1950s

onward. One of the major organisations that was established during this time was the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC), which was founded in 1953. Members of the AIIC had to perform their duties according to a code of ethics and set of professional standards. The AIIC was instrumental in establishing a high profile for the interpreting profession internationally. However, the focus of research into practice of interpreters by the AIIC and others at that time focussed on the conference interpreter.

The field of liaison interpreting was largely ignored in the research and development of interpreters. It was a full 25 years after the establishment of AIIC that the Court Interpreters Act (1978) in America prompted the testing and certification of court interpreters and the subsequent establishment of related professional organisations. Thereafter, organisations were also established for the regulation of health-care interpreters. However, Pöchhacker (2004:30) emphasises that these examples were only prevalent in the United States, and that generally the approach to liaison interpreting development internationally lacked consistency and varied greatly depending on the individual countries and governments.

Interpreting as an object of academic study only emerged in the 1960s. Kade (*in* Pöchhacker 2004) established the conceptual and theoretical groundwork for the systematic study of interpreting and also offered a course to train conference interpreters at the University of Leipzig. Gelly Chernov (2002), a professional UN interpreter conducted research into the role of predictive understanding in simultaneous interpreting. Again, the focus was on conference interpreters. In France, a doctoral programme was established at the *École Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs* (ESIT) in Paris and as a result many doctoral dissertations on interpreting were produced. However, although research into liaison interpreting and sign language interpreting also began to emerge during the late 1970s, conference interpreting remained the dominant focus in the field of interpreting studies and there was little interaction between researchers in the different fields until the late 1980s. It was then that a student at ESIT wrote his doctoral thesis on French Sign Language interpreting, and a course in this topic was offered at ESIT. This was the beginning of several collaborations between the French conference interpreting community and the signed language interpreting community (Pöchhacker 2004).

Liaison interpreting began to gather more attention in the late 1980s when research into court interpreting began to grow, especially in the United States and Canada, and to a lesser extent in Europe. In the UK, leading organisations of linguists and interpreters made concerted efforts to build the profession of liaison interpreting and began to publish related works. However, many of these contributions were made by interpreters themselves and were not always as a result of academic enquiry. Further research into liaison interpreting was done which focussed on the performance of untrained, natural interpreters in various settings. Some examples of the research undertaken in this area include Kouraogo (*in* Mason 2001) who found that natural interpreters in Burkina Faso spontaneously chose to use a free interpreting style rather than a more literal word for word translation. He describes how interpreting into the national languages of the country is seen as less prestigious and outlines the reasons for lack of training in the field of liaison interpreting. Among the first research studies done on signed language interpreting was the work of Cynthia Roy. Her doctoral dissertation was completed in 1989 and was published as a book in 2000. Her research was ground-breaking as she was the first researcher to show that the interpreter is indeed a participant in the interpreted encounter. Her study showed that even though the participation of the interpreter is possibly more constrained than the primary interlocutors, there is none-the-less clear evidence that interpreter neutrality is a misnomer. Later, Wadensjö (2002) presented further work on liaison interpreting. Her paper describes the work of a liaison interpreter who worked in the immigration section at a police station in Sweden. She highlights the very unique and complex work of the liaison interpreter who is required to relay information and co-ordinate the turn-taking of the interlocutors as well as constantly evaluate the speech event to determine the other participants' footing in relation to one another and the interpreter.

It can be seen that interpreting as an object of academic investigation is a fairly recent construct and that liaison interpreting in particular is a field still ripe with opportunities for research enquiry. This is even more true for interpreting in South Africa, where there is a very limited number of studies in this area (Blaauw 2008, Bothma and Verhoef 2008, Du Plessis 2008, Erasmus 1999, Kotze 2010, Moeketsi 1999).

2.3.1 Discourse analysis and interpreting

Discourse as a linguistic area of study is not easily explained in a brief description. Roy (2000: 9) suggests that it would require a “complicated and lengthy explanation” to define the nature of discourse fully. She identifies four principles that are accepted as trademark characteristics of discourse analysis. These are the use of naturally occurring data, analysis of persistent patterns across verbal communication, researching the experiences of individual participants in a conversation and investigating how culture and social contexts influence what people say and how they say it. Because these broad features of communication are analysed in discourse analysis, Roy (2000:5) argues that it is a truly holistic way to study how human beings communicate in interaction.

She goes on to define discourse in a particular way that she used for the purposes of her study *viz.* the study of language that is actually uttered by people who are engaged in some form of social interaction in order to achieve a specific goal. In the present study, the goal that needs to be achieved is the understanding of academic content, and this understanding is facilitated by the introduction of a signed language interpreter into the discourse process.

Roy (2000) describes two main ways that discourse is studied. The first is viewing discourse as a structure, where the goal is to identify units of language that display specific patterns and relationships and to describe these units. The second way is to view discourse as a process, where the goal is to identify how language is used to achieve specific communicative goals. The present study focuses on the process of the interpreted lecture, in an attempt to begin to identify specific roles that the interpreter may assume in order to ensure that the communicative goal of an academic lecture is achieved.

It is now widely accepted that an interpreted communicative event presents a very specific type of discourse process. Metzger (2005:100) highlights some of the research in this area that has shown that the interpreter is not a neutral, unobtrusive conduit within the interpreted conversation, but in fact an active third participant in the event. Research has shown that the interpreter in a conversation manages the turn-taking processes directly (Roy and Sanheim *in* Metzger 2005:100). Further, Wadensjö (*in* Metzger 2005:100) makes

the point that central tasks of the spoken language interpreter include relaying and coordinating and Metzger (2005) finds that interpreters create their own turns in conversations, and these self-generated turns provide evidence of turn management and coordinating roles.

Since the interpreter in the interactions described above is the only party who understands both languages being used by the primary participants, it stands to reason that she would be the only one who can sustain the conversation effectively by managing the interaction and effecting repairs if required. Scholars in the field of interactional sociolinguistics provide us with a good framework in which to understand this management of interaction. Gumperz (*in* Roy 2000:13) notes that when engaged in conversation, the participants are actively involved in the process of inferring meaning from what the other participant says and how it is said. This is done through contextualisation cues which enable the listener to understand the content of the message with specific reference to social expectations and knowledge of the speaker. Gumperz' research finds that in cross-cultural interactions these cues often fail, and misunderstanding of the message frequently occurs.

A further study by Deborah Tannen (*in* Roy 2000:16) shows that conversation is likely to flow more smoothly if the participants in the conversation share a "conversational style". A conversational style is the way in which a person signals meaning in a conversation, and when there is a mutual understanding of these patterns, conversation is likely to be more successful. The implication of this and Gumperz' research for studying interpreted discourse is that, if the interpreter and the participants do not share a conversational style or contextualisation cues, there may be an associated lack of understanding of the speaker's intentions and therefore an inaccurate interpretation of the message.

From the above studies, it can be seen that the interpreter is an active participant in the interpreted encounter. Metzger (2005:101) once again emphasises her previous work on the importance of understanding the effects of an interpreter on interactive discourse so that interpreter education programmes can effectively prepare interpreting students for the reality they will face when working as liaison interpreters. It is for this reason that the present study wishes to identify what educational interpreters in South African post-secondary education settings do in practice as it is only once we identify the unique

situation of this context, in this country, that we can begin to better prepare future educational interpreters for the task at hand.

Thus it can be seen that there is a crucial link between interactional sociolinguistic studies and the field of interpreting studies. Some of the studies which have been central in informing a more holistic understanding of the work interpreters do in managing the interaction between speakers include the work of Hatim and Mason (1997) on translating as communication, Seligson's 1990 study of court interpreting, Wadensjö's discussions of the interpreter as an engaged actor and Metzger's 1995 dissertation on interpreter-generated utterances (all in Roy 2000). Each of these studies will now be briefly described.

In their book entitled "*The Translator as Communicator*", Hatim and Mason (1997) propose that focussing on the differences that exist between the myriad of categories of translation that have been suggested over the years, is not helpful in the training of interpreting students. Their book focusses on the many similarities that exist across fields and modes of translating when the act of translation is seen as a particular act of communication. The goal of the act is to "attempt to relay, across cultural and linguistic boundaries, another act of communication" (Hatim and Mason 1997:1).

In a detailed study of one particular context in which such communication acts are frequently found, Seligson (in Roy 2000) published a pioneering study which describes hundreds of hours of court interpreting. Despite the widely expected norm of verbatim renditions of the source language message by interpreters in courts, Seligson found that in fact court interpreters are active participants in courtroom dialogue. She also describes court interpreters as "intrusive elements" (in Roy 2000:29) in court proceedings and illustrates the many ways that they step out of the generally accepted neutral role. Moeketsi's (1999) pioneering work on court interpreting in South Africa confirms this view.

However, the courtroom is not the only context in which such shifts from the source text are noted. In her 1995 PhD dissertation, Metzger (in Roy 2000:33) also found that a key manner in which a liaison interpreter manages the flow of a conversation is by generating her own utterances from time to time. Her study showed that in a medical setting, approximately 8 percent of the interpreter's utterances were self-generated. Whilst she supports the research of others who acknowledge that the interpreter does influence the

discourse patterns, she also emphasises the fact that the interpreter is far more constrained in her participation than the primary interlocutors.

The nature of this constrained participation was investigated further by Wadensjö (1998). Following on from her earlier work where she described the various ways in which an interpreter relays information and co-ordinates talk during an interpreted encounter, she published the book, *"Interpreting as Interaction"* (Wadensjö 1998). This was the first full length work to extensively describe the interpreter as an engaged actor within an interpreted discourse event. In it, she suggests that the work of the interpreter is not only about the translation of the message but equally about co-ordinating the talk and managing the discourse process that unfolds. Her work also provided a new perspective on the role of listening in interaction which had previously not been discussed. Thus the work of Roy (1989 and 2002) and Wadensjö (1998) has formed much of the basis on which the modern understanding of the work of interpreters has been built.

2.3.2 Norms in interpreting

Norms have been defined as "the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations..." (Toury 1995). Thus if we are to consider what role(s) an educational interpreter fulfils, we first need to make an assessment of the generally understood form of acceptable behaviour assumed by members of the interpreting community. Toury (1995) was among the first to apply the notion of 'norms' to the field of translation and he considers these norms to be of central importance in studies of social activities. The reason for this is, he posits, that it is imperative that any translational activity must be understood as having cultural significance.

This notion that translational activities and the norms that govern them cannot be divorced from the social, cultural and historical context in which they occur is echoed by Schäffner (1998:7). She does however, suggest that the study of norms in translation raises more questions than answers and that further research into the norms adopted in particular contexts at particular times will be necessary to begin to get a clearer picture of how norms, or even *whether* norms, play a role in translational activities.

For the purpose of this study, it is assumed that interpreting, as a translational activity, is indeed regulated to some degree by a common understanding among interpreters of what is adequate or inadequate in the fulfilment of the role. It is these norms that allow members of the interpreting community to analyse their practice and consider what 'best practice' for an interpreter would involve. Chesterman (1993) proposes that there are two broad sets of norms that translators are guided by in practice: professional norms and expectancy norms.

Professional norms (also called production norms) are those that concern the process of interpreting. They include the do's and don'ts and are sometimes validated by norm authorities but also by the actual practice of interpreting through the identification of standard- and norm-setting behaviours in professional practitioners. These professional norms explain the translator's tendency to take account of the expectancy norms.

Expectancy norms (also called product norms) are those which focus on the end-product. The form of the end-product is based on the expectations of the client and as such can only be validated by the applicability of the product in a specific context and communicative situation. The expectancy norms are therefore of a higher order than the professional norms, as the professional norms will be shaped by the interpreter according to the clients' expectations.

This distinction of norms may be significant in the field of educational interpreting as it points toward the notion that the interpreter should consult with the Deaf students and faculty members to understand their expectations in terms of ensuring access to lectures through an interpreter and then adjust the production norms accordingly.

The importance of norms in the liaison interpreting setting is highlighted by Buendia (2010) who foregrounds the potential demise of community interpreting as a profession if specific interpreting norms for this type of interpreting are not established. She suggests that without those norms, professionalism among interpreters is not guaranteed and without professionalism, the existence of the discipline as a whole is under threat. Her suggestion is that in countries where there is not yet an existing norm authority, another authority should be allowed to validate the norms of the profession. She suggests that universities fill this gap through a holistic interpreter education and support programme.

Recognising the need to understand the norms of interpreting, several researchers have begun to try and identify the norms that are prevalent in the practice of interpreters. Shlesinger (*in* Marzocchi 2005) was among the first to explicitly apply the concept of translational norms to interpreting. Whilst she argues that the concept of norms could theoretically be neatly applied to interpreting studies, she also questions whether interpreters base their practice on norms or whether it has more to do with the personal preferences of interpreters or the cognitive limitations presented by the task at hand. Her argument for this is based on the fact that the profession is characterised by a vast, dispersed number of individuals and that the socialisation processes that are necessary to establish norms are unlikely to occur as a result. This is certainly true of the SASL interpreting community as described above. However, Shlesinger (*in* Marzocchi 2005) finally concedes that with the establishment of more formalised training for interpreters, the social process which leads to the establishment of norms will result in a more uniform transmission of these norms to interpreters in the future. Marzocchi (2005) highlights another important aspect of Shlesinger's contribution to understanding norms research in interpreting studies – the need to contextualise the research within a very specific interpreting setting. This once again reinforces Toury's (1995) definition of translational norms as being “applicable to particular situations” and Schäffner's description of translation as a “norm-governed behaviour in a social, cultural, and historical situation...” (Schäffner 1998:7). It can then be assumed that the norms of one interpreting context may not always be the same as those of another context. However, this assumption has not prevented some researchers from proposing that there are some norms which are fundamental to all interpreting work, irrespective of the social or cultural context in which they occur.

Perhaps the most outspoken of these researchers is Harris (*in* Marzocchi 2005:89) who proposes that the fundamental norm of all translational activity is to “act as an honest spokesperson”. He then also mentions a number of other norms which could be considered as accepted behaviour among interpreters. These include:

- Speaking in the first person vs. reporting speech
- Conventional fictions (e.g.: 30min turns) for conference interpreting

- Consistency with source speaker (e.g.: voice, gender, prosodic features) for TV interpreting
- Interpreting into your mother tongue
- Acceptability of production errors in interpreted messages but not in translated texts.

The argument for these norms presented by Harris is, however, questioned by Marzocchi (2005) as he notes that there is no clear distinction between these so-called 'norms' and mere habitual behaviour. The crux of the argument is that in order for a certain identified behaviour to be considered a norm, it must be socially sanctioned. Despite his suggestion that a fundamental norm exists, Harris himself noted that the norms will not be the same everywhere – once again displaying an acknowledgment of the importance of the context in determining the relevant norms for a particular interpreting assignment. This is true also in the educational setting where interpreters may choose different translation styles in response to the particular setting and the information that is required by the students.

Whilst trying to identify norms that are particularly relevant to simultaneous interpreters, Shlesinger (1999) notes that the simultaneous mode presents unique challenges to researchers. She highlights the difficulty in deciding whether a particular behaviour observed in the interpreter is as a result of cognitive demand which is very high in SI or whether it is as a result of a particular norm-based decision taken by the interpreter. Whilst acknowledging the complexity of the task of identifying norms in SI, Shlesinger none-the-less concludes that interpreters abide by a *condensation norm*. Also known as *compression norm*, this behaviour results when the interpreter does not interpret every element of every part of the source text faithfully, but rather produces the underlying meaning of the source text message in fewer words in the target text output. This norm is seen as appropriate for SI as a means by which the interpreter can convey the full meaning of the source-text message without replicating every element of that message. It can thus be assumed that such compression of the source text will not indicate a change in the interpreter's role but should be seen as a part of the fulfillment of the role. However, it should be noted that the extent to which this norm is acceptable in the educational context has not been established. It could be argued that such a norm may result in

important elements of academic content being omitted in favour of broad, general understanding if not used correctly.

Similarly, Marzocchi (2005) and Duflou (2007) both acknowledge that norms are never absolute. Even the widely accepted norm of condensation seems to conflict with another widely accepted translational norm of “true fidelity” or “interpret everything”. In the court system for example, Shlesinger (*in* Marzocchi 2005) notes that the expectancy norm of the court for verbatim rendition may well clash with the interpreter’s own performance norms regarding what she believes she ought to be doing in the process of interpreting. It could be argued that this is also true for the educational setting where it may be assumed that the information uttered by the lecturer or by other interlocutors in more dialogic situations, is an important part of the pedagogy used to ensure learning. Any decision therefore to not adhere to the “true fidelity” norm, may result in less-than-ideal access to information for the Deaf students.

The significance of this is once again that the extent to which a particular norm can be regarded as fitting depends on the context in which the interpretation is occurring. Thus the norm of verbatim interpretation is an expectation in settings such as judicial hearings whereas the condensation norm is expected in settings such as conferences (Marzocchi 2005). Marzocchi suggests that the reason for this is because of the close link between norms and ethics, and that this link is the “wider significance of the notion of norms” (Marzocchi 2005:96). A further link that he suggests is the link between norms and institutions, as very often the expectancy norms are shaped by institutions such as courts, interpreter associations and perhaps even educational institutions. It can be assumed, that since norms vary as much as they do from one setting to another, they may even vary from one institution of one type (e.g.: education) to another (eg: university to FET college).

This variation presents the researcher with a great many contextual factors which need to be taken into account when suggesting norms that apply to interpreter behaviour. One way to frame this contextual background is by using Toury’s (1995) suggested types of norms. He suggests the following three norms which need to be considered in each described interpreting encounter.

Preliminary norms - those norms which guide behaviour in terms of choice of source text and language, use of an intermediary language in translation, translating (interpreting) into your B language etc. “Translation Policy”

Initial norms - those norms which direct the translator to a broad orientation towards the translation task at hand. Orientation either towards *adequacy* (ST focus) or *acceptability* (TT focus)

Operational norms - those norms which assist the interpreter in making decisions about the manner in which to translate whilst on task.

Figure 2: Toury's (1995) types of translational norms

Considering these suggested categories of norms, in order to understand the operational norms which interpreters display in the course of their work, it is first necessary to understand the preliminary and initial norms under which the interpreter works. Thus when seeking to understand the particular behaviour of an interpreter it is necessary to understand the institutional policies and goals to be achieved by the interpretation, before one can declare a certain behaviour pattern, an operational norm.

Another norm in simultaneous interpreting, which seems to be widely accepted, is that of the use of ‘chunking’. This term was first used in interpreting research by Katan (1999). He elaborates between ‘chunking up’ and ‘chunking down’. ‘Chunking down’ is a tool used by an interpreter to ensure meaning is clear even if there is no equivalent word (or the word is not known by the interpreter) in the target text language. By chunking down she re-expresses the generic term from the source text as more specific terms in the target text, as highlighted in the example in Chapter 1. Conversely, ‘chunking up’ occurs when the interpreter uses a more general term in the target text than the specific one used by the source speaker, for example using the word “politician” rather than “member of parliament”. Again, the extent to which this norm is acceptable within the education setting has not been established and it is necessary to investigate under which circumstances it may be regarded as a generally accepted performance instruction in this specific setting.

Interpreting norms can thus be defined as an expression of best practice, sanctioned by interpreters in collaboration with other role-players in the interpreting setting. These

norms are likely to vary from one interpreting setting to another and have a strong link to any Codes of Ethics which may be applicable. Interpreting norms thus guide the behaviour of the interpreter and assist her in making ethical decisions whilst interpreting. Since these norms guide the interpreter towards certain behaviour and away from other behaviours, it strongly influences the role of the interpreter in each setting.

2.3.3 The roles of the interpreter

For many years, interpreting has been defined as merely the transfer of a message in one language to another language using speech or sign. Over the years, many metaphors have been suggested to illustrate the work of an interpreter. Roy (2000) highlights some of these metaphors. They include a telephone, bridge and machine, and all of them emphasise the idea that the interpreter is merely the bilingual person in the middle that conveys a message. This notion of the role of the interpreter as a message conduit is still very prevalent in professional interpreting circles, as can be seen in the Codes of Ethics that are adopted by various professional organisations around the world. These Codes hold high the principles of neutrality, faithfulness to the message, accuracy and confidentiality. They are also intended to be broad to cover interpreting in various settings and modes, and therefore do not take into the more recent research which has shown an expanded understanding on the interpreter's role.

However, as Roy (2000:101) points out, these ethics have mainly been concerned with interpreting in a "public and monologic contexts". Thus, they have been developed by researchers and interpreting practitioners who work in contexts such as conferences where there is usually one person speaking at a time and the audience is largely unresponsive. The interpreter is also often given the necessary materials to prepare for the assignment. In such a situation, the interpreter behaves more like a 'conduit' than in a liaison interpreting context. However, recent research into the role of the conference interpreter (Diriker 2004) shows that even conference interpreters cannot really describe themselves as conduits.

Janzen and Korpiniski (2005) provide an outline of how signed language interpreting has moved from being a task done to be helpful to being considered as a profession. They

outline the phases through which the profession progressed. In this study it is important to examine this international history and attempt to identify where South African Sign Language interpreters are in this process, as this will impact directly on the specific circumstances under which the interpreters in SA work. As long as there have been Deaf people, we may assume that there would have been those who interpreted for them. Initially these interpreters would have been seen as *helpers* and were likely to be family members of the Deaf person or teachers or members of a religious affiliation who could sign. It is likely that these interpreters did the work for altruistic purposes and were not remunerated for the work done.

In the 1960s in the United States, research on ASL linguistics began and signed languages were recognised as complete, unique languages which are of equal value to spoken languages. As a result of this, the Deaf community began to develop an intense pride which resulted in a rejection of the paternalistic help they were often shown and as a result, the interpreter was now seen as a neutral professional who “just interpreted”. The *conduit model* was thus born and along with it came Codes of Ethics to govern practice (Janzen & Korpinski 2005:168).

However, the idea that the interpreter is merely a conduit did not take into account that when two interlocutors use different languages, they also come from different cultural backgrounds, as culture is strongly linked to language. With a purely neutral transfer of messages, the signed interpretation became rather like a transliteration and meaning was not always clear. As a result, interpreters began to be viewed as *cultural mediators*. They thus understood the position of each of the interlocutors in relation to one another and maintained that footing. The idea of the interpreter as cultural mediator can however be refuted since in some instances interpreters have insufficient knowledge about culture, about Deaf culture specifically and little understanding about how communication between cultures works. Napier (2003:101) and Kalina (2000) however, highlight the central importance of understanding both the language *and* the culture of both interlocutors in order for the interpretation to be effective. So the understanding of intercultural communication seems then to be an important concept when considering the

role of the interpreter and should form an integral part of interpreter training programmes.

Later, the cultural mediator role of the interpreter was seen as disadvantaging the Deaf interlocutor. This was because the interpreter was still central in the communication process and was responsible for maintaining the unequal footing between the hearing and Deaf conversation participants. Interpreters therefore began to be seen as *allies* of the Deaf. As an ally, an interpreter is aware of the power imbalance in the conversation and she can provide information to the Deaf person on how to proceed with the conversation in order to allow the client to act in a more empowered way. Baker-Shenk (1992) explains that the signed language interpreter now no longer worked *for* the Deaf community but *with* them, as members of a team who pursued common goals.

In line with the changing understanding of the role of the interpreter, Goffman (1981), as mentioned briefly in Chapter 1, proposes a specific participation framework that exists in interpreted encounters. Central to his proposition is the concept of 'footing' – a term used to describe the relationship that exists between speakers, or speakers and interpreters in the case of an interpreted encounter. Goffman (1981:227) defines 'footing' as "the alignment of an individual to a particular utterance, whether involving a production format, as in the case of the speaker, or solely a participation status, as in the case of the hearer." Thus, during any speech event where there are two or more speakers, the participants adopt different and changing roles in relation to one another and the message. He suggests (Goffman 1981:144) that there are essentially three roles that interlocutors can adopt during talk. The first role is that of the 'principal'. When assuming this role the speaker accepts responsibility for what is said, shows commitment to it and her position has been made clear through the spoken words. Second, the role of 'author' – the role assumed when formulating talk and making choices about the words to use. Third is the role of 'animator' – the role during which the person actually utters the words.

It can be argued that these roles are all the roles of a speaker and that there is no need to differentiate them. However, when we consider the interpreted encounter, the differentiation of roles is essential to understand what it is that the interpreter does. Thus,

the first speaker in an interpreted encounter utters a statement. She is the author of the words, the animator of the utterance and the principal of the ideas expressed who takes responsibility for what has been said. The interpreter then interprets the message. The interpreter is not the principal as she is not responsible for what was said (the ideas expressed); she merely conveys the thoughts of the first speaker in another language. She may thus be considered the author of the interpreted utterance as she chose the words in the target language to express the thoughts of the first speaker. She may thus take responsibility for the accuracy of her interpretation but she cannot be held accountable for the sentiment or content of the message. As she actually produces the target text utterance she is also considered an animator in the conversation. However, it can be expected that there will be times when the interpreter is addressed directly, is corrected by a second bilingual in the encounter or self-corrects, and in these cases the interpreter will assume the roles of principal and author as well as animator (Goffman 1981).

Similarly, the roles of the listener can too be differentiated, depending on what the listener is listening for. These roles were classified by Wadensjö (1998) as the 'responder', 'recapitulator' and the 'reporter'. Again, in a single interpreted encounter, the role of the interpreter as listener is likely to fluctuate, and thus also her footing in respect of the other interlocutors. As a 'responder' the interpreter will listen with an expectation to respond as the 'principal' or primary respondent. This would occur if for example, a student asks the interpreter a question related to the content of a lecture and the interpreter responds saying "Please address your questions to the lecturer directly". As a 'recapitulator' the interpreter actively listens to the source message in order to give an account of what was said as the author. For example, if the lecturer addresses the interpreter and says "Has he understood the work?" the interpreter would recapitulate the message to the student as "Have you understood the work?" Finally, as the 'reporter', the interpreter would act by repeating the source language message verbatim in the target language, without accepting responsibility for the words. It may be argued that in some contexts an interpreter should be listening as a reporter in order to provide a neutral interpretation of the source text. However, Mikkelsen (1999) argues that interpreters should not listen as reporters since interpretation requires recapitulation in order to account for the context and audience of the target message. There may also be times when the interpreter listens as a responder

when there is a change in footing, for example, if she is directly addressed or requests clarification from one of the primary interlocutors.

Considering the complexity that change of footing then presents to the interpreted encounter, one may ask whether a standard definition of the interpreter's role is possible. In the Oxford Online Dictionary, a role is defined as "the function assumed or part played by a person or thing in a particular situation" (Oxford University Press 2010). Thus a role is not fixed but changes according to the specific circumstances in which the person finds herself. This is particularly pertinent for the liaison interpreter, who may find herself in a different situation for each interpreting assignment. From this definition we can also see the link between norms and role and the fact that neither can be fully understood apart from the context in which they occur.

This notion of variation in roles is echoed by Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006) who draw attention to the fact that every person fulfils several roles in their life. These roles can vary depending on the social setting, your profession or the situation you find yourself in. Further, they put forward that whilst interpreters rely on professional ethics to guide their decisions, there are likely to be times where moral decisions need to be taken which go beyond the professional code. They cite examples such as if a person is likely to suffer harm or if there is criminal activity involved. In such situations, they state that the interpreter has an ethical responsibility as a human being, above that of an interpreter, to inform a suitable person.

Anderson (2002) was among the first to consider the unclear role that interpreters fulfil in the course of their duties. He highlights the value of researching the role of the interpreter in various settings, and he agrees with Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006) that translation (interpretation) occurs within a specific social setting and that the setting and context in which the interpretation takes place is likely to influence the role of the interpreter. He also states that the importance of research into this area cannot be underestimated because the role assumed by the interpreter is "likely to exert considerable influence on the ... outcome of the interaction" (Anderson 2002:209).

Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006) go on to state that every role that a person fulfils has two aspects to it: firstly, the *function* (tasks and responsibilities) of the person assuming the role and secondly, the *relationship* of the person assuming the role to others within the context. This relationship with others is expressed through language and behaviour. This portrayal of role was first proposed by Goffman (1981) who stipulates that every day, people *perform* i.e. every person enacts different aspects of self. These two aspects can be combined in different ways depending on the role of the person. For example, it would be quite appropriate for a doctor, whose responsibility it is to look after the wellbeing of his patients, to walk into a hospital room and ask a patient about their physical well-being and to touch the patient's body. However, if the patient's accountant came into the room and displayed the same behaviour, it would be considered inappropriate as his function and behaviour do not match his role.

Thus the fulfilment of a role is dependant upon a shared understanding of the role by all parties and is guided by the expectancy norms (Chesterman 1993). If there is any misunderstanding of the roles, it is likely that there will be clashes between the various participants. That is why many professionals are bound to perform their duties according to a sworn Code of Ethics. This code clarifies what the role of the professional is in relation to their clients and ensures that both the professional and the client are protected in dealings with one another. Anderson (2002) draws attention to the view that, as the person "in the middle", the interpreter has obligations to both clients whom he serves. At times, these obligations may not be compatible and the result is role conflict. He argues that the role of the interpreter is always partially undefined and that prescriptions of role are inadequate.

So, at times a professional may find that there is conflict between two expected behaviours in a particular context. An example would be a paramedic responding to an accident scene. Upon arrival at the scene, it becomes clear that the injured person is a family member. The paramedic now has to separate the role of the family member, which requires him to be highly upset and worried, and the role of the medical professional who needs to, in a clear and objective way, deal with the patient before him. In this situation, Napier, McKee and Goswell (2006:62) contend that *role tension* arises because of the

overlapping of two of the roles that the person assumes in daily life. The same tension is likely to arise in liaison interpreting situations. This tension may be caused by the fact that not all parties share an understanding of what the interpreter's role is. Whilst some may view the interpreter as a bilingual professional who interprets spoken messages accurately, others may assume the role includes being an advocate, a friend, a cultural expert and / or a provider of information.

This feeling of not quite knowing if what you do is the "right" thing, was echoed by Roy (*in* Mason 1999:150) when she stated that liaison interpreters do not have a "problem with ethics, they have a problem with the role." This is because of the disparity between the ever present notion of the interpreter as a conduit, and the reality faced by liaison interpreters in their daily work. This reality is described by Mason (1999) as one where meaning is subject to constant negotiation. Literal (verbatim) translation of the source message often leads to misunderstanding by the target language user but if interpreters "interpret" the message, and convey the intended meaning rather than the verbatim rendition, they often get into trouble. Role conflict is thus something that researchers can expect to find in all liaison interpreting research, including educational interpreting. In the educational setting in particular, this could occur when various role players have inconsistent expectations of the interpreter and the role expected by the Deaf client may conflict with the role expected by lecturing staff. This may not only relate to the interpreting function but also to other functions allocated to the interpreter such as maintaining an attendance register for Deaf students.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter constituted a review of the literature relating to interpreting studies in general and liaison interpreting specifically. A detailed overview of research in liaison interpreting, sign language interpreting and educational interpreting was given and thereafter the history of interpreting studies as a field of research was briefly discussed. Included in this discussion was an explanation of the intersections between discourse analysis, norms and interpreting studies and account given of the various roles of an

interpreter. In the next chapter, the South African educational context and the background of educational interpreting in South Africa will be discussed.

Chapter 3 – The educational context and educational interpreting in South Africa

“Education is the most powerful weapon you can use to change the world”

(Nelson Mandela)

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter a description of the educational context in South Africa is given, starting with a background account of education for the Deaf at both basic and post-secondary level. During this account the reader will be introduced to the over-arching structure of the South African education system which is based on the national qualifications framework (NQF). Finally, there is a discussion of interpreting in the educational context in South Africa for both spoken and signed languages.

3.2 Deaf Education in South Africa

3.2.1 Basic Education for the Deaf

Very little is known about the education of Deaf students in southern Africa prior to colonisation (Heap *in* Aarons and Akach 2002). After the colonisation of South Africa, the government began to offer public schooling but no provision was made for the education of Deaf students. The education of the Deaf was therefore left almost solely to the different churches. By the twentieth century, schools could apply for state aid once they were established and were functioning effectively (Aarons and Akach 2002).

Under the apartheid system, schools were segregated according to race and then also according to the ethnolinguistic background of the learners (Van Herreweghe and Vermeerbergen 2010). Thus white children could attend either English or Afrikaans schools whilst black children had to attend a school which used the mother-tongue of the family for instruction e.g. isiZulu, isiXhosa, Tshivenda etc. Schools for the Deaf were also segregated according to “home language” of the child although it was not clear what the home language of a deaf child would be (Aarons and Akach 2002). So it was that until the mid 1980s the official language of instruction in African Schools for the Deaf was the mother-tongue. Additionally, African schools for the Deaf were instructed to use the Paget-

Gorman signing system with the mother-tongue speech. This system is a manually coded English signing system that was invented initially by Sir Richard Paget and later developed further by Lady Grace Paget and Dr Pierre Gorman. The system uses 37 basic signs and 21 standard hand positions which are merged to represent English vocabulary (Storbeck, Magongwa and Parkin 2009). This resulted in the use of what is known as 'Total Communication' – the ad hoc use of man-made signs combined with speech. Later on, English or Afrikaans became the medium of instruction in all schools for the Deaf, including the African schools.

The language policy in white schools for the Deaf, however, was strictly oral during apartheid (Van Herreweghe and Vermeerbergen 2010). Thus, during school time, students were not allowed to sign at all and speech acquisition and auditory awareness was emphasized. A huge number of resources were provided to these schools in order to achieve these outcomes. However, although African schools were also required to teach speech and encourage speech acquisition, the schools were under-resourced, understaffed and under-funded. Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2006) suggest that this was a deliberate economic decision taken by the apartheid regime to ensure that the white pupils were able to speak, which was seen as the more prestigious form of language, and the necessary expense associated with assistive devices and professional therapists was reserved for whites only. However, the resultant neglect of the African pupils, although devastating in terms of academic success, resulted in the African schools for the Deaf becoming strong centres of natural signed language use and development (Aarons and Akach 2002).

Despite the most well intentioned resourcing of oral education for white Deaf pupils and the apparent "advantage" of some signing in the black, indian and coloured schools for the Deaf, Van Herreweghe and Vermeerbergen (2010) found that the majority of Deaf adults of all races in South Africa recall a general sense of misunderstanding and miscommunication during their school years.

Since the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, many policies have sought to alleviate the damage done by the apartheid education policies. Among these are the

Constitution of South Africa (Republic of South Africa 1996), the South African Schools Act (Republic of South Africa 1996) and the Education White Paper 6 (Ministry of Education 2001). These policies are central to ensuring that Deaf learners are assured the best educational opportunities available to them, so that they are able to continue into higher education in the future.

In the Constitution of South Africa (Republic of South Africa 1996) every disabled person is granted all the rights that any other person in the country has, and they are assured that any form of unfair discrimination, based on their disability, is unconstitutional. Further, the language of the South African Deaf community – South African Sign Language (SASL) - is recognised for promotion and conditions for its development and use are legislated (Ch 1, 6 (5) a iii).

This recognition of South African Sign Language was further embodied in the South African Schools Act (Republic of South Africa 1996). It contains evidence of a sharp departure from the apartheid oral policy in schools for the Deaf. This was done by granting a recognised sign language the status of an official language for the purposes of learning at a public school (Ch2, 6(2)). Many schools for the Deaf welcomed this opportunity to begin educating Deaf learners in the language most accessible to them, although it has been argued that the difference between school language policy on the one hand and implementation on the other is vast (Aarons and Akach 2002).

Further, in line with the new democratic government's stance on disability, the White Paper 6 on Inclusive Education was released in May 2001 (Ministry of Education 2001). This White Paper highlights the government's condemnation of the segregation of disabled people from the mainstream of society and seeks to address this by including disabled learners with able-bodied peers with the necessary support. However, it also stipulates that there are those learners who require intense levels of support and they may best be educated in the existing special schools. Most Deaf learners fall into this category, as they require specialised instruction through SASL in order to access the curriculum.

In order to understand how Deaf learners gain access to higher education in South Africa it is necessary to understand the structure of the current education system. In order to bring education and training together under a single education system, the National Qualifications Framework was established through the South African Qualifications Authority Act in 1995. The framework comprises three broad bands which each have various levels. These bands are General Education and Training, Further Education and Training and Higher Education and Training (South African Qualifications Authority n.d.).

Basic education from Grade R to Grade 9 is offered under the General Education and Training (GET) band and Grade 9 represents the first potential exit point from the formal schooling system. The Further Education and Training (FET) band represents a choice for learners who can either continue on an academic schooling path and complete grades 10 to 12, or they may enter vocational or technical training. The completion of the FET phase results in the issuing of national certificates which are a prerequisite for acceptance into Higher Education and Training (HET) band.

It is sad, however, that there are still not many Deaf students in the post-secondary education setting in South Africa. One of the reasons for this is that the system of deaf education does not enable the majority of Deaf learners to access HET. Parkin (2009) highlights the dire situation of the Deaf South African school leaver. Out of 43 schools for the Deaf in South Africa, only 12 offer learners a Grade 12 certificate, and these 12 schools are in 3 provinces. Many Deaf learners therefore leave school without the necessary national certificate to enter higher education. In the same presentation, Parkin states that most Deaf school leavers are functionally illiterate in written language and this creates a further barrier to success in higher education. The reason for low literacy levels is partly due to the lack of specialist teacher training and limited fluency in SASL among teachers of the Deaf (Storbeck, Magongwa and Parkin 2009: 136) and also due to the lack of early identification of deafness in babies (Swanepoel and Storbeck n.d.). Thus the majority of Deaf school leavers require access to FET colleges to improve their education level in order to be considered for access to higher education. These FET colleges are considered post-secondary education settings for the purpose of this study because, although the FET band forms part of the education offered in schools in South Africa as was detailed above, this is

not the case for most Deaf learners. They are then required to leave the school for the Deaf and move to a mainstream FET college.

3.2.2 Post-secondary education for the Deaf

Prior to 1994, access to higher education for Deaf students was almost non-existent. A pilot study into the situation of Deaf students in tertiary institutions in South Africa by DeafSA (1998) showed that at the time approximately 32 Deaf students were enrolled in tertiary education classes, 13 of them at one institution. Although questionnaires regarding Deaf students were sent to 13 institutions during data collection for compilation of the report, only 5 responded. Thus the figures generated merely give us an idea of post-secondary opportunities for Deaf students prior to 1998. These figures show that the number of Deaf students actually graduating from the programmes for which they registered was very low. Between 1988 and 1998, contact institutions which responded had approximately 8 Deaf graduates and 17 Deaf students had graduated from UNISA. Thus it can be seen that access to contact post-secondary education was severely limited and very few Deaf students graduated from any sort of post-secondary courses.

One of the areas of concern raised by the report was the lack of interpreting services offered by tertiary institutions at that time. In many cases, institutions did not employ interpreters for Deaf students as the cost is too great considering the relatively low number of Deaf students who have an adequate matric pass to enable them to enter tertiary education. One institution insisted on only offering interpreter services occasionally as, they argued, in reality Deaf people in the workplace will most likely not have access to a full-time interpreter. The compilers of the report noted that the excuse that funds are not available under the current budget may be true, but if the situation continues it contravenes both the the letter and spirit of the South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996).

Prior to 1994, the higher education system in South Africa was segregated along the same lines as the basic education system. Higher education institutions for African students were permitted only in the former independent “bantustans” – self-governing territories - of

Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda (The Council on Higher Education 2004) and the governments of these territories were responsible for administration of all education, both basic and higher, in these areas. Higher education institutions for Indian and Coloured students were controlled variously by provincial and national departments of education designated for those races. Thus by 1983 all public higher education institutions were designated for a specific race group and if a student wished to study at a HEI which was not designated for that race, special permits would need to be applied for. There were also severe ramifications for funding and governance of the institutions, depending on which race group they served.

The situation of higher education in 1994 was a stark reminder of the effects of apartheid policy. A total of 11 universities and 8 technikons were designated for white students, 1 university and 1 technikon each for Coloured and Indian students, 4 universities and 2 technikons for African students within the Republic of South Africa and a further 4 universities and 3 technikons for African students in the self-governing territories. Thus even in the higher education system, the socio-economic disadvantage of non-white people was perpetuated and opportunities to access these institutions was severely limited (The Council on Higher Education 2004).

In the CHE report on higher education and the responses to disabled students, The Council for Higher Education (2005) emphasises that the system of segregated education described above, as well as the apartheid government's philosophy about disability, greatly disadvantaged all disabled people. In this report, the CHE (2005:7) states that "the complex interaction between the various forms of discrimination under apartheid was nowhere more evident than in the lived experiences of disabled people." In fact, even white disabled children were disadvantaged by the system which viewed disabled people as a health and welfare problem. However, black disabled children were among the most severely disadvantaged by a system that provided virtually no access to formal basic education and whose disadvantage was made worse by the poverty and violence that marked the black experience under apartheid.

Thus the first barrier that many disabled people have to first overcome in achieving access to post-secondary in South Africa is the basic schooling system that they come from. The education specifically of the Deaf learner was described in 3.1.1 above and detailed the low literacy levels and inadequate attainment of required national certificates. To exacerbate the problem, there are only 2 FET colleges in South Africa which provide interpreting services for the Deaf, namely Central Johannesburg College in Parktown and Thekwini College in Durban. The National Institute for the Deaf in Worcester also offers various courses for Deaf school leavers ranging from basic skills to training courses which are internationally recognised or registered on the NQF (National Institute for the Deaf 2009).

Current policy governing the post-secondary education sector appears to be enabling for the Deaf student. The FET Act (Republic of South Africa 2006) and the Language Policy for Higher Education (Republic of South Africa 2002) both stipulate that public institutions are compelled to address past discriminatory practices by ensuring the participation of disabled persons in all levels of the institutions, both as staff and as students. However they both qualify this prerogative by stating that steps to ensuring such participation and accommodation need only be taken within the available resources. The White Paper 6 on special education (Ministry of Education 2001), which predates both the aforementioned policy documents, specifically mentions both FET and higher education access for disabled learners.

At the FET level the White Paper 6 (Ministry of Education 2001) proposes that certain colleges would function as 'full service' colleges and provide access for a variety of disabled students to learn alongside able-bodied peers. Personal enquiry among educators of the Deaf and the Deaf community in South Africa shows that one decade later there appears to be no indication that this idea has even begun to be implemented. The same document relays an expectation that all higher education institutions should minimally ensure that physically disabled students have access to the infrastructure of the institution. However, it continues to acknowledge that the provision of expensive resources, especially those required by the Deaf and blind, would not be able to be provided at all institutions, and that such resources should be organised on a regional basis. During the course of this

study, I found that there are two contact universities, one distance education university and one university of technology in South Africa that provide interpreter services for Deaf students out of a total of 22 public higher education institutions in the country, i.e. only 18.18% of the higher education institutions are accessible to Deaf students who require interpreter services. It would seem therefore, that the policy is not being implemented in higher education. Another university provides Deaf students with a transcriber who accompanies them to lectures and types the lectures out verbatim onto a laptop computer for the student to read on the screen. This would, however, only provide successful access to Deaf students who have an advanced English reading ability.

3.3 Educational interpreting in South Africa

Educational interpreting is a recent phenomenon in South Africa, brought about by the change to democracy that began in 1994. There exists a small but growing body of research in this area as the provision of interpreter services in SA educational institutions grows, but thus far the great majority of this research is into spoken language interpreter provision. The introduction of 11 official languages in the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, as well as the recognition of previously marginalised languages and the legislative obligation to achieve a truly multilingual society, resulted in many educational establishments having to review their language policies and take account of the new multilingual reality in the country.

However, Verhoef and du Plessis (2008) argue that despite the “overt hands-on language policy” that exists in South Africa, the implementation of the policy has been plagued with difficulties. This, they posit, is a consequence of the lack of the necessary sophisticated language infrastructure which in turn results in a policy gap. Their research into the extent to which the provision of educational interpreters addresses the resultant gap leads them to conclude that introducing interpreters into single-medium institutions of learning “holds the potential to create the necessary balance and harmony between the various legal interests in the South African education sector” (Verhoef and du Plessis 2008:14).

Despite this finding, it would appear that the provision of spoken language interpretation in post-secondary settings in SA is still the exception rather than the norm. Du Plessis

(2008) provides insight into the language policy adopted by the University of the Free State (UFS) and indicates that the provision of interpreters in the teaching domain is only considered necessary in special circumstances and with the approval of executive management (Du Plessis 2008:28). This it would appear, is to protect the dual-medium language policy of the university. He however suggests that, going forward, it may be impossible to ignore the need for greater provision of interpreter services as more and more lecturers are employed who are unable to lecture in Afrikaans.

The only true exception in South Africa is the North West University. They have implemented large-scale interpreting provision for spoken languages. In 2008 the university provided around 400 periods of interpreted lectures a week using approximately 60 spoken language interpreters (Blaauw 2008). The university currently provides interpretation services in 1000 lecture periods per week utilising approximately 70 interpreters. Interpretation is provided in English-Afrikaans and Afrikaans-English combinations but they have now also introduced interpretation from English and Afrikaans into Setswana in some of the Foundation Phase Education classes. Further, they also provide interpretation from Afrikaans and Setswana into English for all institutional meetings such as senate, council and faculty board meetings (personal communication: J. Blaauw). This impressive undertaking makes North West University unique as there is no other similar extensive interpreter provision in higher education anywhere else in the world. In contrast, the University of Johannesburg found that the majority of students expressed a desire to learn through English as the medium of instruction rather than gain access to lectures through interpretation and they thus continue to provide all classes in English and a limited number of courses, in which there is sufficient demand, in Afrikaans too (Beukes 2010).

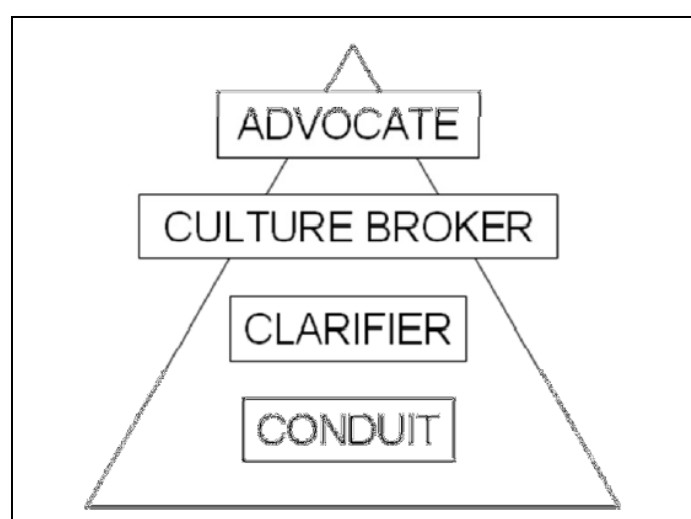
Further research into the provision of educational interpreting services in post-secondary educational settings (all provided within traditional universities) gives us some insight into the roles and performance of these interpreters. Olivier (2008) describes research into interpreter perceptions of differences between interpreting in the educational setting and interpreting in conferences. Whilst her research did show a number of areas in which these two groups of interpreters agreed on the profile of an interpreter (*viz.* bilingualism, simultaneity, production, strategies, source-target correspondence) there were some

notable areas in which they differed. One of these differences, key to this study, is the understanding of role. Olivier (2008) found that 79% of educational interpreters and only 47% of conference interpreters felt responsible for the users of the service. She adds that the interviews she conducted make it clear that the educational interpreters displayed an emotional connection to their role in the classroom and saw themselves as an aid to the students (Olivier 2008:110). Another study that explores the role of the educational interpreter in the university setting (Bothma and Verhoef 2008) highlights the need for the interpretation not merely to convey subject content, but also the entire classroom discourse. In the study, the authors argue that when interpreting in a classroom setting, maximum participation by users of the interpreting service can only be achieved when the interpreter balances the “functions of communication and the associated functions of the respective source and target texts against the background of the socio-cultural contexts in which these texts are produced...” (Bothma and Verhoef 2008:136). Thus, in order to achieve the overall communicative function of language i.e. creating meaning, the interpreter needs to have a thorough understanding of the culture and social background of both the source language and target language users in the classroom. This is vital in order to mediate understanding of the lectures.

In the same study, Bothma and Verhoef (2008) include some of the responses obtained from questionnaires that were given to students who make use of the interpreting services. Two responses indicated an interesting perspective on the part of the students as to the role of the interpreter. The first response was made by a second year student when answering the question “Do you understand the subject content as conveyed to you by the interpreter?”. The students responded that sometimes when the interpreter could see on the students’ faces that they did not understand, she (the interpreter) would ask the lecturer to repeat it or would try to say it in a different way herself. This indicates a break from the traditionally understood neutral role of the interpreter. Another response from a second year student in response to the question “How would you describe the role that the interpreter plays in your class?” indicates again that the interpreter is not perceived as a mere translating machine. The student responds: “Is it weird to say she’s like a friend because she cares about whether or not we understand the work.” This again confirms the

findings of Olivier (2008) that the educational interpreter has an emotional connection to the users of her services.

In a recent presentation Kotzé (née Olivier) (2010) details a study titled “Educational interpreting: a changed relationship between interpreter and user”. In her presentation she highlights several areas in which the role of the educational interpreter in South Africa breaks from the traditionally accepted role of a neutral language conduit. She uses the pyramid model of the interpreter’s role fulfilment proposed by Niska in 2002 (*in* Kotzé 2010)(Figure 4) to illustrate however, that most of the time, the educational interpreter does act from the neutral position of the **conduit**.



*Figure 3: Pyramid of interpreters’ role-fulfillment
(Niska in Kotzé 2010)*

However, the role of the liaison interpreter implies increasing levels of involvement in the communication process. Thus, in order to make the message in a lecture clearer, there may be times where the interpreter acts as a **clarifier** and adds information beyond what has been said by the source language speakers. However, she makes it clear that this role occurs less frequently than that of the conduit. This role of clarifier is aligned with my assumption of the interpreter as a teacher described in Chapter 1. Then, displaying an even more involved position which occurs even less frequently, the interpreter may assume the role of **culture broker**. In this situation the interpreter would step in to explain a particular cultural impasse which threatens to derail the creation of meaning. Finally, there may be times when the interpreter, outside of the interpreting act, acts as an **advocate** for the

users of her services. This would occur when the interpreter feels the need act on behalf of her clients to protect them from prejudice and other harm. Considering the stated emotional attachment that educational interpreters and their users display as evidenced in the previously mentioned studies, one could understand why this would occur in certain situations.

It must be mentioned at this point that the findings of the abovementioned research are not peculiar to South African educational interpreting. The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) is a national organisation in the United States which is responsible for training, certifying and monitoring interpreters who work with the Deaf in that country. In the RID Standard Practice Paper (Professional Standards Committee 2010) it is acknowledged that there are additional roles associated with being an educational interpreter (although they are referring to interpreters in basic education phase). However, some of these roles, including tutoring students outside of classtime, discussing student performance with the educational team and adapting the interpretation to the linguistic needs of the users, are roles which are variously applied in South African post-secondary education settings too.

Additionally, in their chapter titled “Student perspectives on educational interpreting: Twenty Deaf and hard of hearing students offer insights and suggestions” Kurz and Langer (2004) found that the students’ perspectives on the role of the interpreter were as varied as the responses obtained by Bothma and Verhoef (2008) cited above. However, all of the respondents once again stipulated that they wanted to have a friendly relationship with the interpreter – indicating once again the strong theme of an emotional connection between the educational interpreter and her users.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the context in which the educational interpreter in South Africa works was described and an overview of research into educational interpreting in South Africa was given. Now that the reader has a thorough background understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of this study, the following chapter will describe the methodology used to draw conclusions about the roles of the educational signed language interpreter in post-secondary education settings in South Africa.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

*“If you don't know where you are going, you will probably end up somewhere else.”
(Lawrence J. Peter)*

4.1 Introduction

The signed language interpreter in post-secondary education settings finds herself in a particular context that can be assumed to influence her role fulfilment. As was discussed in the Chapter 2, an interpreter is an active participant in interpreted encounters and her beliefs about how to achieve understanding for the student in the lecture room may well result in paradoxical behaviour when apparent role conflict occurs. This study investigates the nature of the educational interpreters' role fulfilment in South African post-secondary education settings, which includes both traditional universities and Further Education and Training (FET) colleges. There currently exists no research into this role fulfilment in the South African context. This chapter describes the underlying philosophy which guided the design of this research as well as the particular research methodology implemented to investigate the perceived and actual roles of signed language interpreters described above as evidenced by their expression of professional norms and the display of normative behaviours while interpreting. Firstly, the underlying philosophy and broad research design are discussed and the research instruments used are described. Thereafter the procedures for data collection and the analysis of the gathered data are discussed. Finally, the limitations of the study and ethical considerations related to the data collection are considered.

4.2 Research approach

The broad approach adopted in the course of this study is a postmodern one. According to Smith (2002), postmodern thinking views the world as multifaceted and uncertain, with no facts that can be accepted as the whole truth on a matter. He further explains that ambiguity is embraced in postmodern thought and thus a single event can have two equally valid versions of the truth at the same time. The 'truth' he posits is all relative to an individual viewpoint on a particular matter. Thus, in this study, it was always accepted that the aim of the research was not to arrive at a generalizable truth, but rather to engage

in a reflexive process of interpreted discourse processes that will help inform future actions related to interpreting in post-secondary educational settings.

This view of discourse analysis is supported by Zeeman, et al (2002) who add that discourse analysis has two main goals. The first is to be a reflexive process which results in new ways of understanding the discourse under research and secondly, it to be productive endeavour i.e. a process that results in change. This is in line with the stated aim and rationale of this study which stipulates that data derived from this research can be used to develop and train current and future interpreters to ensure that Deaf students truly have equal access to post-secondary education studies. Further, the approach used also coincides with the approach put forward by Kruger and Wallmach (1997) – that of a descriptive means by which to report the findings rather than a critical evaluation of accuracy.

4.3 Research design

This study is based on empirical data collected by the researcher in authentic interpreted lectures in post-secondary education settings and is based within the field of discourse analysis. Although the term ‘discourse’ is a complex idea with several definitions and applications, in this study I shall use the same definition of the term as Roy (2000:9). Thus discourse is understood to be “language as it is actually uttered by people engaged in social interaction to achieve a goal.” The analysis of discourse is a complex task due to the nature of language use being studied – interpreted languages in two different modalities.

Schiffrin (1994) highlights six broad linguistic approaches to the study of discourse. These are speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversation analysis and variation analysis. However, for this study the design focussed on only one of these areas, namely interactional sociolinguistics.

Interactional sociolinguistics is the study of situated language use (Schiffrin 1994). It thus studies the interaction of culture, society and language and how that interaction affects meaning. In this study, the assumption that Gumperz makes (*in* Schiffrin 1994:98) is advocated, and that is that meaning, language use and structure are all derived from the

social and cultural contexts in which discourse is studied. Thus, the role of the interpreter and the meaning ascribed to particular utterances and the choices made by the interpreter can only be fully understood within the context of the particular educational environment and the specific people for whom the interpreter interprets.

Goffman (*in* Schiffrin 1994) expands further on the assertion that meaning is situated by exploring how social events create multiple opportunities for the interlocutors to display different levels of involvement in communication. Specifically this study looks at the role of the interpreter in terms of the participation framework that Goffman proposes (1981). In this framework (described in Chapter 1) he suggests that there are three roles the speaker may assume, and each affects the level of participation that a participant may assume when communicating. These roles are the *animator*, who produces the talk, the *author*, who creates the talk, and the *principal*, who is responsible for the talk.

According to Goffman (1981), the *animator*, as the producer of talk, utters the words but takes no responsibility for what is said, as the authority and responsibility of the message rests with another person. This, it may be argued, is the participant role that interpreters should strive to achieve, in that the words that they produce are not their own, but a more or less verbatim rendition of what another person has said, produced in another language. The *author* of talk is one who chooses the words to express a given message, but the authority and responsibility of the message lies with another person. This is more realistically what interpreters do when they interpret, as the interpreter needs to make decisions about the correct words to use in the target language that will accurately relay the message uttered in the source language. This reflects the reality that the interpreter is not a neutral machine in the communication process, but an active co-participant as mentioned earlier in the study. However, in many liaison interpreting settings, these idealised roles of participation are not always followed. The following example from Wadensjö in Roy (2000:113) illustrates how the interpreter can become the *principal* i.e. both the animator and author of talk.

Peter – Swedish official in the immigration office

Ilona – Russian – Swedish interpreter

Peter: Aha. Retrain oneself. Yes yes okay. You-you mean to get some knowledge in Swedish. or do a refresher course? Or er I have problems with the expression retrain oneself. Then I think about an entirely different profession. Can we clear this up, just a little.

Ilona: a no it – it was my fault. Thi- This was just what she had in mind

*Figure 4: Interpreter as author and animator
(Wadensjö in Roy 2000:113)*

In the example it can be seen that the interpreter takes responsibility (*author*) for what was said (*animator*). In the example, the interpreter, Ilona, working at an immigration office in Sweden, is interpreting for a Russian applicant for residency. The interpreter made a particular choice about the words to use when interpreting what was said by the applicant and later realised, as the discourse continued, that the choice of words had resulted in confusion on the part of the official. The interpreter then speaks directly to the official, apologising for the misunderstanding and accepting responsibility for what was said. This example illustrates clearly that the relationship between the interpreter and other participants is not a fixed one and changes in footing i.e. changes in the roles and relationships between participants, can be expected within different social contexts. The current study examines these changing roles. This is done by observing interpreter shifts from the source text utterances and noting any changes in footing or normative behaviours of educational interpreters in post-secondary settings in South Africa.

In order to study the interactions between the interpreter and the users of her services, two distinct methods were used to collect data for analysis. The first was a survey mode of enquiry which used a questionnaire and interviews to elicit interpreters' beliefs about the

role they fulfil. These tools were used to ascertain interpreters' beliefs about the professional norms that govern their behaviour and guide their role fulfilment as educational interpreters. The second method was corpus-based inquiry which involved the collection of authentic interpreted texts which were used to elicit evidence about the actual roles fulfilled by the interpreters in lectures. These actual roles are determined by identifying the product (expectancy) norms that influence interpreter behaviour in the lecture setting. These research instruments will now be described in more detail.

4.4 Research instruments

During this study three research instruments were used to collect and analyse data. These included a questionnaire, interviews and filmed authentic lectures which were transcribed. Each of these instruments will now be described in more detail.

The questionnaire was self-designed and aimed to elicit background information about the interpreters who were going to be filmed. A copy of the questionnaire is provided as Appendix A. Whilst these were helpful to some extent in identifying years of experience and training; a problem was encountered when some of the interpreters failed to submit completed questionnaires. This resulted in significantly fewer questionnaires than the number of interpreters filmed and interviewed.

The interviews were semi-structured (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2007). Thus the interviewer used a guide sheet of 15 questions around which to base the discussions but the precise questions and topics discussed with each interpreter differed. The guiding questions are attached as Appendix B. This type of interview structure was suited to the interviews for this study as the roles and functions of the interpreters from one institution to another and from one position to another were different. The interview style therefore leaves room for the interviewer to ask other relevant or pertinent questions to the interviewee in order to clarify or expand the discussion for the topic being discussed.

The filmed data was collected in authentic lectures at three different post-secondary education institutions – two universities and one FET college. Permission was obtained from all the interpreters who were filmed as well as from the lecturers in whose classes I was filming. A central premise of studies in sociolinguistics is that analysis is done of actual

utterances which occur naturally (Roy 2000:14). Thus all data collected to form the corpus for this study was obtained by filming interpreters working in actual lectures. There were several challenges that were met in the process of collecting this data. This was to be expected, as the prevalence of challenges in creation of an interpreting corpus is well documented. During the filming of data the researcher attempted to include as many settings and variations of interpreting that occurs in South African post-secondary education settings. A total of 14 interpreted events were filmed and these included traditional university lectures in English and Afrikaans, a one-on-one tutorial at a university and lectures at an FET college.

A second important aspect of sociolinguistic data analysis highlighted by Roy (2000:14) is that a brief explanation of the context in which the data was collected should accompany the data. Thus, the explanation makes it clear to the reader what the social relationships were between interlocutors, the physical setting of the communication event and other relevant information related to the event that could influence the way in which the words that were uttered are to be understood. As far as possible this information is captured in the transcription headers of each transcribed lecture (Appendix C).

4.5 Data

In the previous section, I described the tools used to collect specific data for analysis for this study. I will now briefly describe the data collected by using these tools and will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of this data.

The interview times were negotiated with individual interpreters when I first met them, which was generally after the first class that I filmed in. The 14 lectures filmed included 8 interpreters, one of whom was myself. Of these interpreters only 5 were interviewed (I could not interview myself) as the interviews with the remaining two interpreters did not materialise due to a last minute change to the interpreting schedule and an ad-hoc interpreter's external commitments. An attempt to elicit a response via email with at least one of the filmed interpreters was unsuccessful. A total of 7 interviews were conducted – two of which have no filmed data of the interviewees interpreting. One of the persons interviewed declined an invitation to be filmed for the research and the other interpreter's lectures which were scheduled to be filmed were cancelled. However, since the interviews

and filmed data will be analysed for broad congruence in professional and product normative behaviours of the interpreters rather than whether each specific interpreter does in practice what they believe they do, all the interviews and filmed data were used for analysis.

Filmed data was obtained from 14 interpreted academic classes. Thirteen of these classes were lectures and one tutorial was filmed. The sound quality in the tutorial was very poor and it was therefore not included in the analysis of the data as the source text was not audible enough to elicit whether the interpreter was deviating from it in her interpretation. The other filmed lectures were downloaded and the spoken and signed portions transcribed.

Transcription of the signed data from lectures was written in an adapted sign gloss as described in the Transcription Conventions on page 6. It should be noted that the inclusion of the extensive use of spoken-language mouth patterns was included in the gloss to highlight its widespread use among educational interpreters. Although this phenomenon is widely regarded as ungrammatical in signed languages, its use nonetheless may highlight a particular understanding of role in this study and was therefore included below the linguistic gloss.

4.6 Data analysis

The data obtained from the interviews and filmed lectures described above were evaluated qualitatively in order to elicit information relevant to the study. The interviews were transcribed and a textual analysis was done of the responses. Repeated statements about the normative roles and functions of the interpreter and the context in which these shifts may or may not take place were noted and later categorised. The frequency of repeated statements was noted to indicate whether the perceptions noted were unanimous across all the interpreters or one or two individuals only.

Data obtained from the filmed lectures was watched by the researcher and chunks of texts which included linguistic shifts, which may indicate that the interpreter has shifted roles, were identified. These chunks were then transcribed. It was assumed that the nature of these shifts and the regularity with which they happen, may indicate that the shift is an

accepted norm among educational signed language interpreters and hence a part of the associated role.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations for this study were carefully contemplated, as the nature of the language under study requires that the interpreters' faces and hands be visible to the researcher. It was thus impossible to guarantee participant interpreters' complete anonymity. However, all written transcriptions of the interpreted texts and interpreter interview transcriptions used pseudonyms for the interpreters. Each interpreter was required to sign a consent form (Appendix D) giving permission to the researcher to film and record their interpreting and was given an opportunity to ask questions related to such participation. Thus, all data obtained for the study was authorised by the filmed interpreters with their full knowledge and understanding of what the data would be used for.

Further, lecturers in whose classes I filmed were also asked for permission to be present and filming in the lecture. From the attached lecturer consent form (Appendix E) it can be seen that specific consideration was given to the protection of lecturers' intellectual property rights as well as their personal and professional rights. During the study only one lecturer declined my presence in the class to film and all the other lecturers willingly allowed me to collect data.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the reader was given an overview of the methodology used in this study. The research was contextualised within the postmodern movement and the design was described as incorporating both interactional sociolinguist and conversation analysis approaches to research. The instruments used to collect data, the types of data and how the data was analysed were highlighted as were the limitations of the study and the ethical considerations. In the next chapter, the findings of the study will be discussed and analysed and sub-conclusions regarding the roles of educational signed language interpreters in post-secondary education settings in SA will be drawn.

Chapter 5 – Presentation and discussion of findings

“Discovery consists of looking at the same thing as everyone else and thinking something different.”

(Albert Szent-Gyorgyi)

5.1 Introduction

In order to better understand the role(s) of educational interpreters in South Africa, it is necessary to look closely at what it is that they do, as well as what it is that they *think* they do, or at least *should* do. Data was collected by filming interpreters interpreting lectures, and interviews were done with interpreters to explore their understanding of their role. In this chapter the findings of interpreters’ perspectives on their own practice from the interviews as well as the interpreter shifts found in the videos will be noted and the analysis of these findings will be discussed. Finally, sub-conclusions about the roles of the post-secondary educational interpreter’s role in South Africa will be drawn from the analysis.

5.2 Findings

5.2.1 Interpreters’ perspectives on professional norms

As was explained in the previous chapter, seven interviews were conducted with post-secondary educational interpreters and these were transcribed and analysed. In chapter 2 the reader was introduced to the notion of norms which is used to inform the development of Codes of Ethics. There may exist tension between the professional norms (or production norms) which are validated by normative authorities (such as professional interpreter bodies in this case) and by expectancy norms (or product norms) experienced as a result of the expectations of the client(s) in actual practice (Chesterman 1993). The interviews conducted with the interpreters aimed to ascertain what the norms are that interpreters feel they ought to be adhering to and their own thoughts on the professional conduct of educational signed language interpreters.

It was found that most of the interpreters interviewed had similar beliefs about what the role of an educational interpreter is and how that role should be fulfilled through normative behaviour in lectures. The widely accepted professional norm of **impartiality**

was seen as the most important. All the interpreters interviewed mentioned that as an educational interpreter the ethical principle of remaining neutral in the role was exactly the same as interpreting in any other setting.

“I would say that remember you must be neutral at all times! .” (Interpreter A)

“My role, simple is a lecture. Say something, I pass it. That’s it.” (Interpreter B)

“...you have to be true to the message. Not omitting anything, not adding anything.” (Interpreter F)

Figure 5: Interpreters’ comments on neutrality norm

However, each of them also indicated that there are certain limited occasions when it is acceptable and within the role of the interpreter, to become partial and in one way or another to shift from the source text as uttered by the lecturer or student. These shifts were acknowledged as normative behaviours which constitute accepted actions in order to adhere to generally sanctioned performance instructions.

“Me and Anelle are there if they don’t understand a word if they don’t if they have a discussion we we ming- we are mingling also with them and asking what is going on... I don’t think I am really out of my role. I think for bridging course you need you need um to be also a facilitator” (Interpreter C)

“Um but an educational interpreter does facilitate a little bit but should be careful to not overstep the boundaries.” (Interpreter F)

“So you do (expand on what was said), sometimes you do, you know -you have to.” (Interpreter B)

Figure 6: Interpreters’ comments on shifts away from source text

Four of the interpreters specifically mentioned **chunking** (Katan 1999) (cf. Chapter 2) as a normative behaviour available for handling the demand of simultaneous interpreting and potentially problematic vocabulary. However, it was also identified as a technique to be used if the interpreter, as a bicultural mediator who understands the educational background of the Deaf student and the language challenges faced by many Deaf students, feels it necessary, to ensure that the students fully understand the message. In this way,

the interpreters felt that at times, in order to achieve the expectancy norm of ensuring student understanding of specific subject content, it is acceptable to change the way in which the content is expressed. One interpreter felt that chunking would ensure that the meaning of the message remains the same, but the way in which it is expressed changes. However, she also saw the shift from the source text when using chunking as affecting the text at the lexical level which could be problematic in the educational setting

“Um, well I, I use the the the chunking down chunking up strategies mostly. I find- <clears throat> But what I try to do as an interpreter as well especially in the educational setting, I feel it is very important that they need to make the link to the term as well, so it doesn’t help I give them an explanation of the term and they can’t link it to the English version.”

Figure 7: Interpreter D’s comment on use of chunking strategy

However, none of the other interpreters who mentioned chunking acknowledged that there might be slight changes in meaning and accuracy as a result of the word choices, whereas in fact ‘chunking up’ implies that the interpreter has used a more general expression than the ST expression, and ‘chunking down’ implies that the interpreter has used a more specific expression than the ST expression. Thus, from the interviews conducted it would appear that interpreters view chunking as an acceptable normative behaviour in the education setting. It may be assumed therefore that most of the interpreters feel that the resultant addition and /or omission of certain lexical items from the source text when chunking, does not affect the target text accuracy sufficiently to warrant concern in the educational setting. This could be a type of normative behaviour that indicates a professional norm in education of accuracy to ensure the expected text meets the needs of the client.

I have used the term **collaboration** between the interpreter and the Deaf student to indicate a further case for acceptable shift that four of the interpreters specifically mentioned. Collaboration occurs when the interpreter interacts directly with one of the primary participants. This was seen as acceptable by the interpreters only if it did not interfere with the interpreting process or if it was necessary to ensure the success of the process. Cited instances of when this would be acceptable included the initiation of such collaboration by the student, lecturer or the interpreter.

“On fingerspelling they (deaf students) would just say “fingerspell again” and then they would just give me the sign and then we go on.” (Interpreter A)

“But then sometimes if there is a a silence, like if the lecturer is looking for some things so there is actually time that you are not interpreting I’ll sometimes just quickly ask what’s the sign for this word?” (Interpreter F)

“...only in very intense and very speedy situations where the lecturer is extremely fast and they ask something something and I know I am going to fall behind, like “What did he say?” “He said business” and then I go on.” (Interpreter E)

Figure 8: Interpreters’ comments on acceptable collaboration with students

In Figure 9 above it can be seen that it was suggested that such collaboration is only an acceptable normative behaviour if it is done when there is a break in source text production. An example given by an experienced interpreter was if the student(s) asked a simple question directly to the interpreter during the interpreting process, such as the repetition of a term that was spelled, and if the interpreter is able to answer the question without falling behind, the shift away from the source text through addition to the target text message would be favourable to avoid disrupting the educational process (cf. Harrington 2001a:81; NAATI 2009). This was especially felt as unique to signed language interpreting as students may need to look away from the interpreter for some reason and would therefore miss some information necessary for continued understanding of the lecture. This is not the case for educational interpreting with spoken languages such as Afrikaans, as the students can listen to the interpretation and look at the board at the same time. This kind of collaboration is termed ‘clarification’ in this study and such behaviour is seen as a professional norm and is an acceptable shift when either the interpreter or primary interlocutor seeks to clarify information that has been presented during the discussion.

From the above discussion we can see already that both the language(s) of interpretation and the educational setting present specific challenges to the professional norm of neutrality. Additionally, three of the interpreters interviewed felt that they had a greater sense of obligation to the Deaf students for whom they interpret in post-secondary education settings and sometimes battled to maintain neutrality as a result. This emotional

connection to the students makes educational interpreting unlike conference interpreting, where the participants' lives are less likely to be affected by the level of understanding of the content.

"...it is a bit complicated because like in court interpreting you just interpret and then that is it. In the classroom you feel more of a responsibility I think." (Interpreter A)

"...obviously the educational setting its almost as if you feel you have this extra responsibility of um, you know, making sure that the deaf students do understand the subject." (Interpreter D)

"This is a very very serious place, it's education, somebody's education here it's not some government speech you know." (Interpreter B)

Figure 9: Interpreters' comments on obligation to Deaf students

Another challenge presented by the educational setting that was highlighted by all the interpreters in the interviews, is that the use of chunking down or other strategies to cope with simultaneous interpreting cannot be done to the exclusion of the actual term uttered, as often this subject-specific terminology is central to the subject matter being taught. All of the interpreters mentioned the importance of conveying precise terminology in all subjects and that this was challenging.

"The first thing I do is I fingerspell the word because the concept then er that specific term is then important." (Interpreter F)

"...then we'll come up with something because fingerspelling it takes time." (Interpreter B)

"The more you prepare, the more your knowledge base grows... How would you know what a phylum is if you don't know it's a group?" (Interpreter E)

Figure 10: Interpreters' comments on the importance of reflecting terminology accurately and the related challenges.

This relaying of terminology could be considered an expectancy norm in the education setting as the understanding and noting the correct terminology forms a critical part of the education process in post-secondary settings and it can be assumed that the educational institutions would expect that such information would be accurately conveyed.

The challenge of meeting this expectation was described by the interpreters as two-fold. Firstly, fingerspelling, as the only available means by which to convey jargon for which no sign yet exists, tends to take longer than using a single concise sign (Fig.11). This results in increased lag time and cognitive overload (the interpreter then struggles to catch up with the ST). Secondly, some of the terminology would be understood by the hearing students but not the Deaf students. In this case, the interpreter may elect to chunk down after fingerspelling the word, which increases the lag time further. Despite this limitation, **fingerspelling** was seen as a vital tool and desirable, professional behaviour by all the educational interpreters interviewed, since it is the only means of ensuring that the correct technical terminology is transmitted to Deaf students. To avoid the need to fingerspell too much though, one interpreter suggested that adequate preparation before interpreting for a specific class would almost entirely eliminate the need to spell out words for which a sign is not yet known (Fig. 11).

Although adequate preparation before class was only mentioned by three of the interpreters, all the interpreters felt that it was part of their role as an educational interpreter to be part of a team that develops signs needed for the subjects studied by the Deaf clients during briefing sessions during the term. This team should include interpreters and the Deaf students and be carried out as a central function of the educational interpreter.

“I would get the Deaf students together and say listen um, these are the terms that the interpreters have been struggling with um, signs, um lets do some explaining of terminology and um, come up- to assist the the fluency in terms of sign language.”
(Interpreter D)

“Or I will say we had this word in class and I know for instance that they have the same subject and then I’ll say this is the sign that we used, do any of you have another sign because they come from different areas And then sometimes one of them will come up with a sign and then we will decide ok but lets use that sign or they will decide Oh no but the one you came up with is better lets use it the sign that you two came up with and then we’ll keep on using that sign” (Interpreter F)

Figure 11: Interpreters’ comments on lexicon development

The interpreters mentioned that the extensive use of subject-specific terminology across a great variety of subjects was a challenge, unlike interpreting in most other settings. Thus

sign lexicon development is seen as a specific normative behaviour which will ensure that the expectancy norms of linguistic competence and accurate portrayal of content are met. However, this behaviour is an element of the interpreters' role that is done outside of the interpreting act itself – in many cases only after the words have been used in lectures already.

Another guiding principle identified by most of the interpreters (all those who are not CODAs) as necessary to meet the expected norm of linguistic proficiency was the need to **interact with Deaf people** outside of the classroom situation. Two of the interpreters specifically mentioned this social interaction as a means through which to improve interpreting skills, as it ensures continuous use of signed language for different purposes and also resulted in a greater personal connection between the interpreter and the students. One interpreter highlighted this as the central means by which she gained confidence to provide SASL to English interpretation for students, as she knew them better and could understand their SASL use and dialects more fully.

“...as I get to know the students better I voice them better as well.” (Interpreter F)

“...because we’ve got so many (deaf) staff members I can keep up my signing skills.” (Interpreter G)

“But its too important in Deaf culture to socialise a lot, especially if you interpret and if you want to stay up you know with all the the sort of jargon and the the slang they use er especially if you not a CODA you have to socialise as well.” (Interpreter F)

Figure 12: Interpreters' comments on socialising with Deaf people

As with any interpreter, the expected norm of excellent **linguistic competency** was mentioned by all the interpreters interviewed. This is a widely accepted norm among all interpreters, which has been validated by its inclusion in several interpreting codes of ethics (viz http://deafsa.co.za/resources/SASLI_policy.pdf and http://translators.org.za/sati/cms/downloads/dynami/sati_ethics_individual_english.pdf). For those interpreters who are not children of Deaf adults (CODAs) or experienced interpreters and therefore have less exposure to members of the Deaf community, dialects in SASL present a challenge to achieving this norm but which can be improved through socialising. This was confirmed by two of the interpreters interviewed, both of whom learnt SASL as adults.

“...there are so many dialects and everything. You feel like you are a baby again, you are starting to learn again the languages...” (Interpreter B)

“I socialize with other - not socialize like go visit them but then when you chat with some of the students or the deaf then you pick up stuff like dialects – that’s how I would- or ja, ask them when I do not know something and that is how I develop my signing.”
(Interpreter A)

Figure 13: Interpreters’ comments on dialects in SASL

This challenge posed by SASL dialect is especially notable in South Africa as there are a limited number of educational institutions that provide access for Deaf students. The net result is that those that do provide access attract Deaf students from various schools and geographical areas, resulting in a great number of dialects being used in a single institution. The same two interpreters who highlighted dialect as a particular challenge stipulated that they addressed this challenge through socialising with the different students outside of class time.

Another expectancy norm of the educational interpreter identified during the interviews is the need for educational interpreters to be **flexible** as regards the manner in which content is interpreted, the setting and even the content itself. All the interpreters acknowledged that they do not only interpret in the classrooms during lectures and in consultations with lecturers and tutors. Although this is the bulk of the interpreting done by an educational interpreter in post-secondary settings, she may also be required to provide interpretation in other settings related to the life of the student such as registration, campus clinic appointments, student counselling and residence meetings. Although the manner in which the interpreter is allocated to this work varies, depending on whether the interpreter is a full-time or part-time employee, it is expected that an educational interpreter should be able and willing to assist in these areas too. The interpreter should also be flexible enough to handle both monologic discourse in lectures and dialogic discourse in group work and tutorial settings. This is why Napier (2010:68) suggests that educational interpreting is a hybrid form of interpreting that can include monologic discourse and dialogic discourse at different times and in different places. Being able to **control the flow of talk** (Roy 2000; cf Van Herreweghe 2002) when Deaf students

work in a group with hearing students, was specifically mentioned as an essential part of the interpreter's role by two of the interviewees.

"You see so every single class that I am doing is different and you can't just sit and interpret..." (Interpreter C)

"There were a situation once here where I suddenly had to take control of the group work. I had to stop everybody and say "okay, you speak, you speak, you speak..." (Interpreter E)

Figure 14: Interpreters' comments about interpreting in group work settings

Related to group work and also to the setting as a whole, interpreters also felt that **explanation of the role** of the interpreter and how to make use of the interpreter formed part of their role. This would be considered a preliminary norm by Toury (1995) as it involves "setting the scene" for interpretation to take place. In some institutions, lecturers are briefed by the university's disability unit about how to use an interpreter and what her role is, but in others the interpreter does this herself. All the interpreters agreed that should they see that the speaker is confused about the role or that the presence of the interpreter is in any way affecting the flow of information, the interpreter can initiate an explanation of the role and immediately rectify the communication situation.

"...if the students does not go to the lecturer and say look this is my interpreter and I will be working through the interpreter whatever, then I think it's good for the interpreter to just um - what you call it – introduce yourself and say that you are an interpreter you just sit in front of the class and that is what you do." (Interpreter F)

"Yes it happens when you have small meetings when you in the office or something and somebody doesn't know what the class setting is then you have to explain some stuff, you'll do that." (Interpreter B)

Figure 15: Interpreters' comments on explaining their role

The findings of the interviews with the educational interpreters concerning their roles and the norms or guiding principles of their position are summarised in the figure below.

Educational interpreters view their professional (production) norms as:

- Remaining neutral and impartial most of the time
- Shifting from the source text only under specified circumstances
- Controlling the flow of talk in group situations
- Borrowing from the source language in the form of fingerspelling to ensure the academic terminologies transferred.

They view the expectancy (product) norms that influence the professional norms as:

- Ensuring linguistic competency, partly through socialising with Deaf students
- Developing sign lexicon in collaboration with a team consisting of Deaf students and interpreters
- Maintaining flexibility to cope with the variety in content, venues and communication functions in higher education
- Portraying academic content accurately

Figure 16: Educational interpreters' norms identified in interviews

From the findings elicited from the interviews conducted with the educational interpreters, it can be seen that they view their role and the associated acceptable behaviours, as similar to the traditionally understood role that was highlighted in sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3 above. However, it has been noted that sometimes there exists a mismatch between what a practitioner thinks they should do (professional norms) and what they actually do in order to meet client expectations or needs in the situation (expectancy norms) (Chesterman 1993). It was for this reason that filmed data of interpreters interpreting actual lectures was analysed and linguistic shifts from the original spoken text were noted and discussed in terms of possible indications of role shift. These shifts are described in the next section.

5.2.2 Interpreter shifts in practice

From section 5.2.1 above it can be seen that educational interpreters generally view their position as a neutral but involved participant in the educational setting. The sense of obligation towards the student was clearly expressed and the effect this has on the role of the interpreter can best be observed through the analysis of authentic filmed data. From

the findings of the interviews discussed above, it can be seen that there were three main types of “acceptable” shifts that the interpreters highlighted. These were the use of addition or **interpreter-generated utterances** – to “explain a little bit” when they felt that the word/ sign/ expression might not be understood by the Deaf students, collaboration, which may indicate a **change in the footing** of the interpreter – through controlling the flow of talk, clarification and getting the attention of a primary interlocutor and **fingerspelling** – borrowing by spelling out the English word to ensure the transfer of subject-specific terminology or to provide access to vocabulary which the interpreter lacks in the target language. Although not mentioned by any of the interpreters during the interviews, the acceptability of **minor omissions** became clear from the filmed data.

Thus, in the search to identify the roles of the post-secondary, educational, signed language interpreter in South Africa, it was necessary to analyse the filmed data to check whether these aforementioned linguistic shifts do in fact take place and whether they point to any change in role adopted by the interpreters in the course of their work. It must be noted that not every shift from the source text would be considered within the accepted role of the interpreter, and some deviations could be considered erroneous, where the interpreter has not interpreted competently. Examples of these are provided in order to provide comparative texts.

The analysis of the filmed texts showed that signed language interpreters in post-secondary settings shift away from the source text in a similar manner to interpreters in other settings. From the video footage observed, we can note that the three main shifts highlighted by interpreters during the interviews, as well as omission and compression, indeed occurred in actual lectures. These shifts will be described in more detail and analysed in terms of their possible significance for educational signed language interpreters. Examples of the shifts can be found on the DVD which accompanies this dissertation.

At the outset it should be noted that the analysis showed a marked difference in the frequency and significance of the various shifts, between experienced / trained interpreters and novice / untrained interpreters. Comments related to these observations will be noted in the description of the shifts observed but more detailed research into the

effects of training on performance would produce valuable insight for trainers of educational interpreters.

What was clear from the data is that all educational interpreters shift from the source text and, without doing a statistical analysis of the frequency of the different shifts, it was clear that the most frequent shift was **omission**. Napier and Barker (2004) highlight that whilst all omissions were once considered errors, there is now a growing body of research which provides evidence that interpreters in fact make conscious, strategic omissions during the course of interpreting which enhances the effectiveness of the target message. These omissions are as a result of a conscious decision based on metalinguistic and cultural awareness and is therefore used as a deliberate tool to produce an effective interpretation which is linguistically and culturally meaningful. However, there are also omissions which result in the loss of meaningful information, and these may be considered a potential error. Napier and Barker (2004:377) describe these as being conscious or unconscious (if the interpreter was aware of the omission at the time of its occurrence or not). Conscious omissions may occur as a result of receptive difficulties of the source text, difficulty in understanding lexical items in the source message or being unable to find a suitable equivalent of the lexical item in the target language or may be unintentional as a result of cognitive overload. In this study these errors will be grouped together as inaccurate omissions due to the associated loss in meaning.

Omission is a shift that was present in all the interpreted texts, although the more experienced interpreters tended to produce fewer inaccurate omissions than their novice colleagues and also shifted away from the source text in this manner less often.

On the enclosed DVD there are examples of omissions produced by interpreters in post-secondary education settings in South Africa. However, in this study it is not possible to elicit with complete accuracy whether assumed strategic omissions were in fact mindful decisions or merely omissions with minimal impact on the accuracy of the target message. This is because the interpreters were not given an opportunity to watch the video footage of their work and comment on it. For this reason, the accompanying DVD shows examples of omissions which constitute an inaccurate omission (one which compromises the target text accuracy) or a minor omission (which could have been a strategic decision to improve

the TT output). The examples were selected to showcase a few examples of omissions that occurred and the specific constraints under which the interpreter was operating.

The analysis of the videos indicated strongly that the novice interpreters omitted a great deal more critical information than the experienced interpreters. The example below shows how omission is used by an experienced interpreter to improve the target text output by not interpreting a source text error (DVD: Clip 27). This shift is seen as acceptable as the omission does not affect the semantic clarity of the lecture content for the Deaf students.

Clip 27: FET College

Shift: Minor omission – omission of source text error

Interpreter: “Oh ma’am, you use the little umbrellas as well”

Lecturer: The **vegetable**- the fruit <correcting herself – she was looking for fruits used in presentation of certain drinks>

Interpreter:

(grin) _____^q
AH FRUIT FRUIT\ DIFFERENT+++ WHICH
“fruit” “fruit” “which”

In this example it can be seen that the interpreter has assumed the role of the listener as recapitulator (cf Wadensjö 1998) and has played an active role in deciding what an appropriate target message text would need to include in this context. She produced the target text message as an author and animator (cf Goffman 1981) and the footing of the interpreter in relation to the text and the interlocutors indicates no change in role from that of an interpreter described in Chapter 2.

However, the novice interpreter in the example below (DVD: Clip 28) omitted relevant content of the lecture due to not having specific signs available for the subject-specific terminology presented by the lecturer. Napier and Barker (2004) refer to this omission as a conscious intentional omission. The result is a target message that is not semantically equivalent to the source message. Although this kind of omission may be considered an

error it does not indicate any change in role as the interpreter's footing in relation to the interlocutors does not change.

Clip 28: University

Shift: Inaccurate omission – omission of subject-specific terminology

Lecturer: He says he regards **assimilation** if you explain to them what the different triangles are – **scalene and equilateral, right angle triangles** and now you ask them – you give them an activity where they will have to go and draw different **scalene, different equilateral, different right angle** triangles.

Interpreter:

#OKAY MAN SAID CHILDREN^t EXPLAIN-TO TRIANGLE DIFFERENT+ FOR-EXAMPLE
"okay" "man" "say" "ch" "explain" "triangle" "different"

(looks to lecturer) DIFFERENT+ TRIANGLE+ EXPLAIN-TO_{children} NOW ASK \ AFTER
"different" "now" "ask" "after"

ACTIVITY GIVE-TO CHILDREN DET DRAW DIFFERENT+ TRIANGLE+
"activity" "give" "kids" "draw" "different" "triangle"

Although it may be argued that the omission in Clip 28 above is not an omission but rather chunking up (Katan 1999) to a less specific concept than those expressed in the ST, I contend that in the educational setting, this sort of chunking leads to the unacceptable loss of subject-specific terminology and therefore a loss of meaning.

A further observation noted in the videos and discussed in more detail below, is that it appears that the impact of the interpreter shifts in scientific subjects such as statistics and mathematics on semantic equivalence is greater than in subjects in the humanities and social sciences. The teaching of mathematical subjects at the university level observed during this study involved very little repetition and demanded precise rendering of the specifics of formulas and calculations. The novice interpreter's lack of preparation and resultant lack of understanding of the subject content in the mathematical subject led to frequent inaccurate omissions and an incoherent target text output, whereas the well-prepared, experienced interpreter was able to render a much more accurate target

message, conveying fully the formulas and calculations that the students were required to understand, through the use of **compression**.

The following are the transcriptions of two statistics lectures (DVD: Clip 25 and Clip 26) which indicate the extent to which the novice interpreter omits critical information compared to her experienced colleague who compresses ST repetition in her SASL output.

Clip 25: University (experienced interpreter)

Shift: Compression in mathematical subject

Lecturer: ...faktor A se vlakke het automaties um **verskillende effekte op Y** en faktor B se vlakke het automaties **verskillende effekte op Y**.

*Lecturer: ...factor A's levels have automatically um **different effects on Y** and factor B's levels automatically have **different effects on Y**.*

Interpreter:

BETEKEN FAKTOR A_{lf} VLAK++^(grin) SYNE AUTOMATIES DET_{lf} INVLOED+++ Y_{rt}, FAKTOR
 "mean" "factor" "A" "vlak" "automaties" "inv-" "Y" "factor"
 B VLAK++ DET AUTOMATIES INVLOED_{lf→rt}^(pout lips) VERSKILLEND HET
 "B" "vlak" "automaties" "invloed" "have"

Interpreter: (translation)

MEAN FAKTOR A LEVEL++ ITS^(grin) AUTOMATIC DET_{lf} INFLUENCE+++ Y_{rt}, FAKTOR B
 "mean" "factor" "A" "level" "automatically" "inf-" "Y" "factor" "B"
 LEVEL++ DET AUTOMATIC INFLUENCE_{lf→rt}^(pout lips) DIFFERENT+ HAVE
 "level" "automatically" "influence" "have"

Clip 26: University (novice interpreter)

Shift: Inaccurate omission in a mathematical subject

Lecturer: Right, we have got a population **regression line**(...) by the **following model** – $y = \alpha + \beta x + e$. Right, where 'e' is called the / random error. Okay, α if you think of a straight line α will be the **y intercept** and β will be the **slope of your straight line**.

Interpreter:

(side grin – left)
MEAN WHEN WORK WITH P-O-P-U-L-A-N GROUP^BIG PEOPLE, MEAN Y EQUAL
"mean" "when" "work" "with" "population" "mean" "y" "equals"
A-L-P-H-A PLUS B-E-T-A PLUS E_{rt} MEAN DET_{rt} WHAT RECURRING \
"alpha" (produced slowly) "plus" "beta" (produced slowly) "plus" "e" "mean" "what" "random"
ERROR, MEAN #IF THINK LINE A-L-P-H-A WHAT, Y MEAN VERTICAL-AXIS, MEAN
"mean" "if" "th-" "alpha" "what" "y" "mean"
(side grin – left)
B-E-T-A WHAT HORIZONTAL-AXIS X
"beta" "what" "x"

In Clip 25, it is clear that the interpreter has a good metalinguistic awareness of SASL and the use of position in space and directionality. She uses this awareness to ensure that she accurately conveys the intended message and has the advantage of “shortening” the message by omitting the repetition of the phrase “different effects on y”, which compresses the ST message and ensures that her lag time remains manageable. Compression occurs in a situation where the simultaneity of signed language production can be used to produce a semantically equivalent message using fewer individual signs than words in the original utterance.. A further example of compression is provided in Appendix F (DVD: Clip 29).

However, in Clip 26 the interpreter’s lack of the necessary vocabulary and the need to therefore fingerspell too many words results in her interpreting inaccurately in an attempt to keep up with the source text speaker. The omissions that she makes render the target message nonsensical in a mathematical sense as she omits crucial information needed to understand how to do the required calculation.

Another shift used by all the interpreters observed was **addition**. Whilst in certain settings such as the courtroom, additions are frowned upon (despite the evidence that shifts do

occur in courts), the interpreters in this study all noted that addition of information beyond what was originally uttered is acceptable in certain circumstances and under certain conditions. They all felt that tutoring was not part of the interpreter's role but agreed that through the use of some addition, the target text was likely to be more semantically accurate and the aim of the academic lecture discourse more likely to be realised. This was particularly noted in terms of filling language and world-knowledge gaps.

It could be argued that additions assume that the interpreter has changed footing in relation to the Deaf student, even for just a moment, to act as a teacher, as it is considered traditionally within the role of the teacher to fill noticeable gaps. However, as was noted in Chapter 2 above, roles and norms need to be understood in a particular context. In the context of education, the interpreter is likely to be far more acutely aware of the educational background of the Deaf student, the needs of a visual language user when accessing information and the constraints faced by the Deaf student in a classroom designed for hearing students. I argue therefore that rather than seeing additions as indicative of a change in role, they should be seen as a tool for use by educational interpreters to ensure maximum learning potential for the Deaf students. Of course, such additions should not replace the original utterance nor should they result in conscious unintentional or unconscious omissions.

The specific categories of addition noted during analysis of the video footage included:

- Repetition as addition
- Expanded renditions
- Explication (Klaudy 2001)

The first of these addition shift categories, **repetition as addition**, is one where the interpreter repeats information previously signed (and spoken in the original utterance) that was not repeated by the lecturer. An example is given below (DVD: Clip3) in which the interpreter repeats an answer that was previously given by another student in the class.

Shift: Repetition as addition

Interpreter:

Lecturer: Now is that an exact answer or an estimated answer?

DET_{lf} SURE+++ EXACT ANSWER THINK (haphazardly),
"sure" "answer"

Lecturer: That's exact

_____aff
EXACT DET_{cntr} ANSWER DET_{cntr} TWO COMMA FIVE
"answer" "two" "comma" "five"

This type of addition is one that is likely to apply specifically to signed language interpreters as this sort of repetition is common in signed languages. In Valli et al (2005: 510) the authors describe repetition as a tool used in signed language discourse as a means by which to ensure the discourse remains cohesive and to engage the addressees. This kind of shift from the source text is therefore a shift which is desirable and could add to the successful outcome of the interpreted lecture. Shifts of this nature noted in the study did not interfere in the continued successful interpretation of the classes and did not affect the interpreters' lag time negatively. Further transcriptions of examples of repetition as addition are provided in Appendix F (DVD: Clip 1 and Clip 2).

A second shift involving addition that was noted in the videos was **expanded renditions**. Examples of these renditions show the interpreters adding words to the target text (not uttered in the source text) either as a form of emphasis of a concept (such as “pressure” being interpreted as “RESPONSIBILITIES PRESSURE”: Appendix F, DVD: Clip 5) or as a result of an awareness of discourse constraint of a visual language (DVD: Clip 4). This awareness of the discourse constraints of signed language in the classroom is worth exploring further as it occurred only in the two classes where there were several Deaf students.

Clip 4 – FET College

Shift: Expanded rendition- SASL requirement

Lecturer: And the heating?

Interpreter:

^{wh-q}
HEAT WHAT-ABOUT-IT

“Ma’am, it mustn’t be too hot, it must just be comfortably warm.”

Lecturer: Yes

Interpreter:

^{aff} ^(pursed lips)
YES **WARM COMFORTABLE PERFECT**
“warm”

In order to understand the need for such an expanded rendition when interpreting for Deaf students, the classroom situation needs to be described as it is not visible on the video. The students were sitting at desks, some behind others, and they were participating in the class by answering questions posed by the lecturer. The lecture was at an FET college and the lectures in this education setting are far more dialogic than at the universities. One of the Deaf students responded to the question about heating which the interpreter voiced over and the lecturer responded saying “Yes”. The interpreter indicated “YES” as the response that the lecturer had given, but elaborated on what the correct answer was (“COMFORTABLY WARM”) as Deaf students behind and in front of the student who had signed the answer would not have seen her initial response. This example shows clearly why attempting to understand the interpreter’s role in the education setting is impossible without considering the whole environment in which the interpretation takes place.

These expanded renditions do not appear to be a common feature of the interpreted texts of novice interpreters. In this study, there were very few examples of the novice interpreters adding words or phrases to the target text message in such a way as to support the semantically equivalent transfer of the source message. This is however, to be expected, as the novice interpreter is more likely to focus on the lexical level and target text equivalence than on the discourse and semantic requirements of the Deaf student. This is in line with the observations made by Moser-Mercer (2008) on skills acquisition, in

which she notes the differences between novices (who focus more on the actual words) and experienced interpreters (who are able to focus on the entire message).

The final shift involving addition of information is the use of **explicitation** by the interpreters. It was again interesting to note that this shift occurred very seldom in the interpretations of the novice interpreters. It can be assumed that the focus on lexical equivalence and retrieval of the necessary lexical items in less-fluent signed language interpreters leads to a situation where there is simply not enough time to make the implied information explicit without falling too far behind the speaker.

The samples of explicitation shown on the DVD (Clips 6 to 8) highlight some of the reasons that the interpreters elect to use this strategy to create a meaningful target text. In clip 6 we can see that the interpreter makes the implied message about what the screen should NOT look like explicit by signing “neat” as a straight line going down and then clarifying that this means that the vertical line of the content layout on the screen should not be “skew”. The signs the interpreter has used are strong visual cues of the message expressed by the lecturer and by making explicit what is NOT expected ensures that the implied meaning of the utterance is well understood by the addressee.

Clip 6 – University

Shift: Explicitation

Lecturer: Um jy moet besef dat jou alignment en goed op die ou end netjies lyk.

Lecturer: Um you must ensure that your alignment and things look neat in the end.

Interpreter:

...KAN MAKLIK REGMAAK KAN, JY WEET\ MOET REGUIT-VERTIKAAL-LYN
“kan” “maklik” “maak” “moet”

LINKS++ OF REGS+, SKEEF-VERTIKAAL-LYN(emphatic) MOENIE
“links” “of” “regs” “moenie”

Interpreter: (translation)

...CAN EASY FIX-UP CAN, YOU KNOW \ MUST STRAIGHT-VERTICAL-LINE
“can” “easy” “fix” “must”

LEFT++ OR RIGHT+, SKEW-VERTICAL-LINE(emphatic) DON'T
“left” “or” “right” “don't”

The next example of explicitation (Appendix F, DVD: Clip 7) involves a statement that the lecturer makes that he assumes everyone in the class would understand. He refers to the “speed of light” and the interpreter elects to add unspoken content (“FAST FAST”) to the interpreted message in order to ensure that the Deaf students understands the significance of the concept “speed of light”. Whether this was a conscious decision based on an understanding of the gaps in Deaf education in South Africa or an inadvertant addition – it nonetheless is an example of an educational interpreter making the implied meaning of a generally understood concept overt.

The final example of explicitation on the DVD (Clip 8) is an addition in which the interpreter seeks to make explicit the specific word order sequence that is significant in the content under discussion.

Clip 8 – University

Shift: Explicitation

Lecturer: In the sole trader er business and companies we we talk about the ‘Income Statement’ but <emphasised> in the non-trading entities um this is- this statement is actually referred to as ‘Statement of Income’.

Interpreter:

SOLE TRADER COMPANY BUSINESS TALK ABOUT INCOME STATEMENT^t BUT_{rt}
 “sole” “trader” “business” “talk” “about” “income” “statement” “but”
 N-O-N TRADING COMPANY_{lf} INDEX_{lf} SAY CALL TALK^ABOUT STATEMENT OF_{neg}
 “non” “trading” “entity” “say” “call” “talk about” “statement” “of”
 INCOME **DON’T CHANGE DON’T**
 “income”

In the above clip it can be seen that the interpreter is making an inference about the Deaf student’s understanding of English word order and assumes that they may not realise the significance of the specific order in which the words need to be used in different circumstances. He thus makes the meaning implied by the lecturer in mentioning the two different forms of the name of the financial document explicit by indicating that the words should not be switched.

All the explicitations cited in the DVD examples (and indeed most of those observed in the videos overall) were pragmatic additions rather than grammatical additions. However, grammatical explicitation would occur in SASL target text production when there is a difference in the way that the grammar of English and SASL work. Such an example would be if the source text included reference to personal pronouns indicating gender. Pronouns in SASL do not carry gender information and an addition may be necessary to make explicit what the implied meaning of the pronoun is. No examples of this were found in the footage, however.

Thus it can be seen that linguistic additions in the form of repetition, expanded renditions and explicitation are tools that the educational interpreter uses to ensure that Deaf students have full and equal access to the educational material presented to them in class. This does indicate a departure from the traditional role of the interpreter as conduit, but in no way indicates a departure from the new understanding of an expanded role for educational interpreters, and indicates an additional set of knowledge educational interpreters will need to be aware of when carrying out their duties.

The next kind of linguistic shift that was observed in all interpreters was the need to **borrow words** from the source text through the use of fingerspelling (i.e. borrowing of the English word and spelling it out). In the interviews all the interpreters mentioned the need to use fingerspelling fairly often in the education setting as often the technical vocabulary is important to know. This may also be true of academic English in general. However, it was noted during analysis of the data that the novice interpreters tended to fingerspell more often and also sometimes fingerspelled words that would not be considered terminology or academic English, in order to compensate for their gaps in vocabulary items in SASL.

The examples on the DVD are representative of the major uses of fingerspelling in the educational setting (Clips 10-17). The first use is to *clarify a sign* that the interpreter used and which for some reason, the interpreter believes the Deaf students have not understood. Examples of the different ways in which this is done follow.

Clip 10 – University

Shift: Fingerspelling to clarify a sign's meaning (spelling immediate)

Lecturer: Do you remember your seeds, for example? <long pause>

Interpreter:

(frowning, confused) rb

SHOW SOMETHING REMEMBER **SEED++**, **S-E-E-D-S**

"show" "something" "remember" "seeds" "seeds"

In clip 10 we can see that the interpreter was unsure as to whether the student had understood the sign she used for "seed" and therefore elected to fingerspell the word immediately after using the sign to ensure understanding. Her decision to fingerspell the word may also have been influenced by the long pause in the source text production which gave her sufficient time to make use of this type of shift which would ensure continued understanding on the part of the student.

Clip 11 – University

Shift: Fingerspelling to clarify a sign's meaning (spelling deferred)

Lecturer: For all the other chapters, how many variables did we have? <Pause> One. Right. For chapter eleven we are working with two variables, one called the x and the other one called the y variable.

Interpreter:

rh-q
DIFFERENT HAVE WHAT REMEMBER CHAPTER OTHER_{If} **VARIABLE**
"different" "have" "what" "remember" "other" "variables"

rh-q t rh-q
HOW-MANY HAVE, ONE, BUT CHAPTER ELEVEN_{rt} HAVE HOW-MANY TWO
"how many" "have" "one" "but" "eleven" "have" "how many" "two"

rh-q
V-A-R-I-B-L-E, MEAN WHAT X_{If} SAME Y_{rt}, MEAN...
"mean" "what" "x" "and" "y" "mean"

In clip 11 above it was observed that the interpreter only spelled the meaning of the sign in a later utterance when the word is uttered again in the source text. The reasons for this may include the source text speaker talking at a rapid pace which means little time for the fingerspelling, an evaluation on the part of the interpreter that the sign was not understood the first time it was used or that the interpreter is questioning herself about

the correctness of the sign she used. The rapid pace of the speaker may also be the reason she misspelled the word.

Sometimes the interpreter may use a sign, spell the word and then use the sign again. Clip 13 (Appendix F) indicates such an example. This repetition of the sign is in line with the use of repetition in signed languages mentioned earlier.

The second reason that interpreters in this study used fingerspelling was because there was very *specific vocabulary that needed to be conveyed* and for which no sign had yet been established or the established sign was not known to the interpreter. In some cases these words occurred only once during the lecture and were spelled once and left at that (Appendix F, DVD Clips 14 to 17). In other cases where the fingerspelled word was used repeatedly, interpreters fingerspelled the entire word each time (see DVD: Clip 26 above for spelling of α and β). During the interviews, interpreters said that they may use an initialised sign once they have spelled a word in order to prevent extended lag time as a result of constant spelling of entire words, but no examples of this were present in the videos. It was clear from the videos that educational interpreters need to be well-prepared for classes however, as the incorrect spelling of technical vocabulary may cause more harm than good in the education process (see Clip 26 above and DVD:Clip 15 – Appendix F).

The final use of fingerspelling observed in the videos was to *elicit a sign* from the Deaf students (Appendix F, DVD: Clip 12). Although this will be partly covered under the next observed shift, collaboration, where the interpreter fingerspells the word and directly asks the Deaf student for the sign, it was also noted that a word may also be fingerspelled only, without explicitly asking for the sign and still elicit the sign from the students. This does not appear to be a commonly used strategy and was observed only once in the videos from this research project. This shift also relies on the Deaf students to provide the feedback, otherwise it will remain an example of fingerspelled terminology.

Fingerspelling is therefore a strategy used by educational interpreters to ensure that the complex content of subjects is adequately conveyed. It would therefore appear that the role of the educational interpreter implies an increased use of fingerspelling to ensure accurate transfer of academic content to the Deaf students.

Another strategy which is used is by interpreters in the education setting is **collaboration**. I use this term to describe situations in which the interpreter interacts directly with one of the primary participants for one reason or another. Such an interaction may indicate a change on footing between the interpreter and the primary interlocutors and may therefore indicate a corresponding change in role. Collaboration was seen to occur for many different reasons in the research videos. The goal, it would seem, of this “working together” is to ensure that the educational process is as effective as possible and to minimise the effects of the presence of an interpreter on this process.

In the videos, collaboration was seen occurring to achieve the following goals:

- Clarification - asking the Deaf student for a sign (Appendix F, DVD: Clips 18 and 22)
- Clarification – clarifying misunderstood utterances made by either of the primary participants (Appendix F, DVD: Clip 19)
- Attention getting (Appendix F, DVD: Clip 19)
- Clarification - answering a student question directly (DVD: Clip 20 below)
- Clarification - self correcting and apologising for errors (Appendix F, DVD: Clips 21 and 23)
- Clarification - Explaining sign usage (Appendix F, DVD: Clip 24)

It is important to note that in some cases the collaborations can be considered an error or going beyond the boundaries of the role of the interpreter. This is especially true with the example of explaining sign usage (Appendix F, Clip 24) on the DVD where the collaboration affected the continued flow of the message as the time lag became too long. There were thus inaccurate omissions as a result of the lengthy collaboration. If the ultimate goal of the interpreter is to provide the Deaf student with equal access to content presented in a lecture, taking into account the specific context and content of the lecture and the background of the student, any collaboration which negatively affects this goal should not be considered a norm for educational interpreters.

However, successful collaborations could result in minimised effect of the interpreter on the overall flow of the lecture. In the clip below we see the interpreter responding directly to a question from a student for the repetition of a page number. The interpreter elects to

give the student the answer she seeks, rather than interpreting the question as the answer is short and within the knowledge base of the interpreter to do so.

Clip 20 – FET College

Shift: Collaboration: Interpreter answers a student's question directly

Interpreter: "What page are we on ma'am?"

Lecturer: 1 0 5

Interpreter:

PAGE 1 0 5_{lf} (slow)\\\ (eye gaze right) 1 0 5_{rt}
"one o five" "one o five"

Examples of successful collaboration on the DVD share important common features including:

- Length of time to conclude the collaboration is appropriate
- Timing of collaboration in terms of ST production "quiet patches"
- Minimal if any effect on the overall production of the TT message

It should also be noted that it appears that the slower the lecturer's speaking pace the more collaboration is likely to happen. It is thus part of the role of the interpreter to judge the communicative situation in the classroom in which she interprets and decide whether collaboration is more likely to help or hinder the educational process as it unfolds.

These then were the most commonly observed linguistic shifts made by interpreters in the filmed data used for this project. These shifts and the reasons for their use are important to understand and include in training of educational signed language interpreters as they are tools which can be used by the interpreter to ensure the smooth and successful transfer of spoken language lectures to Deaf students.

5.2.2 University vs FET College interpretation

From the above analysis of the video footage, it can be seen that the particular educational setting in which interpretation takes place will necessarily affect the manner in which the interpreter undertakes her role. It is therefore impossible to define the educational

interpreter's role completely as the role varies depending on the setting. The major differences between the two settings as observed in this study are highlighted in Table 1.

FET College	University
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lectures more dialogic in nature 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lectures more monologic in nature
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Larger number of Deaf students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One or two Deaf students per class is the norm
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deaf students have a lower level of academic achievement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deaf students must have minimally passed Grade 12 with a senior certificate
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpreter works alone as there are no other interpreters nor disability unit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpreters have the support of an established disability unit and /or other interpreters
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lectures are delivered at a slower pace with more repetition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lectures are delivered at a more rapid pace with less repetition (subject dependent)

Table 1: Some observed differences between FET Colleges and universities

From the above table, it can be seen that in these two South African post-secondary education settings, interpreter roles may vary. Whilst an SASL interpreter in the FET college is more likely to find role definitions of a liaison interpreter more appropriate, interpreters at a university may fulfil their role more like that of conference interpreters. However, even such broad generalisations may not always hold true, and the interpreter should still be aware of the need for flexibility and adjustment when needed.

In line with the understanding of norms discussed in chapter 2, it can be expected that since there are several major differences between the two environments, the norms appropriate for interpreters in each setting would differ. These differences were indeed very noticeable and it is likely that the level of addition and explicitation employed by the FET college interpreter would be seen as completely inappropriate for the university setting, but was seen as necessary to ensure a positive outcome of the educational process in that setting. One such noticeable difference is the speed at which the interpreter fingerspells words (DVD: Clip 16 (FET College) and Clip 17 (University)). This is likely to be

as a result of the interpreter's awareness of the lower academic achievement of students in the FET college as well as the considerably slower pace at which lectures in that institution are presented. In clip 9 from the DVD below, the interpreter at the FET college is seen adding information and attempting to close the knowledge gap through explanation, when introducing the word "whale". This level of addition to and explanation of the source text was not observed in any of the university lectures.

Clip 9² – FET college

Shift: Considerable addition of information

Lecturer: Okay, the reality is this. The whale <turns to face a student who is late at the door> Sorry dear, sorry dear. You are late. Don't even explain. <addressing the class> The reality is that we are told that this is the // biggest creature on earth, be it a fish or- but it is the biggest creature on earth.

Interpreter:

#OKAY WHALE <disruption: late student at door>

<interpreting to late-comer> "PRO1" / "whale" neg SORRY LATE, neg 2hWAIT WAIT/COME-IN 2hWAIT, "sorry" "late" "come"

neg EXPLAIN-TO-ME NO, "explain"

<signing directly to Deaf students> (smiling) NAUGHTY,

<interpreting> INDEX_{behind-on-blackboard} aff WHALE YOU KNOW SEA/CL:B_{lf} 'INDEX'_{lf} "whale" "know"

BIG(emphatic) SAME FISH BREACHING-WHALE, YOU-KNOW INDEX_{behind-on-blackboard} "big" "same" "fish"

WHY SEA BIG(emphatic+) OR DOESN'T-MATTER WATER_{lf} EARTH_{rt} LAND_{rt} "why" "sea" "big" "matter" "water"

BIG(emphatic++) WHALE BIG ELEPHANT_{rt} SMALL_{rt} (puffed cheeks, tongue out slightly) WHALE_{lf} BIG "big" "whale" "elephant" "whale" "big"

KNOW BIG++ ALL BEAT FINE q "big" "of" "all" "beat"

² In this clip the lecturer has written the word "WHALE" on the blackboard which is located behind the interpreter

The extent to which these observed differences between the FET college and university settings result in different norms and different role definitions in the different types of post-secondary education settings is an interesting potential future research project. A more detailed analysis of the styles and behaviours of interpreters in the different settings will assist interpreter trainers in more accurately portraying the nature of the work done by educational interpreters in specific settings.

5.3 Sub-conclusions

The analysis of the interviews and video footage described above enables us to draw the following sub-conclusions about the educational interpreters interviewed and observed in this study. The first noticeable observation from the analysis is that all the educational interpreters who participated in this study shift from the source text to a greater or lesser extent and despite this, do not seem to change roles. It was noticeable that experienced interpreters display a closer synergy between what they believe they should do (professional norm) and their practice (product norm) than the novice interpreters in respect of these linguistic shifts although the extent to which this is true was not established in this study. Whilst all the interpreters strongly felt that the professional norm was to remain neutral and not add or omit, the novice interpreters tended to shift more from the source message in practice in such a way that at times the target message was semantically different from the source message.

The second noticeable observation was that the educational context has a direct impact on the manner in which the interpreter carries out her duties and how her role is defined. The observed differences between the interpreter's levels of involvement in the FET setting as opposed to the university setting were marked. This again points to the manner in which different strategies are employed by the interpreter as a result of the expectancy norms and environment in which the interpretation takes place.

It was also seen that the nature of the subject content being covered in a lecture also affects the extent to which the interpreters shift from the source message. In the more scientific or mathematical subjects, there appeared to be a tendency to interpret more literally, while in other subjects the interpreters used a more free interpreting style. This is likely due to the non-repetitive and linear nature of the mathematical discourse which

presents less opportunity for the interpreter to make use of shift without losing crucial information due to increased lag time.

Finally it was noted that the norms which govern interpreter decisions appear to be naturally occurring rather than something which they consciously consider. Although the interpreters did mention the importance of fingerspelling and “explaining a bit” they tended to focus on the “no addition, no omission” principle. It could therefore be said that there is a difference between their expectancy norms and production norms (Chesterman 1993).

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the analysis of the interviews with educational interpreters and the data of interpreters performing their duties in class were discussed. It was found that whilst all the interpreters had a similar perception of what their role should entail and which normative behaviours are acceptable, the analysis shows that differences exist in the actual role performance of novice interpreters compared to experienced interpreters. The influence of the educational setting as well as the subject content on the acceptable norms as displayed by interpreter behaviour in the lectures was also noted. In the following chapter, the significance of these findings will be discussed and the study will be concluded followed by suggestions for further research in this area.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

“The world is round and the place which may seem like the end may also be only the beginning.”

(Ivy Baker Priest)

6.1 Introduction

This study began with a discussion of the field of interpreting studies and positioned educational interpreting within the field of liaison interpreting studies. The nature of interpreting as a discourse process and signed language as a specific type of interpreting was described and the current theory regarding norms and roles within the interpreting process was examined. The research context in South African post-secondary education settings was explored through a discussion of Deaf education in South Africa at various levels, the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the extent to which educational interpreting is utilised to explore multilingual post-secondary education in SA. Thereafter, the data collected was described and analysed and sub-conclusions drawn regarding the significance of these findings. This chapter shall return the reader to the research questions posed in Chapter 1 by providing a summary of the findings and drawing conclusions about the investigation which has been described in this dissertation.

6.2 Summary of findings

This investigation into the roles of signed language interpreters in post-secondary education settings in South Africa has provided the interpreting community and interpreter trainers with concrete, verifiable evidence regarding the normative behaviour of educational interpreters in this context. The findings indicate strongly that the initial assumption that there would be no uniform understanding of role amongst educational interpreters was incorrect. However, whilst the educational interpreters included in this study appear to **share a very similar conception of their professional role** i.e. what they feel they ought to be doing, there remains a **mismatch between the perceived manner in which that role should be fulfilled in order to conform to professional norms and the actual manner in which the role is fulfilled following product norms**. This is evidenced by the presence of various shifts away from the source message in the target message

utterances in practice, whilst all the interpreters felt that addition and omission were to be avoided. Whilst the interpreters did mention that a little bit of explanation or the use of chunking strategies would be acceptable, the complex nature of the role of the interpreter and the available tools to fulfil that role were not clearly articulated.

Further, it was found that there exists a noticeable **difference in the performance of experienced as opposed to novice interpreters** (cf. also Moser-Mercer (1997)). Whilst experienced interpreters also shifted from the source text and changed footing in relation to the students on occasion, it was perceptible that the nature of most of the shifts was such that the semantic clarity of the message was not compromised nor was the interpreting or teaching process impeded in any way. This was not so with the novice interpreters, where linguistic shifts more regularly resulted in omitted facts or incorrect information being relayed and at times resulted in extended lag times which impeded the interpreting process.

As with all roles that people assume, the environment in which one performs affects how the role is fulfilled. This investigation found that the **educational context (the type of educational institution) greatly affects the educational interpreter's role**, as the expectancy norms in these settings, as well as the goals of the interpretation and educational processes appear to be quite distinct.

Closely related to the context in terms of type of educational institution, is context in terms of subject. The research found that **certain subjects seem to lead interpreters to greater adherence to source text accuracy (more literal interpreting) than others**. From the lectures observed during this study, it appears that linear, formulaic subjects such as maths and statistics are taught using a particular pedagogy and discourse which, if not interpreted accurately, can easily lead to incorrect meaning in the target text. This indicates therefore that the manner in which the interpreter performs in educational settings for different subjects may require a more mindful application of how the discourse should be managed by the interpreter.

In comparing the responses of the interpreters in the interviews regarding their role with their observed role fulfilment in lectures, it was noted that **interpreters seem to engage in the expected normative behaviour unconsciously**. Whilst they were all adamant that “I

am just the interpreter” and “I must not add or omit”, in practise they do add and omit, often based on personal judgement of what is needed in that situation to make the educational process work for the Deaf students.

This innate understanding of the requirements of the student in the situation, as evidenced by interpreter behaviour, seems to point to the fact that the **interpreters unconsciously understand that absolute neutrality is not the goal they should aim to achieve**. The interpreters’ practice showed that interpreters understand that although the interpreter should seek to limit their effect on the discourse process; there are times when, even within the role of ‘interpreter’ that one may be the principal, author and animator of an utterance (Goffman 1981). They also display behaviours which indicate that their level of involvement in the discourse process increases and decreases to achieve specific outcomes (Niska *in* Kotze 2010). This could indicate a greater need for specific training for educational interpreters to become consciously aware of how they can, and do already, perform their role.

The findings thus point to educational interpreters having an instinctive understanding of the multi-faceted role which they fulfil as evidenced through their practice, but there is limited conscious awareness of the tools and strategies that enable an interpreter to fulfil her role.

6.3 Conclusions of the study

What *are* the roles that post-secondary educational signed language interpreters in South Africa fulfil? From the research above it can be concluded that there is only one role – the role of the educational interpreter. Among educational interpreters in South Africa, the traditional understanding that the interpreter should aim to be a neutral conduit and that departure from this norm is to be limited, seems to prevail. However, this study has asserted the findings of other researchers who found that such a limited role definition of the work of an educational signed language interpreter is inaccurate as such neutrality is not the reality that is experienced in the lecture rooms. The study confirms the findings of previous broad interpreting studies which conclude that the interpreter may relay a message differently depending on her footing to the speaker and utterance (Goffman 1981), may assume various positions as a listener within her role (Wadensjö 1998) and may

generate her own utterances whilst managing turns and co-ordinating speak (Metzger 2005). It has also shown that the specific setting in which the interpretation occurs has a direct influence on how the interpreter's role will be fulfilled.

We can conclude then that the teacher-interpreter paradox is not in fact an inconsistency but rather an expression of norm-directed behaviour in educational interpreting. The role of the interpreter in post-secondary education settings in South Africa is a far cry from "just interpreting" and requires a great deal of preparation and conscious reflection in order to perform optimally. The "teacher role" in the educational interpreter's role is not to be misunderstood as the interpreter becoming a replacement for the lecturer. Rather, it should be understood as one vital component of this multi-faceted position which guides the interpreter to consciously consider not only the words that are being said in the classroom, but also why, where and how they are being said and ultimately, what the aim of the education process is and what her role in that process for Deaf students is.

6.4 Significance of the conclusion

This work represents the first research study into educational signed language interpreting in South Africa. The findings and conclusion are based on the observation and analysis of authentic interpreted lectures and form a valid foundation from which to launch further, more detailed research in this area. The significance of the findings and conclusion is that:

- It asserts that, for the first time in South Africa, the role of the educational interpreter is not that of a neutral, uninvolved "machine" who converts spoken words into signs, but is an active participant in the educational process of Deaf students (cf. also Wadensjö (1998) and Roy (2000) for other liaison interpreting settings).
- It provides support for interpreter trainers to use in discussions on norms and normative behaviour in educational interpreting.
- It directs interpreters to consider how the context in which they interpret affects their role realization.

6.5 Limitations of the study

As was mentioned above, the goal of this study is not to achieve generalisable statements about the roles of educational signed language interpreters in post-secondary education settings in South Africa, but rather to examine authentic texts and describe what interpreter behaviour in lectures indicates about the roles fulfilled by these interpreters and consider how this may affect interpreter training in this area. The application of the findings of the study should therefore be understood as a description of a limited number of examples of this phenomenon.

The study would therefore be enhanced by the inclusion of a greater number of educational institutions which employ interpreters and therefore a broader, more generalisable database to work from. Further data could also be collected from sites where data was not gathered for this study. Having access to more example of interpreter's at work will assist student and trainee interpreters to understand more fully their decision-making processes in the classroom and the acceptable normative manner in which the role is filled. Ultimately, with more detailed research and more refined findings, as well as extended training for educational interpreters, Deaf students' access in post-secondary education settings in South Africa will be greatly enhanced.

6.6 Suggestions for further research

The findings and conclusion drawn in this study came from a descriptive analysis of interviews and interpreted lectures. This has provided a broad, overall depiction of the nature of post-secondary educational signed language interpreting in South Africa. However, there were several aspects of the observed normative behaviour that were noted in the study which may warrant a more detailed investigation. Therefore, the following areas of research could be undertaken to deepen our understanding of the role of the educational interpreter:

1. Compare the shifts that occur in the work of experienced vs. novice interpreters in more depth, as well as the types and significance of those shifts in terms of semantic transfer and the overall influence on the coherence of the interpreted text.

2. Compare the types and frequency of shifts that occur in different post-secondary education settings e.g.: FET college vs University.
3. Compare the types and frequency of shifts that occur in different subject types

This study has provided a necessary foundation from which to launch further research into educational signed language interpreting in South Africa. It is hoped that all research in this area will result in more appropriate and accurate services to Deaf students in post-secondary education settings in South Africa.

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Appendix A

Educational Interpreters in Post-secondary education

Questionnaire

1. Age group and gender

18-25

☐

26-30

☐

Male

☐

31-35

☐

Female

☐

36-40

☐

41<

☐

2. a.) How long have you been involved in educational Sign Language interpreting in a post-secondary setting?

<12 m

☐

12-24 m

☐

24-36 m

☐

36-48 m

☐

> 48m

☐

b.) In what type of post-secondary setting have you done most of your educational interpreting?

Traditional University

☐

University of Technology

☐

Further education and training college

☐

Private college

☐

Other (please specify)

☐

3. Where did you learn South African Sign Language?

One or both of my parents is Deaf

☐

A sibling is Deaf

☐

At University

☐

Other (please specify)

☐

4. (a) Do you have any formal Sign Language interpreter training?

Yes ☐

No ☐

(b) If you answered "Yes" in (a) please specify the type and duration of the training you have done.

TYPE		DURATION	
Short course	<input type="checkbox"/>	< 10 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>
NDP course	<input type="checkbox"/>	10 – 20 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>
Module in undergrad Degree	<input type="checkbox"/>	21 – 30 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>
Post-graduate degree	<input type="checkbox"/>	31 – 40 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>
In-house training	<input type="checkbox"/>	> 40 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(c) Where did you do the training? _____

5. (a) Do you have any other post-secondary qualifications?

Yes ☐

No ☐

(b) If you answered "Yes" in (a) please list qualifications and where they were obtained.

6. Are you a member of a professional interpreter body such as SATI?

Yes ☐

No ☐

7. Are you satisfied at work?

Yes ☐

No ☐

8. Would you like to receive further training as an educational interpreter?

Yes ☐

No ☐

(b) If you answered "Yes" above, please detail which areas of training you feel you would like to receive.

English to SASL interpreting ☐

SASL to English interpreting ☐

Clarity on role and function ☐

Subject / content orientation ☐

Other (please specify) ☐

10. Do you feel that a standard Code of Good Practice for educational interpreters would be helpful in understanding your role in the education of Deaf students in SA?

Yes ☐

No ☐

11. During the course of your interpreting, which of the following are you aware that you do?

	Never	Occasionally (<once per week)	Regularly (1 – 3 times per week)	Frequently (at least once in every lecture)
Explain the meaning of a word				
Answer questions directed at you by students				
Omit information the lecturer is repeating				
Chat with students when there is free time in class				
Add explanations beyond what the lecturer has done				
Remind students of assignments that are due, homework tasks etc				
Engage in disciplinary actions such as moaning about a students cell phone ringing				
Tutoring students after class				

12. With reference to your answers above, do you feel that any of the behaviours you display are appropriate due to the unique environment of the post-secondary classroom? Explain.

13. Do you think the roles of educational interpreters and other interpreters differ, specifically in the South African context? Please elaborate.

Appendix B

Educational Interpreters in post-secondary education

Interview questions

1. How long have you been working as an educational Sign Language interpreter?
2. Have you always been an interpreter or did you do other work before becoming an interpreter? (were you interpreting in other settings?)
3. Tell me about what your job entails. What does a typical work day involve?
4. Do you feel adequately trained and competent to fulfil what you believe your role to be? What areas are you strong in and what areas do you feel weak in?
5. Give me a detailed description of what you believe your role as an educational interpreter for Deaf students to be.
6. What do you think are the most important aspects of the code of ethics for interpreters who work in educational settings? Why?
7. If a lecturer came to you, the interpreter out of class time and said that she has noticed the attendance of the Deaf students is inadequate and that their marks are not good, and asks you to keep a detailed register of the Deaf student's attendance at lectures how would you respond? Why?
8. A deaf student asks you the meaning of a word you have fingerspelled during a lecture. How do you respond?
9. Deaf students have to work with hearing students for a group project. What do you think your responsibilities are in this situation?
10. Deaf students invite you to a social even over the weekend. Do you attend? Why do you feel that is the best action?
11. Deaf students request your assistance for personal matters such as telephonic interpreting to call debt counsellors about overdue clothing accounts or writing a letter of reference. What do you do?
12. Do you feel that academic staff at _____ understand the role of the interpreter? Why do you say that?

13. What frustrations do you encounter in your job both personally and in relation to students and other staff members?
14. What advice would you give to other SASL interpreters who are interested in becoming interpreters at a post-secondary level?
15. Do you have any strong feelings about the role of the educational interpreter, positive or negative? Are there areas you are unclear on or are you confident that the manner in which you conduct yourself in the lecture venue is congruent with the role and function of the educational interpreter?

Appendix C

Transcription header for interpreting studies

@ Recorded activity ID: U-SASLVED-F-02-003-01
@ Recorded activity date: 8 October 2008
@ Recorded activity type: Formal lecture at traditional university
@ Recorded activity title: Occupational Psychology lecture at the University of the Free State
@ Short name: Psychology Lecture
@ Activity mode: face-to-face
@ Duration:
@ Tape: U SASLVED F 02 003 01
@ Participant: Lecturer = M01
@ Participant: Client = M02
@ Participant: Interpreter E = M04
@ Transcription name: U-SASLVED-F-02-003-01
@ Transcriber: (Karina van Aarde)
@ Transcription date: 20100419
@ Transcribed Segments:
@ Transcription system:
@ Checker: (Odette Swift)
@ Checking dates:
@ Anonymized: Yes
@ For external use: Yes
@ Time coding: Yes
@ Interpreter:
@ Section:
\$
\$N:

Appendix D
Research Participation
Informed Consent Document - Interpreters

Title and Researchers

The research you are being asked to participate in is an investigation into “**The roles of signed language interpreters in post-secondary educational settings in South Africa**”. My name is Odette Swift (BPrimEd, BEd (Deaf Ed)– WITS) and I am studying through the University of South Africa.

Reason for the research

This project aims to investigate the current role(s) held by interpreters in various HEIs and to investigate the specific circumstances that these interpreters function within. I will be interviewing and filming as many SASL interpreters in HEI's in SA as I can. It is only once we fully understand the current dynamics of educational SASL interpreters, that we can work towards developing a Code of Good Practice and ultimately assessment tools for educational interpreters in South Africa – although these goals are beyond the scope of this initial investigation.

Furthermore the video material and transcriptions thereof will form part of a corpus (database) of a project that UNISA is running called “the UNISA Southern African Spoken and Signed Language Corpus”. This corpus will be of great benefit for SASL interpreters who wish to improve their own skills and understanding of SASL.

Details of Participation

If you agree to participate in this research, I will require about an hour of your time to interview you, and I will film two 1 hour lectures. There are no special requirements in terms of the lectures, although a lapel mike may need to be worn by the interpreter and lecturer in order to get a good quality voice recording on the video. There may be further follow up via email once I start to analyse the material. If at any time you have any questions relating to your participation, please feel free to ask.

You are assured that your participation in this research will in no way jeopardise your position, nor will any judgement be made on your interpreting ability. The materials gathered will be kept confidential in all transcriptions and all information gained during the interview will be held in the strictest confidence.

By signing this document, you are in no way obligated to continue participating in the research if at any time you feel you no longer wish to. You may withdraw at any time and may refuse to answer any questions you feel uncomfortable responding to.

If you have any further queries regarding the project please feel free to contact the supervisor, Dr Kim Wallmach via email at kim.wallmach@wits.ac.za.

Declaration by participant

By signing below, I agree to take part in a research study entitled **“The roles of signed language interpreters in post-secondary educational settings in South Africa.”**

I declare that:

- I have read the above information and consent form and it is written in a language with which I am fluent and comfortable.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been adequately answered.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary and I have not been pressurised to take part.
- I may choose to leave the study at any time and will not be penalised or prejudiced in any way.

Signed at (place) on (date)
2009.

.....
Signature of participant

.....
Signature of witness

Declaration by investigator

I **Odette Belinda Swift** declare that:

- I explained the information in this document to
.....
- I encouraged him/her to ask questions and took adequate time to answer them.
- I am satisfied that he/she adequately understands all aspects of the research, as discussed above

Signed at (place) on (date)
2009.

.....
Signature of investigator

.....
Signature of witness

Appendix E

Research Participation

Informed Consent Document - Lecturers

Title and Researchers

The research you are being asked to participate in is an investigation into “**The roles of signed language interpreters in post-secondary educational settings in South Africa**”. My name is Odette Swift (BPrimEd, BEd (Deaf Ed)– WITS) and I am studying through the University of South Africa.

Reason for the research

This project aims to investigate the current role(s) held by interpreters in various HEIs and to investigate the specific circumstances that these interpreters function within. I will be interviewing and filming as many SASL interpreters in HEI's in SA as I can. It is only once we fully understand the current dynamics of educational SASL interpreters, that we can work towards developing a Code of Good Practice and ultimately assessment tools for educational interpreters in South Africa – although these goals are beyond the scope of this initial investigation.

Furthermore the video material and transcriptions thereof will form part of a corpus (database) of a project that UNISA is running called “the UNISA Southern African Spoken and Signed Language Corpus”. This corpus will be of great benefit for SASL interpreters who wish to improve their own skills and understanding of SASL.

Details of Participation

As a subject lecturer, you will not be directly involved in this research project. As such, you will not be required to give up any time or make any special arrangements. However, since South African Sign Language is a visual language, it is necessary for me to film the interpreter(s) working during lecture time in order to gather the necessary data for the project. I would thus be in the classroom for approximately one hour, filming the interpreter during your lecture. I would ensure that the set-up of the equipment etc would be complete before the lecture commences, and that interruptions during the lecture would be avoided.

You are assured that by accepting this data collection in your lecture, your intellectual property and personal and professional rights will be respected. The spoken content of the lecture will be transcribed and translated (if necessary) but you will remain completely anonymous as your name will not appear on the transcriptions anywhere, nor will you appear on the video footage.

By signing this document, you are in no way obligated to continue participating in the research if at any time you feel you no longer wish to. Although there is no direct engagement with lecturers who have SASL interpreters in their lectures for this particular project, if you feel you would like to add any insights from your perspective, they would be most valued.

If you have any further queries regarding the project please feel free to contact the supervisor, Dr Kim Wallmach via email at kim.wallmach@wits.ac.za

Declaration by lecturer

By signing below, I agree to accept filmed data collection in my classroom towards the research study entitled **“The roles of signed language interpreters in post-secondary education settings in South Africa.”**

I declare that:

- I have read the above information and consent form and it is written in a language with which I am fluent and comfortable.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been adequately answered.
- I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary and I have not been pressurised to take part.
- I may choose to withdraw my consent at any time without consequence.

Signed at (place) on (date)
2009.

.....
Signature of lecturer

.....
Signature of witness

Appendix F

Transcriptions of video examples on enclosed DVD

Clip 1 – University³

Shift: Repetition as addition

Lecturer: So, it's actually in your favour because assignment dates are negotiable sometimes – it's test dates that aren't.

Interpreter:

NO, LUCKY PRO.2 WHY ASSIGNMENT DATE CAN YOU-ME-NEGOTIATE TEST
"so" "lucky" "for" "you" "assignment" "date" "can" "negotiate" "test"
DET_{if} FOLLOW MUST ASSIGNMENT YOU-ME-NEGOTIATE
"follow" "have to" "assignment" "negotiate"

Clip 2 – University

Shift: Repetition as addition

Lecturer: Right and then we do have two variables x and y

Interpreter:

MEANS TWO HAVE+ X_{if} SAME Y_{rt} INDEX_{if} INDEPENDENT INDEX_{rt} DEPENDENT HAVE
"means" "two" "have" "x" "y" "independ.." "depend" "have"

³ The Deaf student for whom the interpreter is interpreting uses an FM system and uses the interpreter mainly for back up. He therefore prefers a more literal interpreting style closer to signed English.

Clip 5 – University

Shift: Expanded rendition - emphasis

Lecturer: Ons land is op 'n stadium waarskynlik nou dat ekonomiese groei beperk moet word as gevolg van die **finansiële druk** wat ons ervaar nie net intern nie maar as gevolg van die Amerikaanse finansiële situasie ook wat nou impak op Suid Afrika.

*Lecturer: Our country is at a stage, particularly now, that economic growth is limited as a result of **financial pressure** we are experiencing, not only internally but as a result of the American financial situation too which is now impacting South Africa*

Interpreter:

AS KYK-NA BYVOORBEELD LAND ONS NOU EKONOMIES GROEI

"as" "byvoorbeeld" "land" "ons" "nou" "ekonomies" "groei"

(tongue out slightly) (frown & tongue out slightly)
BAIE (nadruklik) GEKEER+ OMDAT **FINANSIES** VERANTWOORDELIKHEDE
"baie" "omdat" "finansies"

(frown & left cheek blown up) br
DRUK, VOEL INTERNE MAAR EKSTERNE OOK AMERIKA FINANSIES
"voel" "interne" "maar" "ook" "Amerika" "finansies"

SITUASIE DET_{if} HULLE-S'N_{if} OOK SUID-AFRIKA_{rt} IMPAK_{if→rt}
"situasie" "ook" "Suid Afrika" "impak"

Interpreter (translation):

IF LOOK-AT FOR-EXAMPLE COUNTRY OUR NOW ECONOMIC GROW

"if" "for example" "country" "our" "now" "economic"

(tongue slightly out) (frown and tongue slightly out)
VERY(emphatic) INHIBITED + BECAUSE **FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY**
"very" "because" "financial"

(frown & left cheek blown up) br
PRESSURE, FEELS INTERNAL BUT EXTERNAL ALSO AMERICA FINANCIAL
"feels" "internal" "but" "also" "America" "financial"

SITUATION DET_{if} THEIRS_{if} ALSO SOUTH AFRICA_{rt} IMPACT_{if→rt}
"situation" "also" "South Africa" "impact"

Clip 7 – University
Shift: Explicitation

Lecturer: <clip starts midway through lecturers sentence>...if you go to the whole universe and if you start moving at the speed of light

Interpreter:

IF \ GO WORLD INDEX_{world} SPEED SAME LIGHT(sign does not look like it was completed)

"if" "world" "move" "same"

('f' mouth shape)

L-I-G-H-T, SAME **FAST++**

"light" "like"

Clip 12 – University
Shift: Fingerspelling – elicit a sign

Lecturer: The energy in this. The energy in this. The energy in this. The energy in my watch equals the mass. The mass of this- <incomplete thought> If this – does this have a lot of mass?

Interpreter:

ENERGY "INDEX"_{cntr/rt} ENERGY "INDEX"_{rt} "INDEX"_{4 behind/rt} ENERGY WATCH MINE EQUALS
"energy" "energy" "energy" "watch" "mine" "equals"

M-A-S-S <interpreter watches student for sign> MASS,
"mass" "mass"

HStudents: No. No

Interpreter: <no rendition>

Lecturer: So it's not a lot of energy but it's the mass times what?

Interpreter:

"INDEX"_{rt} MANY+ MASS HAVE,
"that" "many many" "mass" "have"

"INDEX"_{rt} MANY ENERGY NOTHING BUT, MASS TIMES WHAT...
"that" "many" "mass"

⁴ The interpreter follows the pointing of the lecturer who cannot be seen on the video clip

Clip 13 – University

Shift: Fingerspelling to clarify a sign's meaning (spelling immediate)

Lecturer: Within a market we get market segments <Pause> A market segment is a smaller group of people or the organisations and they share one or two characteristics. (Example...)<portion in () brackets not represented in SASL as a result of lag time>

Interpreter:

_____ t _____ t (one cheek puffed up)
... MARKET#GROUP, MARKET#GROUP HAVE SMALL-GROUP-WITHIN++ **S-E-G-M-E-N-T**
"market" "market" "have" "segment"

(one cheek puffed up)
SMALL-GROUP-WITHIN++ MEAN BIG-GROUP SMALL GROUP-WITHIN+++ OR
"mean" "group" "small" "group" "group" "or"

SMALL-ORGANISATION- WITHIN++, CAN SAY SHARE ONE TWO CHARACTERISTIC HAVE++
"organisation" "share" "one" "two" "character" "have" aff

Clip 14 – University

Shift: Fingerspelling to convey terminology

Lecturer: We now have the contemporary theories <Pause>

Interpreter:

NOW THEORY **C-O-N-T-E-M-P-O-R-A-R-Y** INDEX_{cntr}
"now" "theory" "contemporary" (produced slowly) rb

Clip 15 – University

Shift: Fingerspelling to convey terminology

Lecturer: Cognitive dissonance <spoken slowly – enunciating each syllable>. Do you remember that? <Pause>

Interpreter:

C-O-G-N-I-T-I-V-E **D-I-S-S-O-N-A-I-C-E** REMEMEBER YOU(whg open hand)
"cognitive" (produced slowly) "dissonance" (produced slowly) "remember"

Clip 16 – FET College

Shift: Fingerspelling to convey terminology (FET)

Lecturer: High priority monthly expenses...<speaking slowly and emphasising each word>

Interpreter: <over lapping speech with lecturer> “Sir hold on, sir what is ‘priority’? What does that mean?”

Lecturer: Priority it is it is it is it is something that you need most...most. Yes. <long pause until student talks>

Interpreter:

INDEX_{cntr} WORD **P-R-I-O-R-I-T-Y** (slow) INDEX_{cntr} MEAN SOMETHING^PRO.1
“word” “means” “something”

NEED (emphatic) MORE LIKE...
“need” “more”

Clip 17 - University

Shift: Fingerspelling to convey terminology

Lecturer: ... vier vlakke Drie x’e wat neergeskryf moet word maar in terme van ‘n polonomiese model. So dis dan x twee x twee kwadraat en x twee tot die mag drie.

Lecturer: ... four levels. Three x’s that must be written down but in terms of a polynomial table so its x two, x two squared and x two to the power of three.

Interpreter:

X TWEE, \ BETEKEN VLAK++++ rb VIER BETEKEN X+(moving ↑) DRIE SKRYF-NEER+
“x” “twee” “mean” “vlak” “vier” “mean” “x” “drie” “skryf”

rb
MAAR IN-TERME-VAN **P-O-L-O-N-O-M-I-E-S**, BETEKEN X TWEE X TWEE KWADRAAT X
“maar” “polonomies” “mean” “x” “twee” “x” “twee” “kwadraat” “x”

TWEE MAG DRIE
“twee” “mag” “drie”

Interpreter (translation):

X TWO, \ MEAN LEVEL++++ rb FOUR MEAN X+(moving ↑) THREE WRITE-DOWN+ rb BUT
“x” “two” “mean” “levels” “four” “mean” “x” “three” “write” “but”

IN-TERMS-OF **P-O-L-Y-N-O-M-I-A-L**, MEAN X TWO X TWO SQUARED X TWO
“polynomial” “mean” “x” “two” “x” “two” “squared” “x” “two”

TO-POWER-OF THREE
“power” “three”

Clip 18 – University

Shift: Collaboration – clarification (asking student for a sign at a suitable time)

Lecturer: <silent – she was assisting another student 1 on 1, thus there was a lengthy pause. She can be heard indistinctly talking to the other student>

Interpreter:

HOW-MUCH\\ H-O-W M-U-C-H SPELL HOW^SIGN^HOW H-O-W M-U-C-H \\⁵
"how much" "how" "much"

HOW-MANY

"how much"

Clip 19 – University

Shift: Collaboration – attention getting on student's behalf, controlling flow of talk and obtaining clarification from student

Lecturer: <indistinct talking – not lecturing>

Interpreter: <looking from student to lecturer to see if lecturer noticed the raised hand>

"Miss. Hello" <raises hand to indicate who was calling her>

Lecturer: Yes <laughing>

Interpreter: <**indicates to the student that it is his turn to talk**> "Um I just wanted to ask you about the test regarding the Unit 1 and 2 that will be it, but can \\ we \\\ follow"

q whq
C-U-S-T (Concentrates on student then nods with understanding) YES

"Oh! Follow the outcomes?" <pointing down like at a list> "in the book?"

Lecturer: <no verbal response>

Interpreter: "Follow the outcomes ya"^{aff}YES

⁵ The interpreter is watching the student's response to his request for the sign for "how much".

Clip 21 – University

Shift: Collaboration – clarification (self-correction and apology)

Lecturer: The gentleman here in this diagram at the bottom in the middle. What emotion is he experiencing? <lengthy pause>

Interpreter:

(confused)

MAN (long hold) PICTURE TEXT#BOOK MAN BOOK YOUR <looks behind at screen>

"man" "picture" "text book" "man" "book" "your"

rb (grin)
SORRY MAN INDEX_{behind} SHOW EMOTION WHICH

"sorry" "man" "show" "emotion" "which"

Clip 22 – University

Shift: Collaboration – clarification (Asking student for sign at a suitable time)

Lecturer: <doing dictation> Each circle represents a different category - <long pause>

Interpreter:

...FULLSTOP, EACH CIRCLE REPRESENT A DIFFERENT C-A-T-E-G-O-R-Y
"fullstop" "each" "circle" "represents" "different" "category" (produced slowly)

YOUR (open hand)^qSIGN YOUR C-A-T-E-G-O-R-Y (spelled more slowly)
"sign" "category" (produced slowly)

wh-q q aff
CATEGORY CATEGORY

Clip 23 – University

Shift: Collaboration – clarification (self-correction and apology)

Lecturer: Nou hoekom sal ek nou 'n nuwe pos aanvaar as 'n bestuurder as hulle my R2000 'n maand meer betaal? Hoekom sal ek dit nou doen? Ek bedoel ek het al die druk ek het al die stres wat daarmee gepaard nou vir R2000 meer moet ek nou in hierdie pos ingaan. (So daar is ook as die organisasie nie genoegsame ondersteuning) <portion in () brackets not represented in SASL as a result of lag time>

Lecturer: Now why would I accept a new post as a manager if they want to pay me a mere R2000 extra a month? Why would I do it? I mean, I would have all the pressure and all the stress that goes with the position, and now for R2000 more I must step into this position. So we must also consider if the organisation does not support...

Interpreter:

...EKSTERNE INVLOED-MY, EK NUWE WERK BESTUURDER AANVAAR HOEKOM,
"eksterne" "invloed" "ek" "nuwe" "werk" "bestuurder" "aanvaar" "hoekom"
(unimpressed) wh-q
PER MAAND **TWEE-MAAND** MEER DIS-AL DOEN HOEKOM,
"maand" "twee duisend" "meer" "doen" "hoekom"
(worried) (frown) wh-q (eyes closed)
STRESS VERANTWOORDELIKHEDE MEER+++ (emphatic) **TWEE-MAAND EKSKEUS TOLK**
"meer meer meer" "twee duis-" "skeus"
rb (frown) neg
FOUT, TWEE DUISEND RAND MEER+ INDEX GENOEG INDEX
"twee" "duisend" "rand" "meer"

Interpreter (translation):

...EXTERNAL INFLUENCE-ME, I NEW WORK MANAGER ACCEPT WHY, PER MONTH
"external" "influence" "I" "new" "work" "manager" "accept" "why" "month"
(unimpressed) rh-q (worried) (frown)
TWO-MONTH MORE THAT'S-ALL DO WHY STRESS RESPONSIBILITY MORE+++ (emphatic)
"two thousand" "more" "do" "why" "more more more"
wh-q (eyes closed) rb (frown)
TWO-MONTH SORRY INTERPRETER MISTAKE, TWO THOUSAND RAND MORE+
"two thou-" "sorry" "two" "thousand" "rand" "more"
neg
INDEX ENOUGH INDEX

Clip 24: University

Shift: Collaboration – clarification (Interpreter explains what her sign means)

Lecturer: ...if it's decimals, I need to round it to the nearest integers.

Interpreter:

...BUT REMEMBER INDEX WHAT ^(slight frown)VALUE ^{_____}COMMA ^{_____}MANY-NUMBERS BUT MUST ^{_____}USE
"but" "remember" "what" "value" "but" "must" "use"

^(diminutive)SHORT ^(tongue slightly out, frown)CAN'T USE COMMA MANY-NUMBERS ^{_____}MANY, ^{rh-g}MEAN WILL USE...
"short" "cannot" "use" "comma" "many" "mean" "will" "use"

Clip 29: University

Shift: Compression

Lecturer: So from next week Monday/// **you gonna start attending class again?**

Interpreter:

MEAN FROM NEXT MONDAY \\ ^{_____}PEOPLE ^(tongue out)COME-TOGETHER_{cntr} ^{_____}WILL,
"mean" "from" "people" "will"

HStudents: Ya

Interpreter:

^(smile)
YES_{rt}

Lecturer: I hope so

Interpreter:

^{_____}PRO.1 HOPE
"me" "hope"
